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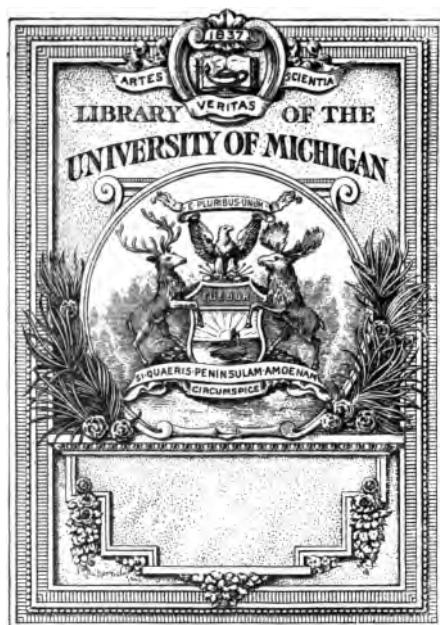
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THE
CHRISTIAN
REMEMBRANCER.

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THE
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

JANUARY, 1853.

- ART. I.—1. *History of the War in the Peninsula, &c.* By W. F. P. NAPIER, C.B. 1831.
2. *Singleness of Purpose the secret of Success. A Sermon.* By the Rev. C. MARRIOTT, B.D. Oxford: Parker. 1852.
3. *The Servant of Christ. A Sermon.* By the Rev. WILLIAM SEWELL, B.D., Sub-rector of Exeter College. Oxford: Parker. 1852.
4. *A Sermon in Memory of the late Duke of Wellington.* By the Rev. J. J. BLUNT, B.D., Margaret Professor of Divinity. Cambridge: Deighton. 1852.

It would be unnatural even here to pass unnoticed so great an event as the Duke of Wellington's departure from this mortal scene, with all the circumstances which a public funeral has called forth in connexion with it. Yet all that can be said has been said. Panegyric has over and over again been declared exhausted, even by those who were in the act of pouring forth their share of praise. The Duke has been viewed in every aspect, in every character, and every official station. The details of his ancestry have been closely examined, the records of his birth and baptism have been ransacked, and the providers of public information, making these early points of history their starting point, have become more and more explicit, more and more industrious and voluminous in their researches, as each period of advancing or declining life fulfilled its course, till death itself having done its work, the climax of interest was at length attained in the solemn act of lowering his ashes to their last home under the dome of St. Paul's, to the sound of the Dead March, in the venerating gaze of twenty thousand people. Pictorial and editorial art have alike illustrated each scene in life and death, and given to every man, woman, and child some token by which to remember the great hero of modern times. Oratory, in every scene of its action, has adorned his

memory, and the humble but abiding rhetoric of the home circle has impressed many a lofty aspiring thought of greatness in the mind of infancy.

No human topic can, for more than a very short period, sustain the undivided attention which this has claimed in the passing order of events. The mind relaxes, and the emergencies of life revive their pressing interests. After the pageantry of the funeral was over, the idea at length possessed us that we had done a national work, great and deserved indeed, but so ample, that its completeness became its chief characteristic, with the important corollary, that nothing else need be done. To prolong a subject beyond this assigned limit is tedious to nature, and after such violent tension of the mind in one direction, a season of repose is necessary, before the next stage in its history, that of calm retrospective interest, can fairly take its place. We are not unmindful of all these objecting antecedents to any attention which we may hope to claim of our readers to the subject we have undertaken. It is, moreover, only in a *general* sense that the subject affects us, for the public history of the Duke does not come within any *particular* province which may attach to this review. Yet, in spite of all this, by a diligent adherence to what we esteem our legitimate work, we propose to retain the name of Wellington on the pages of periodical literature even at this distance of time.

We shall not, however, be comprehensive in our review of history, and shall not force plain facts beyond their obvious meaning, to suit any object of our own; but taking one year from so many during which the Duke was among us, we shall strive to point out by the events of that period, what were those powers of mind, and efforts of moral strength, which so distinguished him as to produce the great reputation we have all witnessed.

The year we would select as most exalting to the character of the Duke and most illustrative of himself, is that of 1810. The whole Peninsular war was the work of his life's choicest powers. At an age when every faculty was at its prime, in a situation where every available talent, both physical and mental, was called into action, we would from all considerations look to this series of achievements as the foundation of his fame. When, however, among his honours and titles, pronounced by Garter King-at-Arms over the grave, we heard, that besides being Duke of Wellington, he was Viscount Wellington of Talavera, Baron Douro, Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, in Spain, Duke of Vittoria, Marquis of Torres Vedras, Count of Vimiera in Portugal, we knew for certain that such laurels were like the index of a book, pointing to definite times and places, in the records of

which an inquirer might find the solid claims on which these honours rested. But if we examine the Peninsular war as a whole, and endeavour to arrive at the master mind of its success, —if we strive for one idea that may be the key to its unparalleled glory, we shall find our mature admiration chiefly fixed on the year 1810. This year was not celebrated by any of the more distinguished victories; it is somewhat barren of brilliant achievements, such as figure in the imagination of youthful warriors; we are not kept alive by any large proportion of impetuous cavalry charges, by the thunderings of artillery, or oceans of blood and spoil. Wellington does not figure therein as wildly exciting his troops to finish all by one bold stroke of physical courage; but we see him marking out the design of a war with artistic skill; we see the real mental labour which converts a great general, from the Homeric type of a mere animal fighter, into the student, into the hard-working moral philosopher, the acute politician, the severe economist, the practical man of science. The common idea of success in war is associated with its great and stimulating conclusions, rather than with those days and nights of toil, anxiety, and mental trial, which in military, as well as in civil and political honours, must precede the glorious result.

Few mere literary men, with no other occupation but that of writing, with the quietness of a study at their command, with every appliance to facilitate their labours, have yet actually written so much within the time as Wellington wrote during the Peninsular war. His Despatches place him in the first ranks of literature, and the Chancellorship of Oxford was not unworthily held, even on this ground, without any immediate reference to the practical use of musket and bayonet. Besides, however, this great literary application, which thus made pen and ink the means of expression for his genius, we also notice in him a peculiar tendency to form his military operations by an elaborate intellectual process, rather than by a certain brute instinct, which is sometimes attributed to men like Napoleon.

The Duke was generally seen with a map; his greatest designs were the result of studying maps, for which sources of information he acquired an irresistible craving. This marks his engineering talent, as his despatches mark his literary. Again, his management of the allied forces, and of the political authorities of Spain and Portugal, point to his genius in diplomacy as being no unimportant element of success, while his continued practical estimation of the moral qualities and physical necessities of all, with whom he had to do, place him before us as most distinguished for that kind of moral philosophy which is the basis of common sense. All these qualities are, however, the com-

ponent parts of that genius for military affairs, in their extended application, which it is obvious he possessed. But if we were asked for the Duke's *idiosyncrasy*, that peculiarity of disposition which gave shape and point to his genius, which created his individual self such as our inward consciousness feels him to have been, though we may never have the ability to express in words the sympathetic impression which one soul inwardly makes on another, we should say, that he was pre-eminently crafty, watchful, and patient. We are not afraid of the first word being taken as if intended to be derogatory, because we feel its truth and appropriateness so strongly, that, as the Duke was a great man, so must the word crafty, even if only to suit him, be used in a dignified sense, not inconsistent with its old and true meaning. He was watchful also, with a peculiar stretch of that idea. He reminds one of the mechanical watchfulness of a metal spring, which in its very nature maintains an unceasing pressure, and cannot possibly fail to close in with, and overbear the resisting weight, on the first symptom of weakness. As long as that power of resistance is of a certain strength, the steel is content to remain without any demonstration of its force, but once let it give way, and an advance is gained which will require tenfold energies to push back. He was also patient, not only as a necessary element of his crafty and watchful character, but as possessing a wonderful ability to resist for any length of time the moral pressure of everybody else in the world, and of every *thing* that was external to his own self-confidence and self-reliance.

The retreat to Torres Vedras illustrates these qualities in so remarkable a manner, that, as that design was undoubtedly the key of his own success in the Peninsula, so would we claim its great features as peculiarly characteristic of the Duke's whole genius. But who that has watched the Duke's face and manner, even as they have been subjects of daily observation within our own immediate recollection, can fail to associate with him the idea of a certain amusing craftiness? Again, it was part of his very existence in the public mind, to imagine him always watchful, and ready to act with immediate promptness in any emergency that might bring him forth; while his moral patience and power of resisting mere external pressure, such as public opinion, was proverbial. The greatest proof of this may be seen in his constant readiness to concede what was really due to such pressure, in any political crisis. If he had felt conscious that he was driven, he would never have yielded his early prejudices in the way he did on several occasions of his political career. The different parties and feelings which he had to manage, were all external in his own mind to any idea of com-

pulsion, as applied to himself, and were simply to be disposed of and taken into consideration, like the parts of an army, with reference to the general object in view. He had a wonderful power of testing the real value of any clamour that was about him. When he saw substance and reality in it, he took it into consideration, but if not, his contempt for it was very near the point of junction between the sublime and the ridiculous.

But let us now illustrate the Duke's character by the selected period of the retreat to Torres Vedras. History, we think, can produce no equal to the moral strength and lofty self-reliance manifested in that campaign; we can imagine no more triumphant success of long-conceived strategy, or a greater power of abiding one's time, and waiting the opportunity, than are here brought to light.

Taking this one year, let us see what his position was at its commencement. In 1809 he had landed on the crags of Portugal with an army of about 30,000 men. The English army enjoyed then no prestige of success as opposed to European forces, for our strength was thought to be concentrated in the navy. Sir Arthur Wellesley was ridiculed by Napoleon as a Sepoy general, and against this taunt he had but little to oppose. He had been to the Netherlands, but it was only to share in the annoyance of an already retreating expedition. In 1808 he had also visited the same coasts on which he now stood, but he had gone home again in disgust at the imbecility and arrogance of those superior to him in command. Meanwhile the calamity of Sir John Moore had thrown a shade on our military prospects, and had naturally left the impression that the French legions were more than a match for us. Indeed, it is not sufficiently known how entirely the whole subsequent character of the English army was established in and by the Peninsular war. There was no confidence in it at home, before that time, and there was no terror inspired by its name when in action abroad. Sir Arthur Wellesley no doubt felt from his experience in India that he had it in him to face an European army, as well as an Asiatic, but he could not impress the world with this conviction, before he had thoroughly proved it. Even victories that now figure on regimental emblazonments were at the time made the instruments of his annoyance. Vimiera was the scene of his gallantry during his first Portuguese expedition, but his disgust at the circumstances connected with it was the immediate cause of his return home.

In 1809, however, he landed with the entire command over himself and his army. He marched against his foe, as if bent on mischief; and at Douro and Talavera he obtained immortal victories. But after thus showing himself, and letting the enemy taste of what the English 'leopards' were made, he

would seem to have felt an overpowering conviction, that, for the present, he could advance no further. Those victories, therefore, were not followed up by the usual accessories of conquest, but rather, to casual observers, by the consequences of defeat. Into the merits of this campaign we do not however enter, but have only alluded to its history in order to understand the state of the case at the commencement of 1810.

Wellesley was at this time, therefore, retrograding rather than advancing. After the first burst of his success, the many difficulties of his position crowded round him. His long sight and diligent forethought had convinced him that his dangers were too imminent to allow of any hasty measures. Yet, conceive the advantage which this apparent hesitation gave to his calumniators at home, his disaffected allies on the continent, and his enemies at the scene of war. A man of power and courage can, however, do much when he feels that his employers, who have the final control over his actions, are really trusting him and cordially supporting him. But this was not the case in Wellesley's position toward the parliament of England. Lord Liverpool wished and treated him well, but the Opposition was so venomous and powerful, that, venting as they did all their spleen against the conduct of the war, it was uncertain how long the Government would be able to bear up against any apparent want of success. When the want of activity was thus likely to be the precursor of a sudden recal, what temptation was there to risk something, even against the warnings of mature judgment? Sir Arthur, however, had this honour, that as long as he was in command he sincerely did his best, trusting to Providence for his continuance in it. He would not be hurried, even by that universal spur to activity, the danger of personal sacrifice. Most wantonly was he taunted in the English parliament with the uselessness of his proceedings, and though honours were conferred on him by the Crown and a majority of the House, yet still these sweets were mingled with much bitterness from the insults of the Opposition. Douro and Talavera sound to us as but the emblems of military success, but we have referred to the debates of the time, as reported in the newspapers, and think it cannot but interest our readers to know how such victories were actually spoken of by some statesmen at home. From the *Times* newspaper of January 24th, 1810, we copy the following extracts. Seeing, however, the very paper itself, its small size, and worn appearance, gives a more vivid impression of its being cotemporaneous with the events themselves, than we can convey on new pages to our readers; but nevertheless they are the veritable words used on the 23d of January, 1810.

The royal speech had complimented the victor of Talavera, to which an amendment was proposed.

*'House of Lords.—*Earl Grey said, when he came down to the house on that day of their humiliation and disgrace, he never was so surprised as at the tone of the speech he had heard. To call for unbounded approbation where the most unqualified censure was due, bespoke a degree of confidence which he could hardly have expected, even from the present ministers. To hear panegyrics on the battle of Talavera, and compliments to Lord Wellington, after the disasters and disgrace that our armies experienced in Spain, was what he never could have conceived. He gave ministers some credit, however, for the chastised and humble tone in which they spoke, contrasted with the lofty language of the speech. It showed they had some compunction for the injuries and disgrace they had brought upon the country. With respect to the campaign in Spain, it was impossible not to speak of it but in terms of condemnation.'

*'House of Commons.—*Lord Gower: 'The failure of the campaign in 1808 in Spain, seemed to have no other consequence than to induce ministers to risk its repetition. What was the result of this experience (Sir John Moore's)? only to confirm our ministers in their infatuation (hear)! only to induce them to send fresh forces to a country where we had failed before, and to a government with which no previous arrangement had been made. Even the pompous embassy of Lord Wellesley proved abortive,—that embassy which promised so much and performed so little (hear, hear)—returned, after a battle which was followed by a retreat, a victory which was followed by all the calamitous consequences of a defeat.'

The amendment proposed was this:

'The House sees, with sorrow and indignation, expeditions undertaken in which our resources were lost, and our troops sacrificed in enterprises the consequences of which were most injurious, producing no other effect than the exposure of our councils to the derision of our enemies: That now the House demands, as the only atonement to an injured and insulted people, that the most rigorous inquiry into such disgraceful expeditions should be instituted.'

The Hon. Mr. Ward, in a strong condemnation of ministers for the Spanish expeditions, used the following words:—

*'If the generals of former times, the Cadogans, Athlones, and Marlboroughs, had acted upon the same principle as Lord Wellington, France would long since have been mistress of the world, and England must have sunk under the weight of her victories. But they had acted upon far other principles, and the consequence of their victories led to far different results. It was a well-known observation of an historian respecting King William, that though he might suffer a defeat, he always took care that it could not lead to any ruinous consequence. The plan of our modern generals was far different; for though a defeat at Talavera would have been utter destruction, the victory did not advance our object one step further. He was ready to ascribe every credit to the individual valour of the British troops, but he must lament the absence of the art of that great man, who could prevent a retreat from being ruinous, and rendered even victories unavailing. He could not account for the conduct of the government in sending the expedition to Spain, unless upon that mischievous principle of keeping the disposable force of the country in action,—upon the folly, infatuation, and madness of being stirring, and doing something; a conduct which resembled the desperate phrenzy of a losing gamester, rather than the deliberate determination of reason,—the *monstrum nullâ virtute redemptum*.'*

‘Mr. Whitbread.—Our victories, indeed, were this night the particular theme of congratulations; and Maida, Corunna, Vimiera, and Talavera, were held up as monuments of our eternal glory; he beheld them only as so many gladiatorial exhibitions. None of them were happy in their consequences. . . . Talavera was at best but an exhibition of victorious rashness.

‘The right honourable gentleman last session said that a battle ought never to be risked in Spain, until there was an efficient government in that country; yet now he recanted the principle by conferring honours upon Sir Arthur Wellesley, for whom, and for the country, it would have been much more honourable had he never changed his name. His conduct in Spain seemed the result of infatuation.

For amendment.	167
Against	263
Majority	96

Even Lord Wellington’s despatches were violently attacked. On a motion of thanks, we find in the same newspaper of Feb. 1, an oration by General Tarleton:—

‘Feb. 1.—*Thanks to Wellington.*—General Tarleton:—He next came to the accounts of the action contained in the despatches of Lord Wellington, which were vainglorious, partial, and incorrect. Vainglorious, as every man who read them would perceive; partial because, though they contained some praises of the Spaniards, that praise was not adequate to their services; and incorrect, because almost every line contained a statement which the circumstances of the case did not bear out.’

It was even proposed that, while the army received a vote of thanks, Wellington should be specially excepted.

Yet in spite of all such aspersions upon his command; and in spite of such anxiety on the part of his friends for the appearance of activity, that he was on one occasion urged to let blood be shed at any risk, if only for the sake of something being done; he had the moral courage, in obedience to a profound conviction of his own mind, to continue on a line of retreat for the whole summer, the only engagements being exactly of the description so ridiculed by the Opposition, as being followed, though successful, by a further retreat.

The immense difficulties of the Peninsular war in general must also be remembered. Napier describes these incidentally with reference to many subjects. With regard to the home Government, we have the following severe comments:—

‘Notwithstanding the many years of hostility with France, the English ministers were still ignorant of every military principal, and yet too arrogant to ask advice of professional men; for it was not until after the death of Mr. Perceval, and when the decisive victory of Salamanca showed the giant in his full proportions, that even Wellington himself was permitted the free exercise of his judgment, although he was more than once reminded by Mr. Perceval, whose narrow views continually clogged the operations, that the whole responsibility of failure would rest on his head.’
—Book x. chap. iv.

Again, in all concerns with the local authorities, there was a

depth of hindrance which might well test the patience of any but one, who, with consummate wisdom, knew how to be content with laying all these things to the account of the general difficulties which it was his position to surmount. Napier thus instances a difficulty of this kind, not in connexion with our present scene of warfare, but happening about the same time :—

‘The ships recovered from Ferrol had been transferred to Cadiz, so there were in the bay twenty-three men-of-war, of which four of the line and three frigates were British; and thus, money, troops, and a fleet, in fine, all things necessary to render Cadiz formidable, were collected, yet to little purpose, because procrastination, jealousy, ostention, and a thousand absurdities, were the invariable attendants of Spanish armies and governments.

‘It was in vain that the English engineers presented plans, and offered to construct the works; the Spaniards would never consent to pull down a house, or destroy a garden; their procrastination paralyzed their allies, and would have lost the place, had the enemy been prepared to press it vigorously. Nor were the English works (where the Spaniards would permit any be constructed) well and rapidly completed, for the Junta furnished bad materials. There was a paucity of engineer-officers, and, from the habitual negligence of the ministerial departments at home, neither the proper stores nor implements had been sent out. Indeed, an exact history, drawn from the private journals of commanders of British expeditions, during the war with France, would show an incredible carelessness of preparation on the part of the different cabinets. The generals were always expected to “make bricks without straw,” and thus the laurels of the British army were for many years blighted.’—Book x. chap. v. p. 179.

Lord Wellington having formed his own judgment as to the nature of the campaign now before him, commenced such arrangements as would be necessary to carry it out with success. In spite of all reproaches, and many peculiar difficulties belonging to such a policy, he determined on a retreat towards the sea, in case the enemy should gain admission into Portugal. He required from the Portuguese authorities, that as the army retreated, the country should be laid waste, and mills destroyed, in order that a French army might derive no means of support in their advance. It was no easy task to obtain the desired object.

‘He was a foreigner, ill-supported by his own government, and holding power under that of Portugal by a precarious tenure; he was vehemently opposed by the local authorities, the ministers, and by the nobility of that country; and yet, in this apparently weak position, he undertook at one and the same time, to overcome the abuses engendered by centuries of misgovernment, and to oblige a whole people, sunk in sloth, to arise in arms, to devastate their own lands, and to follow him to battle against the most formidable power of modern times.’—*Napier*, vol. iii. p. 256.

But a retreat towards the sea, across so narrow a country as Portugal, must soon end either in the entire desertion of the country by the embarkation of the whole retreating army,—for means of transport, of course, were always on the coast,—or it must have the final resource of some great fortress wherein to

make a last resistance. That the former alternative was always open to the English army, is, we think, most creditable to the humanity of our general. If the worst should have happened, Lord Wellington could have left Portugal without any risk of those fearful destructions of life which Napoleon recklessly encountered with the legions of France. The war in Portugal was not a desperate hazard; and, under the circumstances of that war, it was no doubt an important duty of its commander to take care that no greater risk was encountered than its original object would warrant. An army defending its own country may be compelled to encounter any risks, but when the immediate object was only to protect our allies, it is obvious that the forces of England ought never to lose sight of the means of retreat; for their own safety was, after all, of more importance than that of the Portuguese. With the satisfaction, however, of feeling that he could at any time quietly ship off his army; and thus being eased of those qualms of conscience which must ever hang over a right-minded man, if he is encountering for others too hazardous an undertaking; Wellington, nevertheless, had no intention of thus quickly giving up the work which he had commenced. With the assistance of certain accurate plans, made in 1799, of that tongue of land between the Tagus and the Atlantic on the point of which is Lisbon, he devised, with consummate craft, the lines of Torres Vedras. Three monstrous barriers were erected, from the river to the ocean; the outer one being twenty-nine miles long, and about the same distance from Lisbon; and the next, intended to be the strong point of resistance, being from six to ten miles in rear of the first. The last one was at the very end of the promontory, and intended to cover the embarkation of troops, if necessary. From the time which elapsed before these lines were really occupied and brought into use, and also from the effect of certain floods, the outer line was made so strong that it became the barrier behind which the chief defence was prepared. We cannot follow Napier's detailed account of these lines, but must give his summing up:—

‘ Thus much I have thought fit to say respecting the lines, too little for the professional reader, too much, perhaps, for a general history. But I was desirous to notice, somewhat in detail, works more in keeping with ancient than modern military labours, partly that a just idea might be formed of the talents of the British engineers who constructed them, and partly to show that Lord Wellington's measures of defence were not, as some military writers have supposed, dependent upon the first line. Had that been stormed, the standard of Portuguese independence could still have been securely planted amidst the rocks of the second position.

‘ To occupy fifty miles of fortification, to man one hundred and fifty forts, and to work six hundred pieces of artillery, required a number of men; but a great fleet in the Tagus, a superb body of marines sent out

from England, the civic guards of Lisbon, the Portuguese heavy artillery corps, the militia and the ordenança of Estremadura, furnished, altogether, a powerful reserve. The native artillery and the militia supplied all the garrisons of the forts on the second, and most of those on the first line. The British marines occupied the third line; the navy manned the gun-boats on the river, and aided, in various ways, the operation in the field. The recruits from the depôts, and all the men on furlough, being called in, rendered the Portuguese army stronger than it had yet been; and the British army, reinforced, as I have said, both from Cadiz and England, and remarkably healthy, presented such a front as a general would desire to see in a dangerous crisis.'—Vol. iii. pp. 357, 358.

Having prepared this secure and well-provided retreat, without the French general having any notion of his design, he accurately weighed each probable point of invasion by way of the frontier of Portugal, and disposed his forces accordingly. To provide food for the army was also a consideration that added much and continually to his cares.

'In the Peninsula generally, the supplies were at all times a source of infinite trouble on both sides, and this, not as some have supposed, because Spain is incapable of supplying large armies; there was throughout the war an abundance of food in that country, but it was unevenly distributed; some places were exhausted, others overflowing; the difficulty was to transport provisions, and in this the allies enjoyed a great advantage; their convoys could pass unmolested, whereas the French always required strong guards, first to collect food and then to bring it up to their armies. In Portugal there was however a real deficiency, even for the consumption of the people, and after a time scarcely any food for man or beast (some cattle and straw from the northern provinces excepted) was to be obtained in that country: nay, the whole nation was at last, in a manner, fed by England. Every part of the world accessible to ships and money was rendered subservient to the cravings of this insatiable war, and even thus, it was often a doubtful and a painful struggle against famine; while near the sea, but at a distance from that nurse of British armies, the means of transport necessarily regulated the extent of the supply. Now wheel-carriage was scarce and bad in Portugal, and for the most part the roads forbade its use; hence the only resource, for the conveyance of stores, was water-carriage to a certain distance, and afterwards beasts of burthen.'—Vol. iii. pp. 268, 269.

The respective difficulties of the French and English armies at this period are thus stated by the historian:—

'The unfavourable circumstances for France would appear to be, the absence of the emperor—the erroneous views of the king—the rivalry of the marshals—the impediments to correspondence—the necessity of frequently dispersing from the want of magazines—the iniquity of the cause, and the disgust of the French officers, who, for the most part, spoiled by a rapid course of victories on the continent, could not patiently endure a service replete with personal dangers, over and above the ordinary mishaps of war, yet promising little ultimate reward.

'For the English, the quicksands were—the memory of former failures on the continent—the financial drain—a powerful and eloquent Opposition pressing a Cabinet so timid and selfish that the general dared not risk a single brigade, lest an accident should lead to a panic amongst the ministers

which all Lord Wellesley's vigour would be unable to stem—the intrigues of the Souza party—and the necessity of persuading the Portuguese to devastate their country for the sake of defending a *European cause*. Finally, the babbling of the English newspapers, from whose columns the enemy constantly drew the most certain information of the strength and situation of the army.'—Vol. iii. pp. 269, 270.

The following beautiful and most true defence of the British infantry soldiers, we cannot but insert before we proceed to the more definite actions of the campaign:—

'It has been asserted that his undeniable firmness in battle is the result of a phlegmatic constitution uninspired by moral feeling. Never was a more stupid calumny uttered! Napoleon's troops fought in bright fields, where every helmet caught some beams of glory; but the British soldier conquered under the cold shade of aristocracy; no honours awaited his daring, no despatch gave his name to the applauses of his countrymen; his life of danger and hardship was uncheered by hope, his death unnoticed. Did his heart sink therefore! Did he not endure with surpassing fortitude the sorest of ills, sustain the most terrible assaults in battle unmoved, and, with incredible energy, overthrow every opponent, at all times proving that, while no physical military qualification was wanting, the fount of honour was also full and fresh within him!'—Vol. iii. pp. 271, 272.

In April it was known that Massena had arrived to command the French army, and that serious operations would soon commence. A great trial of Wellington's resolution and strength of purpose was now in store for him. The French were menacing the town of Ciudad Rodrigo, to possess which was a great point in their future plans. This was the outpost at which to defend Portugal, and Wellington was summoned to the relief.

'This was a trying moment! The English general had come from the Guadiana with the avowed purpose of securing Rodrigo; he had, in a manner, pledged himself to make it a point in his operations; his army was close at hand; the garrison brave and distressed; the governor honourably fulfilling his part. To permit such a place to fall without a stroke struck, would be a grievous disaster, and a more grievous dishonour to the British arms; the troops desired the enterprise; the Spaniards demanded it, as a proof of good faith; the Portuguese to keep the war away from their own country: finally, policy seemed to call for an effort, lest the world might deem the promised defence of Portugal a heartless and a hollow boast. Nevertheless, Romana returned without his object. Lord Wellington absolutely refused to venture even a brigade; and thus proved himself a truly great commander, and of a steadfast mind.'—Vol. iii. p. 281.

Wellington had to remember the war which he had undertaken in the large and comprehensive character of his commission. To have attempted the succour of Ciudad Rodrigo and have failed, he knew, would probably have caused a fearful reaction in his whole position, and the French were very strong both in numbers and general preparation.

'Massena, sagacious and well understanding his business, only desired that the attempt should be made. He held back his troops, appeared

careless, and in his proclamations taunted the English general, that he was afraid!—that the sails were flapping on the ships prepared to carry him away—that he was a man, who, insensible to military honour, permitted his ally's towns to fall without risking a shot to save them, or to redeem his plighted word! But all this subtlety failed; Lord Wellington was unmoved, and abided his own time. "If thou art a great general, Marius, come down and fight!" "If thou art a great general, Silo, make me come down and fight!"—Vol. iii. pp. 283, 284.

The river Coa yet remained, with the town of Almeida, near its banks, as a strong point of defence, before admission into Portugal was granted to the French. Terrible skirmishes on the river, conducted by Crawford, shed glory on our arms, and inflicted some loss on the enemy; but Almeida, with a garrison commanded by Colonel Cox, at length fell, as described in the following passage:—

'On the 18th, the trenches were begun under cover of a false attack, and in the morning of the 26th (the second parallel being commenced) sixty-five pieces of artillery mounted in ten batteries opened at once. Many houses were soon in flames, and the garrison was unable to extinguish them; the counter fire was, however, briskly maintained, little military damage was sustained, and towards evening the cannonade slackened on both sides; but just after dark the ground suddenly trembled, the castle, bursting into a thousand pieces, gave vent to a column of smoke and fire, and with a prodigious noise the whole town sunk into a shapeless ruin! Treason or accident had caused the magazines to explode, and the devastation was incredible. The ramparts were breached, the greatest part of the guns thrown into the ditch, five hundred people were struck dead on the instant, and only six houses left standing; the stones thrown out hurt forty of the besiegers in the trenches, and the surviving garrison, aghast at the horrid commotion, disregarded all exhortations to rally. Fearing that the enemy would take the opportunity to storm the ramparts, the governor beat to arms, and, running to the walls, with the help of an artillery officer fired off the few guns that remained; but the French shells fell thickly all the night, and in the morning of the 27th, two officers appeared at the gates, with a letter from Massena, offering terms.'—Vol. iii. pp. 304, 305.

The allied camp, in the distance, saw the steeple of Almeida church fall to the ground; the explosion was heard, and the cessation of artillery added further confirmation, if needed, that there was an end of all such hopes, as the sanguine might have entertained, of the French being kept out of Portugal. Wellington, from another position, saw through a telescope many French officers on the glacis of the place, and then knew that forthwith his plan of the retreat to Torres Vedras must be carried out; for hitherto, that plan had been nominally dependent on the prior question of his ability to defend the frontier of Portugal. A slight pause followed, Massena not having sufficient information to pursue his advantage with great alacrity; meanwhile, Wellington secured his position for a gradual and well ordered retreat, and having kept his own counsel as to the final

refuge that was behind him, he presented the extraordinary and mysterious spectacle to all around him, of a man apparently defeated at every point, yet, though possessed of ample power and entrusted by the allied governments of several countries, and having his own reputation at stake, making no adequate attempts to recover lost ground, or avert fresh calamities. Lord Wellington had an extraordinary power of keeping his plans secret, and of enduring any amount of misapprehension, in consequence of their not being known or understood. It was impossible for any one to have acted as he did, in this respect, without being conscious of a peculiar power to gain unbounded confidence and personal respect; but nothing except the most extreme necessity could justify his apparent want of confidence towards others. We believe that necessity to have existed in the miserable weakness of the Peninsular authorities, and also in the peculiar nature of his designs, which, having always a large share of strategy in them, would have failed of their purpose if known to others.

He was very little seen, we believe, in the army, and even officers in high rank were often profoundly ignorant of their whole position and prospects. Junior officers went through the whole war and perhaps only saw him once. One, no longer a junior now after forty years more of life, whom we questioned on this point, informed us that the only occasion on which he came near the Duke, was under the following characteristic circumstances. He was marching very quietly in his regiment, anticipating no immediate excitement, when the Duke was observed in the adjoining field, standing on the ground, intently studying a map, his horse being held by his side; he all at once looked up to the regiment and said, in a plain but decisive manner,—‘When you reach the corner of that wood, (which was ‘close at hand,) a brisk fire will open upon you; but I know the ‘gallantry of the regiment, and you will soon have assistance.’ It is needless to add that his information proved to be true. So anxious for information were the English on some occasions, that they had recourse to friendly parleyings, with French officers, from the opposite banks of a river. French newspapers were put round stones and thrown over to enlighten our army, we know not how correctly, as to where they were and what they were doing. It was even said occasionally that Wellington was absent from the army; so little information transpired from him, to remind others of his presence.

Again, we often hear of his dinner parties to general officers, at which, after two glasses of wine, he would retire to the recesses of his tent, and be forthwith buried in ink and paper, to be seen no more; but on one occasion, just as the party were

separating and discussing the comfort of the various quarters where they were to spend the night, he reappeared, and ordered them with the utmost simplicity to get on their horses, for active measures would commence at eleven o'clock. At the period also which we are now considering, viz. just after the fall of Almeida, our historian makes the following comment with regard to the works of Torres Vedras:—

‘ Indeed, so circumspectly had those works been carried on, that only vague rumours of their existence reached the bulk of the English army; and many British officers imagined that the campaign was only to cloak the general’s intention of embarking when he reached Lisbon. In England the Opposition asserted that he would do so: the Portuguese dreaded it; the French army universally believed it; and the British ministers seem to have entertained the same opinion; for at this time an officer of engineers arrived at Lisbon, whose instructions, received personally from Lord Liverpool, were unknown to Lord Wellington, and commenced thus,—“*As it is probable that the army will embark in September.*”’—Vol. iii. pp. 310, 311.

It was natural that the opening thus given to the French to enter Portugal should excite the wonder and elicit the remonstrance of the local powers, who imagined that the defence of their country was Wellington’s primary and immediate object. It was politely intimated that a most unforeseen accident must have prevented the efficient succour of Almeida, a misfortune which would doubtless be remedied by subsequent energies. In answer to this he wrote to M. Forjas in a strain which, with the greatest courtesy, and the fullest acknowledgment of his grief, yet is most illustrative both of his art in diplomacy and his resolute determination of purpose. We cannot but think that the complete document will be interesting to our readers:—

‘Gouvea, September 6, 1810.

‘MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,—I have received your letter of the 1st of this month, informing me that you had placed before the government of this kingdom my despatch of the 27th of August, announcing the melancholy and unexpected news of the loss of Almeida, and that the government had learned with sorrow that an accident unforeseen had prevented my moving to succour the place, hoping, at the same time, that the depression of the people, caused by such an event, will soon vanish, by the quick and great successes which they expect with certainty from the efforts of the army. I have already made known to the government of the kingdom that the fall of Almeida was unexpected by me, and that I deplored its loss and that of my hopes, considering it likely to depress and afflict the people of this kingdom. It was by no means my intention, however, in that letter, to state whether it had or had not been my intention to have succoured the place, and I now request the permission of the government of the kingdom to say that, much as I wish to remove the impression which this misfortune has justly made on the public, I do not propose to alter the system and plan of operations which have been determined, after the most serious deliberation, as best adequate to further the general cause of the allies, and, consequently, Portugal. I request the government to believe that I am not insensible to the value of their confidence as well as that of the public; as, also, that I am highly interested in removing the anxiety

of the public upon the late misfortune; but I should forget my duty to my sovereign, to the Prince Regent, and to the cause in general, if I should permit public clamour or panic to induce me to change, in the smallest degree, the system and plan of operations which I have adopted, after mature consideration, and which daily experience shows to be the only one likely to produce a good end. (Signed) WELLINGTON.'

—Vol. iii. pp. 588, 589.

In a despatch on the very next day we find the preparatory measures for a retreat most authoritatively ordered, and the Portuguese had for a time to be satisfied with no other activity but that required of themselves in the destruction of their own country. Great was the difficulty in obtaining even a partial obedience to such orders, and he had to tell them that 'their miserable intrigues must cease or he would advise his own government to withdraw the British army.'

Though never flinching from his first design, it was yet part of Wellington's character, always to be prepared to alter his immediate operations in such a measure as the imperfect obedience of his allies rendered necessary. In the present instance it was his design to retreat into Torres Vedras, leaving a desolated country for the invaders, who could not long retain their position without the means of support. In spite, however, of all his injunctions, he still found that the country was able to support an invading army, and that consequently the following alternatives alone remained.

'Lord Wellington could but choose, then, between stopping the invaders on the Mondego, or wasting the country by force as he retreated. But what an act the last! His hopes depended upon the degree of moral strength he was enabled to call forth, and he would have had to retire with a mixed force before a powerful army and an eminent commander, his rear-guard engaged, and his advance driving miserable multitudes before it to the capital, where nothing was prepared to save them from famine, but where the violent and powerful faction in the regency was ready to misrepresent every proceeding, and inflame the people's minds; and this, when the court of Rio Janeiro was discontented, and the English ministers, as I shall have occasion to show, panic stricken by the desponding letters of some general officers about the commander-in-chief! It was evidently necessary to fight, although Massena had above sixty thousand veterans, and Lord Wellington could only bring about fifty thousand men into line, more than half of which were untried soldiers.'—Vol. iii. pp. 321, 322.

Resistance being now decided on, he selected his position with such judgment and tact, and disposed his forces to such admirable advantage, as to show most clearly that, if he thought proper, he was not afraid to face the enemy. Having explored the Caramula range of mountains, north of the Mondego river, he took his stand on the ridges of Busaco, and exhibited such a formidable position, that the only fear seemed to be lest Massena should decline to assail it, and pass by another way. In answer to such apprehension, Wellington replied, with the triumph of

successful genius, 'But if he does, I shall beat him.' He knew full well that the French Marshal, flushed with apparent success, would be too glad of a battle, and he calculated on that avidity in the choice of a position, which, under common circumstances, would be so uninviting to an assailant force.

Marshal Ney, with a magic glance at the heights, saw through Wellington's position, and detected its only weak point, which was the want of reserve forces, incident on the abrupt nature of the ground, especially when occupied in haste, and with but little previous survey. He was eager for an immediate attack, but delay ensuing, from the scattered state of the French army, and the distance of their generals from each other, the opportunity was lost, though Massena would not decline the subsequent attempt. We cannot describe the battle of Busaco further than to mention the astounding impetuosity of the French soldiers in scaling the heights, with cannon and musketry assailing them from every point. The strength of the ground, however, was too great, and they were finally repulsed; but the armies parted with their mutual respect much increased. It was now seen by both, that they had to struggle against those who had genius to command, and valour to fight, such as were not often combined. But amid the din of the battle of Busaco, we read the following calm and touching interlude:—

'Meanwhile an affecting incident, contrasting strongly with the savage character of the preceding events, added to the interest of the day. A poor orphan Portuguese girl, about seventeen years of age, and very handsome, was seen coming down the mountain and driving an ass, loaded with all her property, through the midst of the French army. She had abandoned her dwelling in obedience to the proclamation, and now passed over the field of battle with a childish simplicity, totally unconscious of her perilous situation; and scarcely understanding which were the hostile and which the friendly troops, for no man on either side was so brutal as to molest her.'—Vol. iii. p. 334.

All the apparent advantage, however, of this victory was a short delay, during which the inhabitants might be preparing for the enemy's approach. The French army, taking another passage, were drawing nearer and nearer. A little skirmishing at Coimbra was now all that delayed their progress; for the allied army, preceded by a grievous train of the inhabitants, only at the last moment aroused to the dire necessity of flight, was now approaching the fortified lines:—

'Mothers, with children of all ages; the sick, the old, the bedridden, and even lunatics, went or were carried forth; the most part, with little hope and less help, to journey for days in company with contending armies. Fortunately for this unhappy multitude, the weather was fine, and the roads firm, or the greater number must have perished in the most deplorable manner. And, notwithstanding all this misery, the object was not gained: the people fled, but the provisions were left, and the mills were but partially and imperfectly ruined.'—Vol. iii. pp. 336, 337.

Another scene of a similar kind is thus described:—

‘ This scrambling affair obliged the light division to march hastily through the city, to gain the defiles of Condeixa, which commence at the end of the bridge; and all the inhabitants who had not before quitted the place, rushed out, each with what could be caught up in the hand, and driving before them a number of animals loaded with sick people or children. At the entrance to the bridge, the press was so great that the troops halted for a few moments, just under the prison; the jailor had fled with the keys, the prisoners, crowding to the windows, were endeavouring to tear down the bars with their hands, and even with their teeth, and bellowing in the most frantic manner, while the bitter lamentations of the multitude increased, and the pistol-shots of the cavalry, engaged at the ford below, were distinctly heard.’—Vol. iii. pp. 337, 338.

Wellington and the whole allied army, once within the lines of Torres Vedras, present a picture of successful strategy that it would be hard to equal. There was a sublime craftiness in his position, which can hardly be thought of with gravity. There is a perfection and neatness about the whole affair, which, like many other images of truth and reality, can best be brought home to our imaginations by a certain mixture of the humorous. We can almost fancy to ourselves the revered Duke’s aquiline face and clear but subtle eye, looking over the fortifications of Torres Vedras with a dignified complacency and a calm conviction of success, which, as it is suggestive of the caricaturist’s pencil, was also the greatest conceivable moral triumph over the outwitted Ney and Massena. Driving, as they thought, the English ‘leopards’ into the sea, with the immediate prospect of making Lisbon the terrible scene of pillage by a French army, they suddenly, without knowing of the existence of them five days before, came to impregnable lines of defence, fully garrisoned and provided with artillery. They fumed up and down the impenetrable walls, but found no access, and then were chilled to the heart by the reflection that, as the country was like a huge desert, they must soon be overpowered by that terrible enemy, famine, before which no courage, or no ferocity is of any avail. An ignominious retreat would therefore follow.

But if thus we may view the actual triumph enjoyed by Wellington at that moment, we must not imagine that it was felt by all his allies, or understood by his countrymen at home. Far from this, his unpopularity seems now to have reached its crisis, while the actual difficulties of his position left him no time to dwell even on his past success. He had arrived at a most critical point of his great game; and to fail now—for plenty of causes, that might end in his failure, were at hand—would be indeed a fall. He had to feed his army, and also the whole multitude who were now enclosed within the lines, comprehending, we must remember, the inhabitants of a vast district

over which he had passed, and also the city of Lisbon. Every country was ransacked for corn at any price; all vessels entering the port were pressed into the service; and all the bullion and jewels that could be obtained were kept on board the English men-of-war, both for their safe custody, and that they might be used as required. The usual impediments beset him here also.

‘All these measures were vehemently opposed by the Patriarch and his faction; and that nothing might be wanting to show how entirely the fate of the Peninsula depended, in that hour, upon Lord Wellington’s firmness, the fears of the British cabinet, which had been increasing as the crisis approached, were now plainly disclosed. During the retreat from the north, affairs seemed so gloomy to the eyes of some officers of rank, that their correspondence bore evidence of their feelings; and the letters of General Spencer and General Charles Stewart appeared so desponding to Lord Liverpool, that he transmitted them to Lord Wellington, and, by earnestly demanding an opinion upon their contents, showed how deeply they had disturbed his own mind.

‘Thus beset on every side, the English general rose like a giant. Without noticing either the arguments or the forebodings in these letters, he took a calm historical review of the grounds upon which he had undertaken the defence of Portugal, and which he had before pointed out to the minister he was addressing; then showing that, up to that period, his views had been in every instance borne out by the results, he demonstrated that it was reasonable to confide in his judgment of what was to come. Having thus vindicated his own prudence and foresight by irresistible facts, he proceeded to trace the probable course of future events, entered largely into both his own and the enemy’s designs, and with such a judgment and sagacity that the subsequent course of the war never belied his anticipations. This remarkable letter exists, and, were all other records of Lord Wellington’s genius to be lost, it would alone suffice to vindicate his great reputation to posterity.’—Vol. iii. pp. 365, 366.

It is needless that we should enter further upon the subject of all the difficulties that still surrounded Lord Wellington; but an expression is recorded of him which is both illustrative of the steady and comprehensive view which he took of the whole war, as though he were playing a game of chess, on each move of which, in its critical parts, the whole depended; and also of the unceasing patience with which all the circumstances of his own plans were constantly watched, in order to ascertain the punctuality with which his directions had been followed. In some parts of the country, enough food had been left, contrary to his urgent commands, to give serious cause of alarm lest, after all, the French army might subsist until an overwhelming force should arrive from Spain to their aid. ‘It is heart-breaking,’ was his bitter reflection, ‘to contemplate the chance of failure from such obstinacy and folly.’

Some of the shorter histories of the Duke of Wellington which have been compiled for casual readers, such as that published in the *Times*, make far too brief an affair of Massena’s

stay before the lines of Torres Vedras. He is stated, indeed, with truth to have remained actually in front of them only a month; but the retreat which took place then was by no means final. Wellington cautiously pursued him, and sent expeditions up the Tagus to harass him in his march: but it was soon discovered that he had only fallen back, and that with perfect order, on the town of Santarem, which was little more than a day's march in the rear, and commanded all the approaches, together with the river Tagus. This place he fortified with the utmost care, and adhered to his position with a tenacity that betokened a desperate enemy. The allied armies entered the lines on the 8th of October, and Massena did not commence his retreat from Santarem till the 8th of March, 1811. Five months, therefore, of the winter season passed over these two armies, each struggling, amid dreadful privations and hardships, for the longest powers of endurance. Wellington calculated the balance of advantages for and against risking a battle; but the complete annihilation of all his hopes which must have followed any defeat, determined him on preserving his defensive position within the lines. Meanwhile, Marshal Soult was preparing to help Massena from the south of Spain, and Wellington was not left without serious apprehensions lest the French army should be recruited with so great an additional force, and so ample a store of provisions, as to enable them to carry the day. In November, the head of the ninth corps actually reached Ciudad Rodrigo, bringing a large convoy of provisions collected in Castile; but Wellington, by sending expeditions up the river, succeeded in cutting off any extended communication between Massena and his allies.

For a complete understanding of the relations that existed between these two armies during the winter, we must refer the reader to the complicated state of the war in Spain during the same period. It is enough for our present object to state, at once, the conclusion of that part of the war which was concerned with the lines of Torres Vedras. Wellington, having waited for relief from England till patience was well-nigh exhausted, at length received an addition to his force, on the 2d of March. Procrastination at starting, and the loss thereby of favourable winds, had retarded for so long a time the arrival which had been most anxiously expected. Once come, however, Wellington had an advantage over Massena, who had not yet been reinforced by Soult. The French army was now worn out by sickness and scarcity of food. Massena was obstinate: nothing but dire necessity would compel him to retreat; nor did he give way till no more food was left than would maintain his army during a forced march into Spain. At last this necessity arrived, and

the retreat commenced, at a time when ten days longer would have brought Soult and provisions to his help. How acute must have been his mortification, to have lost his year's campaign, his previous successes, his own reputation, and well-nigh his army, by these few days! He had chased the English from Spain into a few rocks that overlooked the Atlantic, and now, after straining every nerve, was obliged to arrive at the humiliating conclusion, that one small step further into the wide ocean itself, was beyond his power to compel.

The game was now played; Wellington issued at length from behind his retreat and commenced the pursuit. He was cautious at first and looked well around him, like some animal which has been driven to earth, and which after a time creeps out and silently pauses at the mouth of its retreat, to be sure that the pursuers have gone. He then set forth in steady order of march. Nor was every precaution unnecessary. Massena exhibited wonderful power, even in this retreat, of preserving his army in a condition ever ready for action, himself being also ready to profit by the slightest weakness of his opponent.

The march of the English disclosed some of the horrible calamities which had been endured in the desolated country, so long the scene of war.

'A large house, situated in an obscure part of the mountains, was discovered, filled with starving persons. Above thirty women and children had sunk, and sitting by the bodies, were fifteen or sixteen survivors, of whom one only was a man, but all so enfeebled as to be unable to eat the little food we had to offer them. The youngest had fallen first; all the children were dead; none were emaciated in the bodies, but the muscles of the face were invariably drawn transversely, giving the appearance of laughing, and presenting the most ghastly sight imaginable. The man seemed most eager for life; the women appeared patient and resigned, and even in this distress, had arranged the bodies of those who first died, with decency and care.'—Vol. iii. p. 457.

Nor were such horrors the result only of stationary warfare, in a district unable to provide food. The following passage gives us a terrible insight into the retreat which followed.

'I pass over the destruction of Redinha, Condeixa, Miranda de Corvo, and many villages on the route; the burning of those towns covered the retrograde movements of the army, and something must be attributed to the disorder which usually attends a forced retreat: but the town of Leiria, and the convent of Alcobaça, were given to the flames by express orders from the French head-quarters; and, although the laws of war, rigorously interpreted, authorize such examples when the inhabitants take arms, it can only be justly done for the purpose of overawing the people, and not from a spirit of vengeance when abandoning the country. But every horror that could make war hideous attended this dreadful march! Distress, conflagrations, death in all modes! from wounds, from fatigue, from water, from the flames, from starvation! On every side unlimited violence, unlimited vengeance! I myself saw a peasant hounding on his dog, to

devour the dead and dying; and the spirit of cruelty once unchained smote even the brute creation. On the 15th, the French general, to diminish the encumbrances of his march, ordered a number of beasts of burthen to be destroyed; the inhuman fellow charged with the execution hamstrung five hundred asses and left them to starve, and thus they were found by the British army on that day. The mute but deep expression of pain and grief visible in these poor creatures' looks wonderfully roused the fury of the soldiers; and so little weight has reason with the multitude, when opposed by a momentary sensation, that no quarter would have been given to any prisoner at that moment. Excess of feeling would have led to direct cruelty. This shows how dangerous it is in war to listen to the passions at all, since the most praiseworthy could be thus perverted by an accidental combination of circumstances.'—Vol. iii. pp. 471, 472.

After a brilliant passage of arms, the final one on Portuguese ground, at Sabugal, which Wellington stated was 'one of the most glorious actions that British troops were ever engaged in,' Massena crossed the frontier on the 5th of April. He had entered Portugal with sixty-five thousand men; his reinforcements, while at Santarem, were about ten thousand, and now he repassed the frontiers with forty-five thousand, having lost from one cause or other about thirty thousand. Now was the completion of Wellington's triumph, when he 'stood victorious on the confines of Portugal; having executed what to others appeared incredibly rash and vain to attempt.' Once in motion after this, he never had to retrace his ground, but went through a path of victory, till he reached Paris itself.

Thus ended that manifestation of subtle craft, of untiring vigilance, and patient moral endurance, for which we cited the retreat to Torres Vedras, as peculiarly characteristic of the Duke of Wellington. We do not mean that his genius for war was in any sense confined to this mode of operation, but it is full of interest to watch, not only the brilliant engagements and larger battles in which a man like Wellington was engaged, but also the protracted exercise of many intellectual and moral qualities, during a long campaign, that was specially the creation of his own brain, and that consequently brought out all his instinctive powers with a peculiar strength.

For impetuous dash in the larger battles of the war, Wellington needs no advocate to assert his power. Salamanca and Vittoria testify to his brilliancy at a crisis, as the retreat to Torres Vedras will prove that his faculties were great, not only when stimulated by the clash of arms, but when left singularly without any help, except the inward secret power of a large mind and an indomitable *will*.

In thus contrasting the different qualities of a general that render him fit to conduct a furious charge on the one hand, and to encounter all the moral difficulties of a lengthened campaign on the other, it is curious to read the opinion of a

Frenchman as to which kind of warfare was most congenial to Wellington's disposition. We have referred to Lamartine's 'Wellington and Waterloo,' and been somewhat amused at the picture there drawn of the general whose course we have been following through a critical period of his great war. It is amazing how ignorant and ill-informed even an intelligent Frenchman may be, as to the nature of English politics in general, and our war with themselves in particular.

'He was, in fact, a warrior altogether modern, from character, from principle, and from the voluptuous habits contracted in India, and in Spain. Like Frederick II. or Turenne, he did not tighten and restrict before the hour of action the discipline and spirit of his companions in arms. He allowed his generals, his young officers, and his soldiers to enjoy the pleasures, the amusements, and the voluptuousness which he permitted to himself. Stringent only as to punctuality and bravery in action, he allowed the rigours of his camp to relax, both before and after, without fear of his troops becoming effeminate. He was of opinion that the soldier, bound to expose his life at every hazard, might forestal death, which was always at hand, by enjoying, when the hour was his own, those fleeting pleasures of the heart or the senses snatched from the fatigues and dangers of the camp. The rigid English reproached him with allowing the morals of his young staff-officers to be corrupted by too much indulgence, and with treating men as the Hindoos treat elephants, which they intoxicate to make them more warlike.'—*Lamartine*, pp. 26, 27.

Again, the following description of a portion of the battle of Waterloo is strongly at variance with all our notions of Wellington.

'Wellington, who was on horseback in the midst of his staff, under a lofty tree, an object which was frequently struck by the French round shot, saw the disaster which had befallen the artillery in the hollow. He galloped towards two of his regiments of dragoons, drawn up on the edge of the slope. He ordered the curb-chains to be taken off the bridles, that the horses having the greater impetus uncontrolled by their riders might crush the French cavalry down the slope under their irresistible weight and impulse; a desperate manœuvre, worthy of the Numidians against the Romans, and which the height and impetuosity of the English horses rendered still more desperate. He then caused brandy to be distributed to the dragoons to intoxicate the men with liquid fire, whilst the sound of the clarion should intoxicate the horses; and launched them himself at full speed down the declivity of Mont-Saint-Jean.'—*Ibid.* p. 62.

It is also stated that, 'having mounted his eighth horse, he 'charged, sword in hand, like a simple soldier, in the midst of 'his gallant troops.' From these we would gather that Wellington was a reckless, dissipated, wild, though brave and impetuous soldier. However untrue this is, there may yet be sufficient truth in it to exculpate that cautious and deeply studious character we have been tracing, from any imputation of being deficient of power in the wildest scenes of battle and in the terrors of the field.

We have thought it a natural part of this subject, in our handling of it, to look at a few sermons that have been preached either directly on the character of the Duke of Wellington, or on his death and public funeral. On the whole, we have been disappointed, as, with few exceptions, there is little in them which called for a more extended circulation than the memory of their hearers might afford them.

The Rev. W. B. Mackenzie, Incumbent of St. James's, Holloway, took very early advantage of the Duke's death to make some general remarks from the pulpit on *glory* with its dangers, &c. to the human heart, which he illustrated with a great variety of scripture characters very little to the purpose. We cannot, indeed, imagine why Mr. Seeley was called in to imprint these remarks for the public at large.

The Rev. Richard Reade has published one under the title of 'The Conqueror's Rest.' He compared the Duke to so many scripture characters, as Abner, Joshua, one or all of the Judges, that the simplicity of any one such analogy is destroyed, while the only distinct idea communicated in the sermon is the somewhat bare statement that the subject of it 'died on Tuesday, the 14th of September, at about three o'clock in the afternoon.'

Another sermon, by the Rev. Henry Sullivan, M.A., in consequence of its sonorous but inappropriate title, 'A great man fallen,' and by diligent advertising, has reached a second edition. It contains some just remarks on fixed principles of action, but dwells with somewhat of exaggeration on the Duke's example in going to St. James's Chapel once a week; as if the main idea of his character could be twisted into a saintlike love of the Church ritual. Rather than thus forcing attention from the real great qualities of such a man, by making him a model in affairs which, except as illustrative of his general high principle and sound common sense, were not prominent in his character, his education, or his habits, we prefer the judicious remark of the *Times* newspaper, that his religious views were marked by 'a total absence of cant.'

On this subject, however, we quote the following sensible remarks from Mr. Marriott's sermon, which go at once to the real point of his character:—

'Though in his latter days especially he showed a marked attention to many of the outward duties of religion, and though, from his known sincerity of character, we cannot well suppose that observance to have been other than the real expression of his inward thoughts, yet he is known to us not as a saint, but as a great man of the world. And I think it is more profitable to use his example in this respect, than to speculate upon the probability of his having repented as a Christian ought of this or that fault, a question which we might after all solve otherwise than it will be solved by the Judge of quick and dead. And even the reflections we might

indulge on the vanity of earthly greatness, the shortness of the longest life, and the strange blank that comes over our mortal existence when it draws to a close, are less likely to have a permanent effect on our character, than a wise and clear observation of the points of strength by which one of the greatest of men prevailed over every adversary.

'Our calling in this world, whether it be sacred or worldly, is a great part of our duty. Whatsoever our hand findeth to do, we do well to do it with our might, and diligence in business is one way of serving the Lord. In this sense, at least, we have an example almost unequalled in him whose mortal remains must now shortly be committed to the grave. Never was there a man who showed a more remarkable determination to do *well* whatever he did. Never was there a man who served his king and his country with more disinterested zeal, sacrificing what seemed to be opportunities of distinguishing himself, or of gaining promotion, or of appropriating to himself credit that he really deserved, sooner than allow the very slightest hindrance to the public service. It was a maxim of his life that private interest was to give way to duty and to the public good, and, richly as he was rewarded by a country able and desirous to reward unequalled services, he never grasped at rewards. He gave himself, in dutiful faith, to his country, and his country honours him the more because he preferred duty to honours, and strove rather to be faithful and useful to her, than to be thought so by men.'—*Marriott's Sermon*, pp. 5, 6.

Mr. Sewell, in his sermon called 'The Servant of Christ,' derives an eloquent lesson from the self-devotion of the Duke in the cause of his country and his sovereign, and applies this to the spiritual obedience of a Christian. The result of this is an excellent sermon, but the instructive part so far prevails over any descriptive notices of the great subject, on which the admonitions are founded, that we miss the leading idea of personal interest, which should mark a funeral oration. We regret this the more from the appropriateness and elegance of the few touches which there are of this kind, such as the following:—

'He of whom we are thinking, even in the last infirmities of age, would have quitted his comforts and his glories, and gone forth to have sunk exhausted upon the sands of India, if his Sovereign had given the word. And shall we do less for Christ?'—*Sewell's Sermon*, p. 8.

Towards the conclusion he thus alludes with great force of contrast to various associations and ideas connected with his memory:—

'And so it was with him whom we have lost. When the mightiest of the land trembled to provoke his rebuke, and almost to approach his presence, he was found with little children. He nursed them, played with them, sat by their sick-bed and told them stories of his battles, fondled them, kept for them his little store of childish memorials, delighted to be present in their school, and to stand by and gaze on their amusements; and the eye which at the call of duty could face unmoved and stern the horrors of the battle-field, and the launching of thousands to destruction at the bidding of his word, would melt and soften into tears at witnessing the joyousness of children.

'He is gone; and we are preparing to lay him in the grave by the hands as it were of this whole empire, in the midst of the mournings of Europe.

‘And the world, as it gazes upon that funeral pomp, will think of fame, and victory, and glory; of the liberties of Europe, of vengeance upon tyrants, and of the salvation of this great empire. And those of deeper thoughts will look beneath these vanities of earth, and dwell with reverence and affection on the glorious features of that character, the true object of our gratitude and homage. But our eyes must look still deeper; the eyes of those who would judge as God will judge, and who tremble at the horrible mockery of heaping honour upon the ashes of the dead, while the spirit all trembling and condemned may be cowering at the judgment-seat of Heaven. And therefore I have offered these suggestions. It is something in these solemn moments to recal those many acts, by which he exhibited, in relation to God, the same spirit of obedience and duty so striking in his relation to his Sovereign,—in public prayer, in daily study of the Scriptures, in recognition of the authority of God’s ministers, in submission, whether in the doctrine, or discipline, or order of the Church, (I am alluding to facts not yet generally known,) to whatever was commanded, whatever was law.’—*Ibid.* pp. 19—21.

As a funeral oration, we admire Professor Blunt’s sermon, preached before the University of Cambridge on the Sunday after the funeral. He enters boldly, yet modestly, on his task, keeping clear of that preamble of generalities which so often is nothing but the mark of a confused mind. A simplicity and earnestness of purpose rules throughout. Speaking critically, we can fancy in the style of it, that the writer had not sufficient time to acquire full confidence in himself; he seems to restrain himself from going as deep into the investigation of character as would have been appropriate to the hearing of his audience. He is occasionally content with dwelling too exclusively on such ordinary features of an upright character as the Duke manifested on the surface of his actions, and thus far he hardly deduces the full intellectual idea from those profounder talents which were the origin of his fame. It is, however, more pleasing that a funeral oration should allude to the plain facts, which were the tokens of greatness, and to the moral and virtuous qualities of its subject, rather than be an abstruse ethical discourse on mere intellectual powers. Professor Blunt, nevertheless, shows a very high appreciation of the Duke’s greatest qualities, and this he expresses in most eloquent words:—

‘We owe it to the discipline established amongst the troops by his dominant mind that they could live at ease in the field, where freebooters would have starved; that confidence was felt in their humanity, their honour, and, above all, their habitual obedience to law; and that accordingly the peasants feared not to bring provisions freely into the camp; and districts, apparently without a resource, yielded up hidden treasures for their use in ample profusion. No traces of their march were left behind in villages reduced to ashes, in churches desecrated and defiled, and in pleasant lands turned into a desolate wilderness through wanton outrage. By the time the troops engaged in the war of the Peninsula had reached the Pyrenees, corporal punishment, as their great leader tells us, had

almost entirely ceased; in spite of there materials of which, as I have said, they were so largely made up. What a triumph of moral over brute strength was here!—*Blunt's Sermon*, p. 11.

The following passage, again, is specially appropriate to the part of his life we have been illustrating in these pages:—

* Turn to his Despatches, and there observe the extraordinary *self-control* they exhibit; the tranquillity with which their great author bears affront and disparagement, trusting to time to vindicate his acts and confound his critics. And well has it done its office already; and records there are of speeches and manifestos of those days, still existing, which their authors would doubtless now be but too glad to blot out of remembrance. What if his ablest schemes are thwarted by unworthy contests at home and scanty supplies; not a touch of mortification discovers itself, not a trace of wounded vanity is betrayed. What if wily officials, having ends of their own to serve, plot against him in Portugal; what if jealous and impotent generals refuse to co-operate with him cordially in Spain; what if no adequate exertions can be wrung from the authorities in either country to furnish him with the munitions of war—their care being rather to hang upon *his* resources, than minister to him of their own;—still he never allows himself to lose heart, but makes the best of the means at his command; applies what corrections he can to the evils before him; and goes on his way, if not rejoicing, yet not cast down.—*Ibid.* pp. 18, 19.

One more extract from this honest, high-minded, ingenuous sermon.

'Time fails me, or I would gladly speak of the spirit with which he stood by his friends when in trouble, and the protection he threw over them when popular rancour would hunt them down—of the allowance he was ever disposed to make for human infirmity, where infirmity was all that could be imputed; and the reluctance which he felt to put any man needlessly to shame. Above all, I would speak of his *loyalty* to the throne, which seemed to animate him like a passion; to give vigour to all his acts, great or small, which had a reference to it; and to breathe in his most familiar forms of speech. It was the Queen's government, the Queen's army, the Queen's ministers. And, indeed, it is not easy to imagine a relationship more affecting than that which evidently subsisted between a youthful Monarch, of the feebler sex, and this heroic old man, whose sword to the last "would have leaped from its scabbard to avenge even a look that should threaten her with insult." Certainly the age of chivalry was not gone so long as he was amongst us; and what traces of it have still survived these utilitarian times, are mainly, perhaps, to be ascribed to him. May they not perish in his dust!—*Ibid.* pp. 21, 22.

We have received seventeen or eighteen other funeral sermons. The *vates sacri*, in this case, will probably perish before the Agamemnon whom they celebrate. We cannot select any with incontestable titles to immortality. Of those which have reached us, Dr. Croly's is the most ambitious: and one, under a title which is not its chief recommendation, 'The Battle-axe of God,' by Mr. Miller, of Bognor, is among the most eloquent.

From these sermons *on* the Duke of Wellington, we beg to remind our readers of a most useful sermon *by* him, upon a subject in which we take peculiar interest. He was a strong

advocate for chairs or open seats in churches, and with that shrewdness of common sense which marked all his opinions, and all his information, he perceived even on this subject the exact residence of those unfortunate prejudices which retain the pew system. He attributed the evil not to the aristocracy or to the poor, but the middle classes. This view is stated to have been expressed in a letter to a clergyman who asked for his assistance, which was given on condition that open seats were to be the system of the church. May this cause then have the weight of that sound common sense, which is universally attributed to the opinions of the Duke of Wellington, on whatever subject he thought it worth while to express himself. We wish the letter were printed, or that the Duke's remarks were given in some authentic form, with the name of the hearer or correspondent to attest them.

From a career of more than fourscore years, it is but a few months that we have been reviewing; and in the tributes of praise to his memory, it is but one particular demonstration that we have noticed. But it is a result attaching to a great character, that we may learn the whole by a proper study of a part.

- ART. II.—1. *A Form of Family Prayer, with Special Offices for the Seasons.* (With a Preface signed 'NELSON.') London: Masters. 1852.
2. *Bishop Andrewes' Devotions.*
3. *Lessons for the Days of the Week.* London: Masters.
4. *Devotions in the antient way of Offices, for every Day in the Week, &c.* By GEORGE HICKES, D.D. 1717.
5. *Prayers for a Christian Household.* By Rev. T. BOWDLER. London: Pickering. 1848.
6. *Family Offices.* By W. PERCEVAL WARD, M.A. London: Masters. 1848.
7. *Daily Office for the Use of Families.* London: J. H. Parker. 1851.
8. *Holiness in the Priest's Household, &c. &c.* (By late Rev. R. A. SUCKLING.) London: Masters. 1852.
9. *Family Devotions for a Fortnight; adapted from Andrewes, Ken, &c.* London: Masters. 1850.
10. *A Broad-sheet of Family Prayers for the Labouring Classes.* Chichester: Mason. 1853.

THE subject of this article is one upon which we should enter with the utmost diffidence and misgiving, were it our purpose to attempt to lay down any very full or precise rules, or to endeavour to satisfy all classes of minds with respect to it. Our aim is far simpler; and it may conduce to clearness if we state it at the outset. It is, then, to inquire whether there be not some definite *ἔργον*, some work or function proper to itself, to be discharged by what is variously called 'Family,' 'Household,' or 'Domestic' 'Worship,' 'Service,' or 'Prayer;' and how far we may, out of that distinctive idea, approximate to some general canons or principles in the matter.

We believe that the absence of such distinctive idea is the principal source of the unsatisfactoriness which belongs, by pretty general consent, to household offices, after what pattern soever conceived. Of course there *must* be unsatisfactoriness, so long as this is the case; and that of the most fundamental kind. When a machinery is devised and set going with only a dim general idea of doing good, it would be a wonder indeed if it performed to our satisfaction, or if it did *not* trench upon other and better and more accredited ways of doing the same work. There is no test or standard whereby to measure our satisfaction or dissatisfaction with such a piece of machinery; and the apparent well-working of it may be only comparative after all; it may still be that we had better have left the matter alone. Now this is just the case of household services. A general idea that

we ought to be religious, and that we ought to meet together for religious purposes, is the basis of the practice now pretty generally prevailing among us, where religion is thought of at all. We ought, it is felt, to acknowledge God, as a household; and accordingly some form of family worship is devised or adopted. And at first sight all seems plain sailing. But it cannot be long before the question forces itself upon us,—What place is this ordinance, if so we may call it, to take in our estimation, and in the spiritual system under which our souls are living? Some place it must have; what is it? To those, indeed, who live at random in spiritual things, and ‘get good,’ as the phrase is, whenever and wherever they can, this question will not appear worth the answering. But we are supposing the case of churchmen, who may be imagined, as churchmen, to have realized to themselves that many things which are absolutely and in themselves good, are not therefore relatively such; and that, given the postulate that we are churchmen, acknowledging to some kind of rules in spiritual things, it is a question worth asking—What is the effect of such and such an ordinance, superadded to those which the Church provides, or which the personal needs of the soul suggest? Are we sure we can so superadd it, as not to injure those acknowledged departments of spiritual things? as not to act on the one hand in the conventicle spirit which sets aside the Church, nor on the other to abate in ourselves or others the sense of single personal responsibility before God? And we know that, in point of fact, the household rite is in many quarters avowedly substituted for that which the Church prescribes. We shall not stop to prove that this, at any rate, cannot be right. Whatever household service is, church service it is not, nor has any claim to be used as a substitute for it.

But an attempt has been made, to which Dr. Hook’s name gave considerable currency some years since, to adapt the church services to household purposes, by the simple process of paring them down to the requirements, in point of length, of the household. But this, too, is surely most unsatisfactory. It proceeds upon total ignorance, or disregard, of the structure of our Daily Office as a whole. It pays a very ill-conceived, however well-meant, homage to the Church; snatching a few of her tools at random to build up some sort of spiritual edifice or other,—what, it appears not. All that it can claim to do, is to imitate, in a mechanical sort of way, the gestures of our spiritual Mother. Surely a distinct service, having some aim of its own, and not feebly aping hers, were more desirable; more really dutiful, though with less appearance of it. But more than this may justly be said of this plan; it is not a poor imitation, merely, of the Church services, but an unfilial mutilation of *them*. Moreover, it cedes the whole position of churchmanship,

as far as regards the Daily Office. It systematically abandons, on behalf of all the members of a whole household, all allegiance to the Church's earnest desire for her children, that they should hold communion with her, and with her Divine Head, through her proper forms and symbols. It *says*.—what no other household service, whatever it may intend, does say,—‘We of this household give up the Church service, in its totality, as impracticable or undesirable.’ In a priest's house especially, an humiliating confession is hereby made, that his clerical vow is not kept. But the particular point of our complaint just now is that, after all, nothing definite in the way of a result is obtained. After thus imitating, or mutilating, and in reality obstructing the Church's proper action, what have you gained? You have not performed any such act of communion with the Church as is involved in the use of the entire office; for a mere cento from it cannot claim to be any true representation of its spirit: and yet you have added nothing to her spiritual work, dealt with no department of the soul's needs which is less cared for in her services; for you have but taken her words out of her mouth. We cannot, then, bestow any commendation on this expedient, nor do otherwise than heartily wish that it might be given up, wherever it has been adopted. Let those who, happily, have enough of a dutiful spirit towards the Church to desire her offices, and yet have not the opportunity of attending them in public, use them entire, and as a distinct thing from household worship. If (which we are unwilling to suppose) they are not prepared for the effort and sacrifice of time which this would involve, then we would earnestly counsel their ceasing, at any rate, to apply a mutilation of the Church's service to a purpose which it was never intended to answer. Far better, in our humble judgment, let the Church work out her own high aims in her own ‘more excellent way,’ and themselves adopt a humbler and less pretentious, but more appropriate line of service.

To what quarter they are to look for forms for this purpose, we acknowledge to be a difficulty. Yet thus much we will say for the forms which have prevailed among us from Archbishop Cranmer to Archbishop Sumner, and from Becon to Bean and Blomfield, that, with all their defects, of which we shall say somewhat presently, they have yet got hold of a true notion, however ill carried out—viz. that household prayers should have a character of their own, distinguishing them from the Church's prayers. The misfortune is, that they are not merely thus distinguished from hers in character, for this none will deny, but also divergent and diverse from them in temper and tone, in the type after which they are cast, and also, too frequently, in doctrine. Prolix and Presbyterian in outward garb, rejecting all those gentle devices which the Church makes

use of to catch and occupy the wandering thought;—the alternation of responses, the recurrence of amens, the joint occupation of psalms, the warmth of hymns, the posture varying with the matter, be it of praise or penitence, of profession or confession,—rejecting all these, the sleepy stream of service, if service it can be called, rambles on, without order or notice, from topic to topic: and being besides regardless alike of days and doctrines, it tends to induce, we fear with too fatal effect, a most Lethean six days' oblivion of the Church's temper and ways, not to say of her existence. And with all this there is a want of purpose in the whole; 'the more part know not wherefore they are come together.' The more earnest parts of these prayers, it must often strike observant persons, are such as would better befit private devotion; and we have our suspicions that 'family prayer' not unfrequently serves as a substitute for this, and as a pretext for neglecting it.

Others, again, justly conceiving that the traditions of our own branch of the Western Church have in many things been unduly disregarded, have adapted parts of the Hour Services to household worship: thus making it supplemental to the public daily offices of the Church. This plan, or suggestion, is deserving of respectful consideration. But plausible and pleasing as is the idea, at first sight, of the household's supplying, as well as it can, such gaps as we may conceive the Church to have left in the perfect round of praise, yet it must be borne in mind that the real question is not so much what a household or a household service may be set doing, as what it has a capacity and a commission to do. And this scheme has, it must be confessed, more the appearance of having invented a *quoi-à-faire* for the household, than of having found out what its real business is. No one will pretend that this is a *satisfactory* mode of enlarging the Church's ritual scheme: it is confessedly but a make-shift for that purpose at the best. Were it not better, then, to await an authoritative reorganization, if such be needed, of this department of the Church's ritual function? We hope to show, too, as we proceed, that even on mediæval and traditionary principles, it is more reasonable to look to another quarter than the ancient public Hour Services for the supply of the need now under our consideration.

We thankfully acknowledge, however, that manuals for household use have lately appeared, which are free from most of the positive objections which lie against such forms as we have as yet noticed. In these there is no want of carefulness to adopt church-like ways; there is variety of contents; use of responsive forms, and of change of posture; well ordered provision for the various departments of worship; some regard to the more prominent differences of days; and the like: while at the same

time the Church's province of public ritual is left untouched. Of this kind, are Mr. Bowdler's 'Prayers for a Christian's Household,' and Mr. Perceval Ward's 'Family Offices.' The following remarks of Mr. Bowdler's are worthy of attention:—

'It seems desirable that family worship should not interfere with the daily service of the Church, or be regarded as a substitute for it, or be a repetition of the same, where any of the members of a household have the privilege of public worship. And where such opportunity is not offered, and the head of a family desires to supply the want by the use of these, they had better, perhaps, be used entire; as may be done at any time out of the book of Common Prayer. . . .

'It is the privilege of our Church, together with her sister churches in Scotland and America, to have retained that reverence for ancient forms and usages which has secured to it the possession of all that is essential in its constitution, and been a safeguard against invasion and corruption, both in doctrine and in the offices of prayer and praise in the congregation. In everything we are taught to look upwards, and to seek the truth at the fountain head and in the streams which flowed immediately from it. From the earliest Liturgies our own forms of worship are derived; those parts being omitted which are manifestly interpolated by later hands, or which a watchful caution fears to adopt, lest some error which has grown up in later days be engrafted upon them.

'In one instance, the compilers of our Liturgy have written above a prayer the name of the holy Father to whom it is ascribed, "The prayer of S. Chrysostom." The same might have been done in many instances. Here then we have a rule and pattern to be followed in preparing any forms of prayer; namely, that the several parts be taken from Scripture and from the ancient Liturgies. This will be a pledge for truth of doctrine, and purity in doctrine, and it will prescribe congregational services, in which each member may take a part, in preference to one long prayer delivered by an individual, and assented to rather than joined in by the rest. The frequent use of versicles, responses, and interlocutory petitions, is one feature in the ancient forms which fits them for domestic use; and to this may be added, as characteristic of the piety of the early age, large and copious intercession, thanksgiving, and praise, and continual ascribing of glory to God at the close of each prayer, which has occasioned a remark, that the more concise conclusion which is usual with us has arisen from the older form being cut short by copyists, and left to be concluded in the usual manner.'—*Pref.* pp. vii—x.

All that seems needed of improvement upon these manuals, in order to make them as satisfactory as any self-chosen forms can ever be, is, first, a more defined conception of the purpose to be answered towards the household by the use of joint worship,—a conception tending, of course, to give a certain shaping to the offices; and, secondly, a tolerably well-founded sense of some degree of commission from the Church to discharge that function. For want of these an uneasy apprehension must arise from time to time, as to the expediency or the drift of what we are doing, even with the best forms. In proportion as such offices are full and Church-like in conception, we seem to crave some authorization for them; at least, as to the practice in general, if not as to the form itself. However carefully we may have forbore to

arrogate to the household rite any of the high functions of the Church's public service, we cannot but fear, sometimes, lest we should be pre-occupying and over-laying, by unauthorized methods of supply, those spiritual energies which ought to be spent rather on what the Church has provided as their proper object.

So that it comes to this after all, that household service has the appearance, even when best performed, of having no province of things of its own to attend to—the secret, we doubt not, of the lack of point and heart which is almost universally felt to belong to it: while it is, as a consequence, more or less in danger of trenching on what certainly is not its own province. Hence the temptation, (no very unnatural one on this view of the case,) to be content to do without it. Could we, however, satisfy ourselves that there is any distinct work which the Church has tacitly or explicitly assigned to this ordinance, which it is capable of discharging, and which is not done in its fulness in any other way, then we shall be furnished with a sufficient reason, at any rate, for retaining the practice; and it can hardly be but we shall gather from the same quarter valuable hints, if no more, as to the manner of going about it. We do not say that the whole difficulty will be removed. So long as the *forms* of service and worship are of our own choosing, we confess to serious doubts whether it is possible for any private person altogether to satisfy himself by the choice he makes of a service for his own household. The only thorough remedy and solution for the difficulty would be a provision by the Church as such for this purpose. Such a provision would of course require all the wisdom and discretion she could summon to her aid, in order to adjust it to the rest of her system, and to her children's other needs; but we may not doubt that such gifts would be hers for the purpose. And to the individual the rule would be a boon, thankfully accepted, and acted on without misgiving.

There are those, however, who are disposed to question altogether the real existence, in the eye of the Church, of any such thing as household worship. They deem it a mere device of these latter times, to supply the desuetude or paucity of the Church's public services. In their view, therefore, it would be a mistake for the Church to give substance to this shadow by any provision or legislation about it. In this view we cannot acquiesce. The allegation, however, lies at the root of the whole matter; ἀρχὴ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ὅτι, as Aristotle says. If the thing we are speaking of exists but on sufferance, and vanishes before the retrenching hand of sound Church revival, there is an end of the matter: it is to no purpose to be seeking for a sound theory of that which is in itself a viewless *nil*. We will address ourselves, therefore, in the first instance, to this point, and endeavour to

show that the constitution of the Church, rightly apprehended, does not so ignore, as is alleged, the idea of household service; that, on the contrary, the instinctive impression under which inquiry is so universally made after satisfactory forms for the performance of it, has a foundation and a countenance in the mind of the Church herself. Our investigation of this point will at the same time best educe an answer to the inquiry we set out with, as to the special functions allotted to household worship.

We conceive, then, that there is a strong presumption, derivable from the apostolical Scriptures, for the existence of such a practice in the apostolical times; that an indication of its prevalence, as an habitual thing, in the first ages of the Church, may be traced in early ecclesiastical writings; and that an implicit recognition of it lies deeply imbedded in the ancient and unchanged system of our own branch of the Western Church.

Paradoxical as the assertion may seem, the very faintness with which, comparatively speaking, the outlines of this ordinance are traced upon the Church's system, is the highest testimony to the indefeasible propriety, and even necessity of it. We may apply here what was said by the ancient lawgiver, when asked why he had not provided a law against parricide—viz. that he had not dreamt of the possibility of such an outrage upon nature. In like manner, there is nothing unreasonable in assigning as a reason for the slight and incidental kind of proof which can be adduced on the subject before us, that the matter was taken for granted, and so had little occasion to be legislated upon, or even spoken about. It is a parallel case to that of infant baptism, or the observance of the first day of the week. The truth is, that the household is in its own proper nature, and much more as renewed by grace, a sacred thing. The lares and penates of pagan, and the teraphim of patriarchal times, shadowed forth a great truth; viz., that the household, as such, has a sanctification peculiar to it, an aspect Godward and heavenward, of its own. What could it else, considering the purely divine origination of it? The household is no casual thing, no merely incidental association of persons. It is the divinely-ordained instrument for the nurture, as well as the continuance, under holy sanctions, of the human race; the nurture, not merely of those newly added to the race, though of these chiefly, but also of others. 'He setteth the solitary in families,' whose ordinance marriage is. 'Did he not make [of twain] one? And wherefore one? That he might seek a godly seed.' (Ps. lxxviii. 6, Mal. ii. 15.) The marriage bond, having regard, primarily, to the bringing up of children 'in the fear and nurture of the Lord;' yet also, and in no mean degree, to the mutual society, help, and comfort, and so to the Christian converse of those who have

this work committed to them, gathers about it, by something like a natural necessity, the more casual companionship and service of others besides. To those two primary relations, the parental and conjugal, is thus added a third, for which we seem to lack a name,—the Latins called it the *herile* relation,—that of master and servant; and thus is completed the idea of the household. Into the household are thus gathered in type,—and surely in a wonderful and admirable manner,—all the relations that can possibly subsist between the members of the human race. The equal relation of the married to each other is the most perfect type of all friendship and mutual dependence;—the unequal (the parental and filial), of all God-ordained government;—the casual (that of master and servant), of all factitious associations, as between employer and employed, master and scholar, *patronus* and client. Somewhat to the same effect is Olshausen's observation on Eph. v. :—‘ This treatise on marriage is the leading passage on this important institution, which includes in equal measure the elements of church and state.’ When to this we add the extraordinary honour which has been put upon ‘ the household,’ by its having been consecrated, both as a whole and in all its parts, to express the relations between God and regenerate man,—our estimate of the mysterious dignity attaching to it, and of its consequent fitness for the discharge of a religious function, must surely rise to the highest pitch. ‘ Now, therefore, ye are no more strangers and pilgrims, but . . . of the household of God.’ (Comp. Heb. iii. 3.) ‘ Being made free from sin, and become servants to God.’ ‘ Now, therefore, thou art no more servant, but a son.’ ‘ Christ did love His Spouse, the Church.’ Accordingly, when S. Paul would at once exhaust, in type at least, the possible relations of men, and also recognise them as ennobled by being taken up into Christ, he names no other than those of husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants. (Eph. v. 22, 25; vi. 1, 4, and 5, 9.) Either member of each *συνζυγία*, or pair, has its duty assigned to it, and a consecrated ground alleged for it. ‘ Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands, as unto the Lord: for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church.’ ‘ Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church.’ ‘ Children, obey your parents in the Lord:’ ‘ Fathers, bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.’ ‘ Servants, be obedient to your masters, as unto Christ,—as the servants of Christ:’ ‘ Masters, do the same things unto them, knowing that your Master also is in heaven.’

That S. Paul, in these passages is not selecting human relations at random, but had an eye to the Christian household, as *summing up* all relations within itself, is the more probable from

the systematic character of this Epistle, and from the perfectly harmonious arrangement, according to this view, of its imagery. In chap. ii., as quoted just now, the church is set forth as God's household: in chaps. iii.—v. the personal duties common to all are unfolded; and in v. 22—vi., those which are proper to the several component relations.

Nor is this by any means an isolated occasion, on which S. Paul is accidentally led to view the body of the faithful as resolving itself, so to speak, into its primary household groups. The view is habitual to him. His converts, alike in Rome or Corinth as in Ephesus, are present to his eye not less as households than as individuals. The household has in his thoughts a unity, a sort of personality and separate consciousness, a capability of spiritual advance or retardation: it is a thing which to a certain extent 'moveth altogether, if it move at all.' As households, and by households, the faithful are commended, blessed, saluted. 'Ye know the house of Stephanas, that they have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints:' 'The Lord have mercy on the house of Onesiphorus:' 'Salute them which are of Aristobulus' household.' Nay,—which is more especially to our present purpose,—households are dignified with the style of 'churches;' thus we have salutations to and from 'the church which is in the house' of Priscilla and Aquila; and the so-called Epistle to Philemon is in reality an Epistle to the 'church which was in Philemon's house' (ver. 2). That this means the household circle of the persons spoken of, with any such occasional additions as the fame and eloquence of an Aquila, or the piety and hospitality of a Philemon, might draw within its sphere,—not the regular Christian congregation of the place, customarily assembling at the houses of such persons,—is admitted even by Neander (Hist. i. 396), and also appears clearly from hence, that the Epistles to Rome and Corinth expressly distinguish this *μικρεκκλησία* from the community as a whole; while the Epistle to Philemon's household-church was accompanied by one to the entire church of Colossæ, where he lived. And it tends further to stamp the domestic character of the 'church in the house,' that in both cases a husband and wife are mentioned as the head of the little community, viz. Aquila and Priscilla; Philemon, and (as is generally believed) his wife, Apphia. And this was but the natural result of another interesting circumstance bearing upon our subject, which is, that converts, to some extent, seem to have come in by families. The first-fruits of Europe to Christ were the *households* of Lydia and the jailer of Philippi; of Achaia, the household of Stephanas; all these were baptized, in households, by S. Paul himself. (Acts xvi.; 1 Cor. i. 16.)

Now all this is precisely what might *à priori* have been

expected on a due consideration of what 'the rock' was whence the Church was 'hewn;' that it was developed, namely, by an easy transition, out of the existing Jewish state of things. We are apt to distinguish, and truly in some respects, between the Patriarchal dispensation and the Mosaic. Yet the Mosaic institution itself was, in its whole existence and polity, intensely patriarchal, or, which is the same thing, domestic. 'Abraham their father, and Sarah that bare them,' were to be repeated ten thousand times over in the heads of families of Israel. Nor only so, but recognition of the household and its elements, the most impressive and solemn that can be conceived, enters largely into the awfully-sanctioned Decalogue itself. It might have been looked for, perhaps, that with the institution of a new polity and priesthood at the Exodus, would come new injunctions expressly providing for due honour and observance being paid to those institutions by the people. But on the contrary, the allusions in the Ten Commandments are to household relations throughout. The classification of the people of God is not into priest and people, ruler and subject, great and small; the command runs, 'Thou and thy son and thy daughter, thy manservant and thy maidservant;' 'Honour thy father and thy mother;' 'thy neighbour's house, thy neighbour's wife;'—the self-same elements, making up the self-same unit, which S. Paul, 1500 years later, considers as the primary ones of the whole Christian body. It may be added, that the tenth commandment, which otherwise seems all but superfluous, the particulars of it being virtually contained in the seventh and eighth, seems best accounted for by considering it as a special expression of the Divine care for the honour and integrity of the household as a whole. It was not enough to forbid the acts by which 'the holy bounds of property' and of marriage are invaded; the household condition and circumstances of each man were, it is implied, a matter of such especial Divine ordering, that the very wish to have them otherwise than as ordained was such a separate offence against the Divine will as to be worthy of a separate prohibition. Thus were all the great duties of the human condition, under the Mosaic institution, left, by the express provision of Almighty God himself, in the keeping of the household, and the whole fenced around by a special *ἐπεκος* of protection. There was to be the nursery and seed-plot of all dutiful relations to God or man, to ruler or priest. It is in perfect accordance with this that the religious instruction of the successive generations of Israel is committed, in the first instance, by express command, to the fathers of families (Deut. vi. 20; xi. 19); though it seems probable that the youths were afterwards sent to the priests, Levites, and sons of the prophets, for fuller teaching. There was no change in this respect, since

the days when Abraham was commended, as one who 'would command his children and his household after him, that they might keep the way of the Lord.' A simple creed and a single command had been given to Abraham, 'I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect.' A scarcely less simple creed,—enlarged, indeed, by but a single article,—was given now; 'I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt:' while the commandment was greatly expanded and reduced to detail. But creed and commandments alike were placed still, to the extent which we have mentioned, in the ark, as it were, of the household; and very interesting indications are to be found in other Mosaic laws, and in the subsequent history, of the household, as such, having an important religious part assigned to it; of its head being a sort of priest to it, and even (according to a probable view of a curious passage in Scripture,) of its having had, from very early times, a customary ritual of some solemnity. Thus all the great festivals were, by especial direction, to be attended by the people in households. 'Thither' (to the tabernacle or temple) 'shall ye bring your burnt-offerings, and there shall ye eat before the Lord your God, and rejoice . . . ye and your households.' (Deut. xii.) Thus, too, even the solemn Passover itself was, in an especial degree, as to the main rites and actions of it, a household matter. The congregation were 'to take to them every man a lamb, a lamb for a house;' only, in case the household was very small, they might add other persons to it. By the master of the house, (so the Talmud with probability represents,) the lamb was slain before the altar; the blood being perhaps,—though even this is uncertain,—sprinkled by the priests upon the altar-foot. All the rest of the ceremony, so pregnant with the most sacred mysteries, was performed by the master; such as the 'showing forth' or recounting of God's mercies, the solemn blessing, and as it were offering, of the lamb, the bread and wine. On these actions, of course, it was that our Lord's awful 'taking,' 'blessing,' and 'breaking' of the elements, and the presenting and giving of Himself, first to God the Father as a Sacrifice, and then to the disciples as a Feast, were founded. The forms of blessing used at the Passover have been preserved by the Talmudists; correctly, as it should seem, since the words of our Lord at and about the institution of the Eucharist, seem based upon them. Thus, at the first cup, the master said, 'Blessed be Thou, O God, for this good day and holy convocation, Who hast sanctified Israel and the times;'—and again, at the washing of the hands, 'Who hast sanctified us with Thy commandments;' 'Who hast sanctified us and commanded us concerning the eating of unleavened bread;' and, at the eating of the flesh of the peace-offerings, 'Who hast sanctified us by Thy command, concerning the eating of the flesh;'

and, lastly, 'Who hast sanctified us concerning the eating of the Passover.' Compare with this the words of our Lord after He had presented both Himself to the Father, and His Apostolic Church as sanctified in Him, and had given Himself to them as the true Passover, the true bread and wine, and peace-offering; 'Sanctify them through thy truth . . . (comp. ver. 6, 'They have kept thy word') . . . For their sakes do I sanctify myself, that they also may be sanctified through thy truth.'

So important and quasi-sacerdotal were the actions performed by the heads of families at the Passover. And it is worth remarking, how wonderful a provision was herein made for the easy and natural passing of the shadow into the substance, as far as regards the ministering and celebrating persons under the new dispensation. The first Christian Priests (*πρεσβύτεροι*) were, as the name implies, chosen for their age, or rather for their union in their persons of age and authority: is it not infinitely probable that, as a general rule, these were the heads of families, the veritable 'Elders' of the house of Israel according to the flesh? ¹ And if so, how admirable the training for the celebration of the true Eucharist, which their position, as masters of families, and celebrants as such of the typical Eucharist, the Passover, had given them. Our Lord himself, indeed, performed His great Priestly Action, of giving himself for the life of the world, in the guise of a Jewish householder, the Apostles taking the place of members of the household; thus fulfilling, with exquisite fidelity, various parabolic representations he had given of the kingdom of heaven; besides incidental expressions, such as, "If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household." It is needless to remark what dignity is hence reflected back upon the Jewish household relations.

The view to which we just now adverted, that the Christian presbyters, in Apostolic times, were, as a general rule, taken from among the heads of families, receives considerable confirmation

¹ This view, that the Apostolic clergy were not first made 'Elders' by being ordained to a spiritual charge, but were such already, and preferred for the priesthood partly on that account, will explain an apparent incongruity in the 1st Epistle to Timothy. The priesthood, as such, having been dealt with in chap. iii, it is somewhat unexpected to find in so regularly constructed an Epistle (v. Fell's preface) fresh instructions about 'elders' in chap. v, if 'elders' and 'overseers,' are perfectly convertible terms. But let 'elders' be here applied in general to all bearing household rule, only specially (v. 17) to such of them as had spiritual charge likewise, and all is harmonious. Chap v. is then what its position in the Epistle (compare the order in Ephesians) leads us to expect, viz. a code of instructions to the body of the faithful, under their several characters of senior and junior members of households, male or female. Thus ver. 17, otherwise puzzling, is perfectly intelligible, 'Let the elders that rule (their own households, *προεστῶτες*, as in iii. 5.) well, be accounted worthy of double honour; especially they (the ordained ones) who labour in the word and doctrine.'

from the uniform tenor of S. Paul's instructions to Timothy (1 Tim. iii.) and Titus (chap. i.), as to the choice of ἐπίσκοποι or priests. For it is there assumed that the presbyter will in general have wife and children, and be a householder. These passages have, of course, been much appealed to in the discussions between rival communions, as to the marriage of the clergy. That marriage was not a disqualification for the priesthood in Apostolic days, they certainly prove. But do they also prove,—as it has been contended, not without some show of reason, that they do,—a deliberate preference, not to say stipulation and requirement, by S. Paul, that the clergy should be married men? If the view we speak of is correct, that the antecedents (to use a modern phrase) of the Jewish householder were such as to furnish a singularly apposite training for the functions of Christian priesthood, and especially for the highest of them all, then S. Paul's words rather describe a fact, than express a judgment. There were reasons then existing, for choosing married men and householders for the priesthood. A domestic priesthood, of a very solemn kind in one particular, and intensified as to its ordinary action by the distance of most families from the centre of national worship, invested the householder of the Mosaic type. These reasons, then, were to a great extent peculiar to the period of transition from Judaism to Christianity. Never again would the householder, as such, be divinely commissioned and instructed to enact in his own person such a high, typical, and priest-like part, as that which the Passover assigned to him. Whatever other reasons might continue in force for preferring a married clergy, this one would soon pass away. There would still be the experience in ruling which a household gives; but against this, at least for particular posts and departments of ministerial duty, might fairly be set the advantage of being 'without carefulness.' And such, we may conceive, would have been S. Paul's judgment on this question, considered as a question for the Church of all ages. It is remarkable, however, that the Greek Church, with characteristic tenacity of Apostolic ways, has stereotyped, for the mass of her clergy, the state of things, howsoever it arose, to which S. Paul's words refer. The clergy, as a general rule, *must be householders*—must be married men—before ordination. This is the undeviating rule for parish priests—doubtless on the grounds touched upon by S. Paul, of the connexion between the ordering of a household, and of the Church. In short, we may reckon the Orientals among those who construe S. Paul's words as a rule, only that they restrict that rule, as the Apostle seems to suggest, to such as have parochial cure. They have sometimes even gone so far as to ordain that a priest who had lost

his wife could no longer continue in the charge of a parish. This prohibition was in force in the province of Moscow, from about 1467 to 1667.¹ But this by the way. We may fairly take the oriental practice as a confirmation of our view, that of householders, in Apostolic times, Christian priests were for the most part made; and for this a very chief reason may well have been, the paschal functions which devolved upon the former. It is moreover a curious fact,² and much to our present purposes, that in the Greek Church domestic oratories are allowed, *but only during the life of the owner of the house*, on whose death all their furniture belongs to the parish Church. Here is at once a recognition, probably traditional, of household service, and a strong indication either of a quasi-priesthood attaching to the master, or of an abuse respecting 'widows' houses' to be noticed presently; perhaps of both.

But in other more ordinary and daily recurring respects, too, the Jewish householder was a priest over his own household. David, returning from the bringing up of the ark from the house of Obed-Edom to his own city, and rich with fulness of blessing invoked by his burnt-offerings and peace-offerings on that occasion, returns 'to bless his household.' Boaz, no priest, but a householder of the tribe of Judah, takes into his mouth the solemn words of sacerdotal benediction which the Christian ritual afterwards adopted from the Jewish, 'The Lord be with you:' and the reapers take up their reverent response, as those who owned in their master one who had a 'commandment to bless,' and were used to take their part in household ceremonial, 'The Lord bless thee.' But there is one passage of early Israelitish story, in which, as we have said, something like a household ritual, established and recognised, or, however, not disallowed, may be discerned; at least, according to a plausible view of it which has been propounded. For the correctness of that view we do not vouch; but as the treatise in which it was put forth is little known, and contains much learned and ingenious matter in proof of its point, we cannot forbear giving some account of a speculation so germane, if correct, to our present subject. The Rev. W. Coleridge, then, Vicar of Ottery St. Mary in the middle of the last century, an ancestor of the present well-known family, published a small volume of *Dissertations on Judges*, xvii. xviii., in proof that *proseuchæ* or oratories for a species of household worship existed, and were allowed, as early as the times of the earlier Judges. The strange and (viewing it according to the common acceptation) unpleas-

¹ Neale, *Introd. to Hist. of Eastern Church*, p. 1188.

² *Ibid.* p. 1187, on the authority of the Rev. R. Blackmore.

ing, though characteristic and picturesque story of Micah and his 'house of gods,' which has caused his name to pass into a proverb with that of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wears according to this theory an innocent and even commendable aspect. The quasi-altar, (rendered 'graven image' in our version,) the images or teraphim, the ephod for the officiating person, and other things bearing a resemblance to the tabernacle equipments, were no invention of Micah's, but the customary furniture of the household oratory, and, however liable to abuse, were designed merely as an acknowledgment that all worship centered in the tabernacle where the realities were to be found. Micah at first appointed one of his sons (ver. 5), to officiate in this domestic sanctuary, but was afterwards glad to obtain the services of a Levite. Now oratories of this kind, and equipped in this way, are described by Philo as existing in Egypt at the Christian era. Mr. Coleridge's view then is, that worship of this domestic kind was practised during the whole period intervening between these two epochs: that to these oratories allusion is made in the Psalms, 'Thus have they burnt up all the houses of God in the land,'—where Hengstenberg in vain endeavours to restrict the allusion to the one temple or tabernacle. Thus far Mr. Coleridge. And it is certainly to be allowed, that Micah seems to have been unconscious of any peculiarity in having this oratory with its furniture: his words, 'Now know I that the Lord will do me good, seeing that I have a Levite to my priest,' are to all appearance those of one who 'feared God and honoured the priest.' The LXX., further, distinctly countenances the more favourable view of Micah's proceedings. Instead of, 'the man Micah had a house of gods,' it reads, 'Now Micah's house was a house of God.' That it was not altogether unusual to have regular arrangements for some kind of household ritual appears perhaps from chap. xviii. ver. 19. 'Is it better for thee to be a priest unto the house of one man, than,' &c. And the testimony from Philo is singularly to the purpose, because it seems to show that the use of such mere memorials as Micah's teraphim, &c. were not held to be unlawful even after the captivity, and therefore were *not* unlawful; for it is universally agreed that the Jews during that period continued free from all taint of idolatry. It is remarkable too, and is not easily explained on any other hypothesis than that of the legality of Micah's worship, that the prophet Hosea (iii. 4.) denounces it as a woe and a misfortune against Israel, that they 'should abide many days without an image' (the word we have just rendered quasi-altar), 'and without an ephod, and without teraphim:' the very articles of Micah's sacred furniture. However, let all this go for what it is worth:

we are content to take our stand upon the general fact of a quasi-priesthood having been borne by Jewish heads of families.

That this state of things continued unimpaired down to our Lord's time, one or two proofs or indications may be alleged. Thus, the custom of the master's invoking a blessing before and after meals is testified to by the Talmudists, and fully confirmed by the practice of our Lord and of S. Paul (Acts xxvii.). The words used, according to them, were, 'Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the King of the world, who hast brought forth this food and drink from the earth, (or the vine).' The existence of household worship of a more general and prolonged kind may be indicated by the woe against the Pharisees, 'who devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers.' For the most natural interpretation of these words is, that Pharisees, having a repute for sanctity, got themselves admitted to conduct the household worship of widows, on the plea of the natural head of the household having been removed by death; and obtaining entrance on this pretext, lived at the expense of the widows. An instance of this sort of adoption, by a widow, two or three centuries later, of a person making claims to great spirituality, and of his conducting some sort of service in the household accordingly, will be given presently; and a law of the Greek Church, which we have already quoted, seems to be levelled at this particular abuse. The common interpretation of the passage in S. Matthew, viz. that the Pharisees refused to hear the widows' complaints, on pretence of devotional engagements, surely gives no adequate account of the strong expression, 'who devour widows' houses.' But the most satisfactory proof that, in the current conception of the Jews of that day, some kind of priesthood, and, therefore, some kind of ritual duties appertained to the household, is to be found in the circumstance, that S. Paul, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, appeals to this as an admitted fact, and makes it the basis, by way of analogy and parallel, of the Priesthood which he claims for our Lord. 'Christ glorified not Himself to be made an High Priest, but He that said unto Him, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.' What pertinency could this quotation have had, unless it was a commonly admitted axiom with those to whom S. Paul wrote, that sonship, with primogeniture, of itself conferred a title to priesthood of some kind? Such a son, (as being the prospective head of the household,) *was* in prospect its priest, if we admit the supposition we speak of, but not otherwise. And that S. Paul means this seems certain, because he had already applied to Christ the title of 'a Son over his own house,' and that too immediately after he had first announced His priesthood. 'Wherefore, con-

'sider the . . . High Priest of our profession, . . . faithful . . . as 'a son over his own house.' And elsewhere, in the course of the same Epistle, he again and again places Christ's Sonship in most significant connexion with his Priesthood; not so much His eternal Sonship as God, as the Sonship which was confirmed to Him, together with all power in heaven and earth, in respect of His manhood. It is again and again clearly conveyed, that the fact of His standing, even as man, in a pre-eminent relation of Sonship to God, was the very basis of His Priesthood towards mankind; that but for this,—but for His being thus the Head Member, the veritable Eldest Brother, of the human family,—He had lacked those qualities and that position, which both fitted Him to be, and in some sort constituted Him as a matter of course, their Priest. That 'He that sanctified and they that 'were to be sanctified' should be 'all of one' kin, was a necessity to which He graciously submitted; 'it behoved Him to be 'made like unto His brethren, that He might be a merciful and 'faithful High Priest.' It was a rule admitting of no exception, that a 'high priest should be taken from among men.' (v. 1.) And by preparations applied to the human nature of such persons must they be consecrated for their office (compare the application of blood to the various parts of the body, in order to consecrate Aaron and his sons, Numb. viii. 24). Christ, accordingly, 'in the days of His flesh, though He were a Son,' a true human Son of God, 'yet learned obedience by suffering;' and being thus 'made perfect,' (τελειωθεῖς, consecrated,) 'was called of God an High Priest.' (Heb. v. 7—10.) 'The law maketh' ordinary 'men high priests, but the word of the oath maketh the Son,' the perfect and representative member of the race, 'who is consecrated' (or perfected,—made victorious over all infirmity in the course of his consecratory sufferings,) 'for evermore.' It is surely most curiously illustrative of all this, to place by the side of it what is said of Micah, Judg. xvii. 5. 'And the man 'Micah had a house of God (so the LXX.), and *consecrated one* 'of his sons, and he became his priest;' and again, 'And the young 'man was unto him *as one of his sons*; and Micah *consecrated* the 'Levite, and the young man became *his priest*.' It was perhaps usual among the Jews, or not very unusual, to invest the eldest son, on arriving at his majority, with the headship of the family in religious matters.

We have seen, then, what was the aspect which the 'household' wore under the older dispensation. How far Christianity would innovate upon, or modify the position which it thus enjoyed, could not *à priori* have been predicated. Conceivably, it might have done away, to any extent, with the 'household' view of things; and to a certain extent it did so. As it

obliterated altogether the lines of *national* demarcation in religious matters, making men in this respect one *πατριὰ*, so did it divest the great rites and high solemnities of the New Covenant of that domestic character which was, as we have seen, of the very essence of the Passover; and which belonged, more or less, to all the great Mosaic festivals. The quasi-priesthood, appertaining to the householder, in respect of the Paschal solemnities, was lifted into a higher sphere; the more awful functions of veritable celebration of the accomplished mysteries could be entrusted to nothing short of apostolically ordained and empowered persons. The power to bless, to the high purposes of Christian cleansing and growth in grace, was also fenced in more jealously than ever, within a holier *ἔρκος* than that of the household. And, conceivably, we repeat, this process might have been carried out to the uttermost; it might have been intended that the household idea, the religious responsibility and importance of the household, should vanish altogether. As to whether it was so or not, the appeal must be made to fact,—to the fact of apostolic instructions and mode of dealing with the Christian body. And we have seen that there was not, under the Christian, as there had not been under the Mosaic either, a breaking up and fusing of the household condition and relations under the general notion of Christianity. On the contrary, the *religiousness* of household relations is as clearly declared in the fifth chapter to the Ephesians as in the twentieth chapter of Exodus. The interests committed to the keeping of the household are to the full as important in the one case as in the other. The only difference is that the solemnity of the relations is enhanced, by its being strongly insisted on that each one—the parental,—the conjugal,—the herile,—is lifted out of the sphere of nature into that of grace, has become the vessel of a Christian mystery, and is to be carried out henceforth, in each case, ‘unto the Lord.’ The same kind of duties, only with new sanctions, appear to fall to the household, as of old. Whatever the Church’s completed economy may do for men, one thing it does not: it changes not, for the generality, the field and sphere of their moral and religious formation. The household is still, as of old, the nursery and the gymnasium of the humanities, the charities, and the loyalties of our nature. It is something to have realized this: to have got a clear and settled apprehension, that the household *οἰκονομία* has, by virtue of unrepealed Divine law, interests entrusted to it, and a charge imposed upon it.

Thus far then of household religion, as distinguished from household religious ordinances; of a reverend and quasi-sacred character, belonging to the family: the existence of anything like

a ritual for it being a further point, as yet unproved and untouched. For we do not profess to have established by what we have hitherto adduced from the New Testament, more than this, that, in the mind of S. Paul and of the Holy dictating Spirit, a high degree of ethical and spiritual importance attached to the household as such, and to its several relations. Thus much, however, even what we have already alleged does seem fairly to prove. It also generates further a most reasonable presumption, to say the least, that this sacred character would have as its expression and remembrancer, as the means of cherishing and maintaining it, and as the bond of the entire little polity, some kind of devotional practice or other. That such actually was the case has yet to be shown.

There is, indeed, some difficulty in conceiving how the careful religious nurture and the high christian temper implied in what S. Paul says *to* the household and *about* it, could well be maintained without some special intercommunion in sacred things between its several members. In particular, considering its wholeness in the Apostolic view,—its capacity, as a whole, of spiritual growth and decay,—of being as a whole blest or unblest, acceptable to God or unacceptable,—we seem to crave, for the satisfaction of our conceptions about it, some ways of gathering up its spiritual aspects into religious action, and presenting them before God; some shrine of its own (how humble soever, however duly mindful of and subordinated to the Church's own proper ritual) for presenting before God those—

‘Records sweet of duties done,
Of pardon'd foes, and cherish'd grace,’

which are the staple of the Christian household life; some lesser oratory than the Church's all-containing precincts, where we may ‘confess our faults one to another, and pray one for another that we may be healed;’ we, who by law mysterious and Divine are linked together into a little image of the true ‘household of God,’ and of ‘the city that is at unity within itself.’ If it be admitted that the household, as such, ought to be some way presented to God, then, although the acceptable presentation must ultimately be at the Church's own altar, yet the gathering together of that which is to be offered must surely take place within its own precincts. Men do not go to church in households—certainly, we may say, in Apostolic times they did not; however some may have taken their stand in the present day on the desirableness of such a practice, as the last bulwark of a certain objectionable system of Church arrangement and monopoly. Either, then, the household must be consecrated and dedicated for offering at home, or else, fit offering

though it be, this miniature ark of Christian sanctities must remain unoffered. A necessity, in a word, arises for something of household ritual, as the correlative of S. Paul's high and ennobling language concerning the household. Especial need, too, for such ritual must there have been in days of persecution and proscription of open and public worship; and such, to a great extent at least, must have been the apostolic and post-apostolic times. In such times the Christian life must have been blank indeed, if it was forbidden any interior and domestic form of devotional exercise. The touching suggestion of the poet must have been peculiarly in place then :—

‘Seest thou how, tearful and alone,
And drooping like a wounded dove,
The Cross in sight, but Jesus gone,
The widow'd Church is fain to rove?
Who is at hand that loves the Lord?
Make haste, and *take her home, and bring*
Thine household choir, in true accord
Their soothing hymns for her to sing.
Soft on her fluttering heart shall breathe
The fragrance of that genial isle;
There she may weave her funeral wreath,
And to her own sad music smile.’

Christian Year, SS. Simon and Jude.

Nevertheless, all this may, we frankly admit, conceivably have been otherwise, for aught that we have hitherto alleged of apostolic sanction for actual household ritual. It may have been the case that no other media were provided for the accomplishment of the high ends we have indicated, than the great public acts, common to all, of Christian worship and fellowship. And it is further to be not admitted merely, but strenuously maintained, that those acts, the Holy Eucharist especially, were the highest and completest media of all union and presentation,—that in them all lower ones, supposing any such, culminated and were perfected. Yet let us not be too much in haste to conclude that nothing of a more distinct kind can be alleged from Scripture for the existence of household ritual in apostolic days.

Let it first be observed that we are already in an advantageous position for appropriating and allocating such faint or incidental hints on our subject as the Apostolical Scriptures supply. Intimations too slight in themselves to prove anything, acquire great augmentative force, now that we have ascertained the existence, in primitive times, of a framework of things into which they fit, as it were, and in which they take their places harmoniously.

Now it is not, we conceive, to be denied or dissembled, that there are passages in the Apostolical Epistles which cannot, without some violence, be accounted for on a ritual theory of such unyielding rigidity as would exclude all other than strictly Church and ritual worship from the contemplation of the sacred writers, and from the practical system of their time.

Doubtless it has been too much the fashion, until lately, to run into the opposite extreme, of seeing no allusions whatever in these writings to Church ritual, not even in such passages as 1 Tim. ii. 1, ('I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings,' &c.), though everything conspires to fix upon that place, at least, a purely Eucharistic intention: as *e. g.* its being addressed to a Christian bishop, evidently as his 'Rubric' for arranging and conducting the high service of the Church of God (compare chap. iii. 15); its position in the forefront of this great inspired Pastoral Missive, 'I exhort therefore, *first of all*, that supplications,' &c.; the high ritual expressions *ποιεῖσθαι εὐχαριστίας*, by no means commonly used, the former of them, at any rate, of ordinary prayer, but suggestive to the Christian ear of no less than the Christian 'Offering'; and the full, careful, and *orderly* enumeration (remarked on by S. Chrysostom) of the great features which meet us in ancient Apostolic Liturgies. Other passages there are, less markedly, perhaps, but with sufficient certainty, referring to the Church's public ritual. It may suffice to mention Eph. v. 18—21. 'Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Spirit; speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord; giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God.' That the subject of allusion here is the Eucharist is most probable, from these considerations: from the parallel mention, in the certainly eucharistic passage, 1 Cor. xi. 17, of drunkenness and excess as an abuse standing in fearful connexion in that day with the partaking of the spiritual meat and drink of the Eucharist ('Be not drunk with wine, but be filled with the Spirit'—'one is hungry and another is drunken; . . . this is not to eat the Lord's supper'); by the close resemblance between 1 Tim. ii. 1, just quoted, and the 'offering eucharist, or eucharistic prayer, for all men' (as the words here should be rendered); by the special mention of the *εὐχαριστία* being offered to God the Father: 'a feature,' as Mr. Keble has remarked,¹ 'of the more solemn part of all

¹ Sermon on Eucharistic Offices, p. 257;—a storehouse of information on the subject.
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ancient Liturgies,' and duly preserved in our own. To which may be added, that the otherwise abruptly introduced exhortation at the close, as to subordination, seems best interpreted of each taking his due part, whether as clerical or lay, in the eucharistic service; an instruction which S. Clement has expanded (ad Cor. i. 38) into an entire body of directions as to each observing his due place and functions at celebration. It is needless to multiply passages to the same effect. (See, however, 2 Cor. i. 11; Col. iii. 16; Phil. iv. 6.) Suffice it to say, that on careful and critical examination, as we could prove at large were this the occasion for doing so, ritual allusion to the Church's Services as then performed is found not merely occurring here and there, *but pervading large tracts of the Apostolic writings*, giving form and shaping, and supplying phraseology and figure, to the inspired thought, (of which Rom. xii. 1—xv. 16 is one signal instance, and Eph. v. 18—33, already quoted in part, another,) and that it is capable of all but demonstration, that the Apostles, in concluding their Epistles especially, used benedictions not of their own devising, nor newly dictated by the Holy Spirit at the time, but adopted from the existing and well-known eucharistic forms. In a word, actual Church ritual obtains in the apostolic writings abundant recognition as the supreme channel for all those high purposes with which it stands associated in the ordinary Christian conception.

We have been desirous of saying thus much, that it may be seen that we are as far as possible removed from any inclination to make over the Apostolic age, as our continental friends would have us, to any destitution of Church ritual in the fullest sense. But having said this, we, at the same time, cannot but see that *not all* the allusions, in the apostolic writings, to united prayer, are allusions to Church services. *Primâ facie* impressions, extending over a wide surface, are seldom altogether wrong, though they may, and generally do, call for much correction. As, then, the ordinary reader of Scripture unreflectingly applies all that the Apostles say about prayer, to private or interior, and not at all to public worship, so, after we have rescued a considerable proportion of such passages, and vindicated their liturgical character, there remain not a few of which some other account must be given. In many cases it must still remain doubtful, at best, whether public or private services are referred to; but sometimes there are determining considerations in the latter direction. An instance of this seems to be afforded by the Epistle to the Ephesians. Whoever will be at the pains to look through the early part of the 5th chapter (ver. 1—21), will perhaps not find much difficulty in admitting that S. Paul there, having occasion to press personal holiness, sets before his eyes,

as a source of varied argument and illustration, the associations and the spiritual employments of the First Day of the week. Certainly, the whole exhortation, otherwise discursive and fragmentary, is beautifully threaded together upon one pervading idea on this supposition. The topics of the first day of the week are the creation of light; the corresponding rising of Christ,—

‘Of them that long in darkness were
The true Light of their hearts;’—

and the descent, again, of life and light by the Holy Spirit: its occupation—and, perhaps, its distinguishing one—was the offering and partaking of the Christian Eucharist, with all eucharistic accompaniments of praise and thanksgiving, knowledge and charity. Mark, then, how thickly the passage is studded with these topics. ‘Walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and ‘given himself for us,’ (equivalent to the well-known ‘This is my body, which is *given for you*,)’ ‘an offering and a sacrifice ‘to God for a sweet-smelling savour;’ (compare the liturgy of S. James, ‘That the Lord God having received the gifts to his ‘spiritual altar for the odour of a sweet-smelling sacrifice, would ‘send down in their stead to us the gift of the Holy Ghost.’) ‘But all uncleanness,’ (an undoubted allusion to the spotless purity of Christ’s sacrifice: compare Heb. ix. 13,—‘If the blood ‘of bulls sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh, how ‘much more shall the blood of Christ, who *offered himself without ‘spot to God, purge from dead works?’ &c.) ‘let it not be named ‘among you, as becometh sanctified ones; but rather thanks-
‘giving’ (εὐχαριστία, eucharistic praise); ‘For ye were some-
‘time darkness, but now *are ye light* in the Lord; walk as chil-
‘dren of light; for the *fruit of the Spirit* is in all righteousness;
‘proving what is *acceptable to God*: (this and the equivalent in ver. 17, ‘understanding *what the will of the Lord is*,’ are eucha-
ristic and sacrificial; compare Heb. x. 5—9, and Rom. xii., ‘*Present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable, . . . that ‘ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will ‘of God*:’ compare also 1 Thess. iv. 3.) ‘But all things that are ‘reproved are made manifest by the light; . . . wherefore he ‘saith, Awake, thou that sleepest, and *arise from the dead*, and ‘Christ shall give thee light:’ (this is generally admitted to be some portion of a hymn, probably eucharistic.) Then follow those instructions for the due celebration of the Eucharist, which we have already had occasion to examine.*

If, then, we may assume that all this is a recognition by the Apostle of the Church’s high eucharistic service on her weekly Resurrection Festival, we have in it a kind of rubric, not unlike that which occurs in the early part of the 1st Epistle to Timothy,—a set of instructions about the due performance of the Church’s

supreme act of worship, as the great remedy of all unholiness, the great type and expression of all sanctity. And with these instructions, be it observed, S. Paul closes, to all appearance, his address to the church of Ephesus in its corporate, and turns to address it under its domestic, aspect. For at this point commences that code of Christian household laws and duties of which we have before given a summary. Does he, then, or does he not, include among those duties, or place in close and inseparable juxtaposition with them, the duty of prayer? That is the inquiry towards which our remarks are tending, as decisive of the question, whether the worship and ritual of households, as such, is recognised and recommended by S. Paul. Now, that S. Paul does go on to urge the duty of prayer is undeniable, (chap. vi. ver. 18.) That he is not urging now public or church prayer, seems infinitely probable, from the strong appearances there are (as we have been at some pains to make out), of his having just dealt with the whole subject of public and corporate ritual; and from the different character of these later instructions from that of those earlier ones. Those, as we have seen, were all high, festal, and solemn, both as to topics and expression; here, on the contrary, the exhortations are such as men carry out in the closet and the household; exhortations to perseverance and to mutual agreement (apparently) as to objects of joint intercession: 'Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints, and for me.' The only question is, whether there is any serious disjunction between this exhortation and the immediately preceding 'household' part of the letter. And though the received text exhibits, in ver. 9, after the address to servants and masters, the words, 'Finally, *my brethren*,' which might seem to be a return (as Olshausen makes it) to the general aspect of the Church, yet the text of the fourth century, as set forth by Lachmann, omits the word 'brethren;' an omission to which Olshausen assents. The impression which we then derive is, that what follows, including the duty of prayer, is for the household; a view confirmed by the Apostle's passing on afterwards, without any break, to his own personal matters (ver. 21).

The whole of the argumentation which we have now applied to the fifth and sixth chapters to the Ephesians, applies with equal force, though with a curious and interesting variety of expression on the part of the Apostle, to the third and fourth chapters to the Colossians. These two, it is well known, are twin epistles; written, as is evident, at the same time, and sent by the same hand. Their general structure is, accordingly, as would be not unnatural, the same; yet, with that nice and beautiful variation which the different design of the two letters

required. The parallel holds specially with respect to the portions we are now concerned with. There is the same appearance in the one epistle as in the other of the thoughts and works of the Resurrection-Festival being in the Apostle's eye as he frames his exhortations; only that in the one is set forth, as the argument for holiness, Christ our Sacrifice (Eph. v. 2—7), in the other, Christ our Risen and Ascended Life (Col. iii. 1—7). In the one, they must be holy, because part of a pure sacrifice; in the other, because 'they are dead, and their life is hid with Christ in God:' in the one, again (Eph. v. 8—14), the redeemed ones are light as against darkness; in the other, a new man, as against the old: to the one church Christ is held up as Light, to the other as Life; only to both alike as Risen. There is in substance the self-same body of instructions for eucharistic celebration, embodying, only with varying fulness and expression, the same elements of knowledge and praise, charity and thankfulness. (Eph. v. 17—21; Col. iii. 12—17.) There is the same immediate turning to deal with the domestic relations of the faithful to each other, and in the same order, the subordinated relation coming first:—wives, husbands; children, parents; servants, masters;—only the enumeration in Colossians is more rapid. (Eph. v. 22—vi. 9; Col. iii. 18—iv. 1.) There is, finally, in Colossians, clearly and unequivocally, that which appears less distinctly in Ephesians, viz. a passing on so immediately to exhortation on the subject of prayer, as to leave no room, apparently, for doubting that it is to the faithful under the relations just specified that the exhortation applies. 'Wives,' it runs briefly, 'submit yourselves; husbands, love your wives; children, obey . . .; fathers, provoke not . . .; servants, obey . . .; masters, give that which is equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven. *Continue in prayer*, and watch in the same with thanksgiving, withal praying also for us.' And so the epistle passes on, as was natural, to other topics connected with 'the daily round, the common task;' such as making the most of time, seasoning the speech with grace, as with salt; (Col. iv. 5, 6;) how his own affairs were going (ver. 7; Eph. vi. 21, 22), and those of his neighbours, and of the church at Rome from whence he wrote; concluding with conveyance of salutations from and to particular persons, (in one instance to a household,) and as usual, with a genuine, though abbreviated, eucharistic blessing. (Col. iv. 5—18.)

May it not with much reason be said, that we here have the Apostle following home in thought from their Eucharist Feast the Christian men and women alike of Ephesus and Colosse; contemplating them as still, when returned home, gathered into mystic unity by that high ordinance, and as discharging all

duties, accordingly, under a profound sense of truest corporate relation;—obeying, loving, nurturing, serving, laying out time, speaking, and among other things, not least of all, *uniting in prayer*,—within the all-hallowing compass of that high Dedication, that ennobling and purifying Participation? If this be admitted, it is all we seek or care to establish: for then is Household Religion and Worship set by Apostolic hands in its due place and degree, a recognised and not unhonoured department of the Christian kingdom; deriving, like all other Christian actions, its sanctification from the Church's high acts of union to her Lord, and presentation in Him; in little danger of trenching on her proper functions so long as this subordination is duly held in view; having a work, too, of its own, as well as an Apostolic warrant for doing it, the work, viz., of keeping together, as by a secondary bond, the household relations, and of furnishing a devotional presentation for them.

Some apology may be thought necessary for the critical fulness with which we have examined these passages, with a view to a subject like the present: but we are satisfied that in order to establish anything like a permanent position and status for household ritual, it is of no avail to point to isolated texts, which may or may not, on a searching analysis, bear us out. It is far more to the purpose,—indeed, nothing else will come up to our needs,—to show, if it can be shown, that some such thing found a place in the habitual thoughts of an Apostle concerning the Church, and that, however little we may know of the actual modes in which the duty was discharged, the thing itself was *not* held to be either superseded by the Church's public service, or incompatible with it. Moreover, the pertinency of one or two such tracts of Scripture as these to prove that which we seek to prove, once established, will draw with it a considerable number of passages besides. When S. Paul desires the prayers of those to whom he writes, particularly if it be towards the close of an epistle (as *e.g.* in 1 Thess. v. 25; 2 Thess. iii. 1; Heb. xiii. 18), we shall think it at least probable, that it is, of the two, the household rather than the public prayer that he is asking for; more especially, if there is an appearance of the Eucharist, or of the Church's public assemblies, having been spoken of already, and of his having now descended to speak of the common life. Now such is the case in two of the instances just specified. For in 1 Thess. v. 18, he had said, 'In every thing give thanks (*εὐχαριστεῖτε*): for this is the *will of God* in Christ Jesus; ' (see above, on Eph. v.;) and had passed on to speak of 'abstaining from all appearance of evil'; while in Heb. xiii. 10—16, (besides a previous exhortation, x. 25, about public assemblies), he had said more distinctly, 'We have an altar . . . By Him

therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually;’ expressions, of the eucharistic character of which, the early Church made no question:—and it is after interposing an admonition about obedience, that he gives this more familiar exhortation, as if to interior prayer for an occasional need, ‘Pray for us . . . and I beseech you the rather to do this that I may be restored to you.’ So again, when, towards the close of his epistle to Philemon’s household church, we find him saying, ‘But withal prepare me also a lodging,’ (*i. e.*, doubtless, quarters in his house,) ‘for I trust that through *your* prayers’ (in the plural, *διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν*) ‘I shall be given unto you,’ we feel that we have some warrant for filling up the outline thus given us with something more than the separate private devotions of the persons addressed; they point rather, we cannot but think, to something of a methodised common worship, in which there was an allotted place for such intercessions as the Apostle bespeaks. In one or two instances, too, we seem to catch a glimpse, now become significant, and to be relied upon, of the actual ritual operation of this ‘household-church’ system.

We shall not insist much upon the manifest appearance there is of the old Jewish ‘grace before meat’ having been retained in Christian households, and if so, pronounced, doubtless, as of old, by the master of the family; though this is certainly the most obvious, and probably the correct acceptance of 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5,—‘For every creature of God is good, and ‘nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: for ‘it is sanctified by the word of God and *prayer*.’ It can, however, at best prove but a single ritual action, insufficient to found a view upon. More to the purpose is the following. When S. Paul and his companions, in his last voyage to Jerusalem, had put in at Tyre, and there made a seven days’ stay, they were brought on their way by the disciples, *with wives and children*, till they were out of the city, when ‘they kneeled down on the shore, and prayed.’ (Acts xxi. 5.) This bespeaks, surely, a habit, formed most likely by household usages, of common prayer, apart from the solemnities of the public assembly. Doubtless it was but bringing forth from the house into the open air, and to the sea-shore, a custom which we shall find traces of presently in post-apostolic times, of host and guest taking leave of each other with prayer, the prayer probably of the whole household. And this reminds us of another passage, which by itself might not prove much, but, as supported and reduced to detail by the earliest of the Latin Fathers, yields a respectable evidence, at least, for regular antiphonal household-worship. S. Peter exhorts husbands to

'give honour to the wife, as to the weaker vessel;' a passage, by the way, which is the very charter,—taking high Christian ground too, viz. the claims of the weaker,—of the chivalrous deference towards women which has descended from the middle ages to ourselves. He adds the consideration of their being equally 'heirs of the grace of life,' and of the desirableness of 'their prayers not being hindered.' This might, of course, refer to their private prayer only. But Tertullian, in a well-known passage, speaks of it as one of the felicities of a Christian, as compared with a heathen marriage, that in their daily life 'psalms and hymns resound betwixt them twain; there is a holy rivalry which shall best sing the praises of God.' We have the high authority of the latest commentator upon Hooker for understanding this of household worship. 'As used in families,' he observes, 'it (viz. antiphonal singing) seems to be mentioned 'by Tertullian, *ad Uxor.* ii. 9.' (Keble's Hooker, v. 39.)

We have given the ordinary interpretation of the passage in S. Peter. There is another, however, which we rather incline to, and which is even still more to our purpose. The structure of this Epistle curiously resembles that of the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians. Here, too, the spiritual priesthood and oblation exercised by Christians is first spoken of (ii. 5, 9); then the various kinds of subordination, only with the addition of duties towards kings, and adopting a different order, viz. servants, wives, husbands. The view we speak of is, that the instruction to husbands ends in the middle of ver. 7, ch. iii.; and that the remainder of that verse applies to all the relations which have been enumerated; 'Rendering, in short, all of you, honour 'each to the other, as being in fact all heirs together of the 'grace of life, that your prayers, the common prayers of you all 'who make up the household unit, may not be hindered' and marred by absence of charity or duty in any quarter. This seems to us a preferable view; but let the reader judge. There is, of course, no objection to the abrupt participle, 'Rendering, &c.,' for we have the selfsame abrupt structure in the next verse but one (1 Peter iii. 9), not to mention other places in which it occurs. Surely it is most interesting to find another Apostle, S. Peter, (as according to this view we do,) upholding domestic religion and worship on the selfsame grounds as we have seen S. Paul doing. It is worthy of remark, that Mr. Bowdler has instinctively made the very application of the text of S. Peter which our interpretation countenances; making one of the intercessory petitions which he provides, (viz. for the Sunday,) run thus, 'For ourselves and one another, as members of the same household, and heirs together of the grace 'of life.'

Leaving now the Apostolic writings and times, and the presumption derivable from them for the existence of household worship, let us descend a little lower in the stream of the Church's history, and see how far we can make good the second point we were to prove, viz. the prevalence of a habit of this kind, as a regular thing, in the first ages of the Church, on the testimony of ecclesiastical writings. We shall first cite the Canons commonly called Apostolical. These, though not apostolical, or only incidentally such in substance, here and there, were composed, (as is pretty generally agreed by the learned,) by several synods in the decline of the second, and in the third century;¹ and were the rule of discipline for the Church of that period, at least for the eastern part of it. The 8th (al. 11th) in order, and probably, from its position, one of the most ancient, runs thus, Εἰ τις ἀκοινωνήτω κἀν ἐν οἴκῳ συνεύξηται, οὗτος ἀφορίζεσθω. 'If any pray together with 'one that is excommunicated, *though in a private house*, let him 'be suspended from communion.' We have here a significant intimation, at least, of joint prayer in houses being a customary thing. To the same effect are the well-known passages in Tertullian, (one of them already quoted, the other alluded to,) belonging therefore to precisely the period of these canons. One of these enjoins, that no one should let a guest depart from his house without prayer;² the other commends devotional practices in married persons.

These passages, however, hardly go the length of proving anything systematic. But, proceeding yet a little further down, we encounter a phenomenon so remarkable, and so lucidly proving the point at issue,—the existence, namely, in the early Church, of service and worship distinct from the public offices, and enjoying no small degree of recognition in the practical system of those times,—that we beg to draw particular attention to it. Eusebius, then, writing the history of the third century, makes several times distinct mention of a species of excommunication to which great importance was attached, and which yet, manifestly, did not consist in exclusion from Church privileges; because it is spoken of as exercised by private persons, who had no authority to discharge that solemn function, and on persons already shut out from Church communion. And it is plain that nothing else can be meant than exclusion from set and customary private services. Thus Dionysius of Alexandria, still in the third century, is quoted as saying, 'that certain martyrs, at that time living among us, 'now assessors with Christ, and partakers of His kingdom,

¹ Johnson's Preface to Apostolical Canons.

² Tertull. de Oratone, c. 26.

‘received again some of the brethren which had fallen away and sacrificed to idols; and beholding their conversion and repentance, and judging that it might well be accepted by Him who desireth not the death of a sinner, they admitted them to their company, and made them partakers of their prayers and their table.’¹ Valesius rightly contends (*in loc.*) that this cannot refer to exclusion from Church prayers, and makes good his view by referring to similar instances at about the same period. Thus in the very next chapter we find Pope Cornelius reporting that Novatus, having been excommunicated by the Church, underwent subsequently a separate excommunication at the hands of a martyr named Moses. ‘Him did blessed Moses *excommunicate* (ἀκοινωνήτον ἐποίησε), together with the five other priests who had severed themselves from the Church with him.’ Nothing can give a higher notion of the important *status* which the prayers and other devotions used in private dwellings enjoyed by general consent, than the solemn language in which exclusion from them is here spoken of. One thing only we seem to desiderate in these cases, and that is, some clearer intimation of the domestic character of these devotions. And this is, in a measure, supplied by a very interesting anecdote of Origen, a few years earlier. In his 17th year, finding himself, after his father’s martyrdom,—accompanied as it was by confiscation of goods,—reduced to penury, he was hospitably received by a matron of great wealth, who had adopted as her son one Paulus, an eminent heretic of the day, and as such an excommunicated person. Origen thus found himself under the necessity of living much in this person’s company: he manifested, however, the steadfastness of his faith, by refusing to be among the number of the hearers of his heretical teaching, of whom there were many, or to join in his prayers. The air of the passage (q. v.) clearly implies, we think, that what Origen stood aloof from was the ordinary household devotions, which it fell to this person, as the adopted head of the family, to conduct, and which he had expanded into a conventicle for the promotion of his heretical tenets. ‘This did Origen,’ remarks the historian, ‘observing from his youth up the canon of the Church:’—the canon, doubtless, bearing on this subject, which we have already quoted.

Putting all together, then, we seem to obtain an interesting glimpse of the household devotional life of the third century. ‘The prayers and the table’ of the martyrs,—the daily intimacy, and the household devotions, of the wealthy matron,—stand in

¹ Euseb. Hist. lib. vi. 42.

the closest connexion; to be admitted to the one is, as a general rule (as in the former instance), to share in the other;—to stand aloof from the one, while enjoying the other, is singular, and obtains the historian's marked commendation when the ground taken for it is, as in Origen's case, ascertained heretical practices in the conductor of such devotions. The habitual mode, again, of expressing rejection of a person's tenets or character is, as we have seen, to exclude him from one's 'common prayer';—nay, we find the Church herself, and that somewhere in the second century of her existence, turning the custom to account, by rendering it penal to receive an excommunicated person to prayer in one's house, or to even join in it at his.

All this, if slight, is significant;—significant of system and settled habit. If the mention which the subject obtains in ecclesiastical rules is infrequent, or the allusions to it which come out in history incidental, it is just because the thing was so *regular*, usual, and taken for granted. The private ways of any given period are confessedly,—as Mr. Macaulay has helped us to realize with respect to times not very remote from our own,—the very things it is most difficult to get at a notion of: and this, we hope, is a sufficient answer to an objection which we anticipate, to the effect that our proof in this instance is somewhat laboriously constructed, and proceeds upon the induction of few and slight particulars. From the nature of the case it might have been expected that it would be so; and the real question is, not so much how frequent or detailed is the mention, but how far customary and systematic the state of things implied. The loop-holes through which we view the household manners of these times may be few and contracted; it is sufficient if the scene which they disclose is clearly discerned to be such as we contend for.

Less circuitous proof may be alleged for the only point which remains to be made good, viz. that the religious character of the household, and an involved necessity for some kind of religious service within it, has descended to us as part and parcel of the ancient and unchanged system of our own Church. It is, we venture to say, undeniable that *the household*, with this its religious and commissioned character upon it, *is a substantive item in the Church's calculations*, in her great work of Christianizing, and keeping Christian, those committed to her charge. Passing by the well-known instruction in the Marriage Service, the best and most obvious proof of this is to be found in the sponsorial department of her baptismal provisions and ordinances. Although the Western Church has, for wise reasons, directly reversed the ancient practice, according to which parents were,

most commonly, sponsors for their own children, (*vide* Bingham, xi. 8, 3,) insomuch that some in S. Augustine's time thought, though erroneously, that none others but the parents could be sponsors; yet it is manifest that no change has been made as to the *scene* of that nurture, that 'godly and christian life,' which the sponsors are enjoined to take care that their charges shall be 'virtuously brought up to lead.' It is still, as of old, in the parental home that the carrying out of all this must take place. It is inconceivable, nor does any rational person, we suppose, maintain it, that the Church designs to remove the child, in ordinary cases, from its natural guardians, the parents; or to substitute for the nurturing influence of home other appliances for the formation of moral and religious character. The words of our exhortation to the sponsors are wary, following herein the old Sarum and other English Uses. 'It is your parts and duties to see that this infant be taught,' &c.; 'and chiefly *ye shall provide* that he may learn the Creed,' &c. 'and *may be* virtuously brought up,' &c. So the old English *Ritus baptizandi*, after committing the child to the parents' entire keeping—or, failing them, to that of the sponsors,—for the first seven years of its life, has 'Item commatribus' (the 'cummings,' or 'gossips,') 'injungatur, ut doceant infantem Pater noster, &c. *vel doceri faciant.*' And again, in a MS. 'Manual,' (*i. e.* book of priestly offices,) in the British Museum, apparently of the thirteenth century, and formerly belonging to a parish church in the diocese of Winchester, we have an actual form provided for the Minister's use, similar to our present one. 'I comaunde ow godfadre 'and godmodre, on holy chirche behalve, that ye chargen the 'fadur and modur of this child, *that they kepe* this child into the 'age of seuen zere, that hit beo [safe] from fier and water, and 'from all other mischeves and periles that myzten to him 'byfalle, throu miskepinge, and also that *ye or they* techen his 'ryzte bileue,' &c. 'or do him to beo tauzte,' &c.¹

It is observable, that no less a portion of childhood than seven years is left by these ancient rules in the parents' hands; and that it is pretty clearly intimated that with them would rest the *work*, though with the sponsors the responsibility, of the religious teaching and formation of the entire childhood. And by these old established ways we may most reasonably interpret the less definite language of our Exhortation, which makes no distinct mention of *the persons by whom* that religious training, for which the godparents are responsible to the Church, shall be conducted. The parents are doubtless intended, and so, in point of fact, everybody understands it.

¹ Maskell's Monumenta Ritualia, vol. i. p. 25.

Passing on to the rubrics at the end of the Catechism, we find that, agreeably to these conclusions, the heads of families obtain a distinct recognition in connexion with the important work of catechizing. 'The curate of every parish' is indeed to 'instruct and examine in the Catechism so many children of his parish sent unto him as he shall think convenient.' But by the next Rubric, and the parallel Canon, (59th,) it is plainly taken for granted that he will have working under him, and to a great extent superseding his labours, a goodly body of fathers, mothers, masters and dames (mistresses, Can. 59). Strictly speaking, it is only such 'children, servants, and apprentices' as '*have not* learned their Catechism,' that are required to be sent by these heads of families to the church to be catechised. Not that the curate, of course, is not bound to ascertain the proficiency of all, nor yet that he ought not, occasionally at least, to give to children of all ranks the opportunity of publicly ratifying, again and again, long before confirmation, their baptismal vow; for he is to 'instruct and examine so many as he shall think convenient.' But only the untaught are straitly charged to be sent, in any case, 'until they have learned all that is here appointed for them to learn.' What is the inference? Clearly this, that such as have means of learning these things at home should learn them there. Parents for their children, and householders ('masters and dames') for their servants, are, by the letter of rubric and canon, bound to keep an eye on the religious information of those committed to them; and, by a clear implication, they are, if competent, to take their part, and that no inconsiderable one, in the whole work of catechismal teaching. And when we put alongside of this the charge given to sponsors, to see that children be taught *by their parents* (so we have shown reason for understanding our baptismal formula,) not the Catechism merely, but much else, we can no longer doubt that the Church expects no small amount of co-operation at the hands of her householders. We say householders, and not parents merely; for by the special mention of servants and apprentices, the commission implied in the rubrics covers the whole extent of the household. And what, now, is the matter of this commission? It is no less than the whole practice, as well as knowledge, of the Christian faith and duty; it is 'the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and,' lest any stiff, formal interpretation of the literal command should creep in, 'all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health.' Provision for all this is to be made in the case of so many, be they under age or adult, children or servants, as have not yet been confirmed and communicated. Can this be done without some kind of religious ritual, some

solemnities both of hearing and service? Take the Creed: can this be taught aright, without its being used as an act of religious confession and worship? The Lord's Prayer: shall this be taught and said as a lesson,—not offered on bended knees as a prayer? or can anything short of seeing this done be to 'teach it' in its essence at all? And if this prayer, why not with it, as the Church's use has ever been, other prayers, 'after this manner,' as things necessary to the soul's health (Luke xi.)? Take the Ten Commandments; shall these be taught to Christian children and adults, apart from the evangelic unfoldings of them? or can the Creed be taught without similar unfolding of its articles? Does there not arise then, even from hence, a clear necessity for set and solemn reading and use of Holy Scripture? And does not the clause just quoted of the sponsorial exhortation, speaking of 'all things' necessary to 'the soul's health,' open a door to services and to religious habits and actions, of no stinted character? We should almost be ashamed to urge so obvious a necessity, but that we do not believe that the subject of household service is commonly looked upon from this point of view. This, however, is, we conceive, the true primary point of view. The household's proper duty is the care and nurture of the unconfirmed and uncommunicated: under this character it is that the head of the household receives his commission. Taking this as a starting-point, then, she will find that such provisions as are dictated by the needs of her more advanced members will grow easily out of this stock, or be capable of being grafted upon it. Nor is there wanting, in our existing Church system, authorization for thus extending the range of the Christian householder's oversight, in the matter of religious nurture, so as to embrace every member of the household, from the youngest or the most ignorant of the unconfirmed or non-communicant, to the most advanced in the Christian life and in fulness of eucharistic growth. In our Office for the Ordering of Priests, it is not forgotten that the clergy, whether married or single, may be, and generally are, householders; and the exhortation to them in this respect is so framed as to be virtually an instruction and commission to all other householders as to the religious care of *their* households and families. 'Will you be diligent to frame and fashion your own selves *and your families* according to the doctrine of Christ, and to make both yourselves *and them*, as much as in you lieth, *wholesome examples and patterns to the flock of Christ*?' The priest is here solemnly constituted the pattern householder, no less than the pattern man, to his parish, and his household a pattern household for theirs. In both capacities, he is to teach no less by example than by precept. He is to be holy, that they may be

so too ; his family under him holy, that theirs may be holy under them no less. In a word, there are to be Christian and christianly ordered families and households everywhere, looking to his as a pattern of all godliness. A parallel, moreover, is instituted, in giving him his commission, between his own personal nurture and that of his household : 'your own selves and your families,' it runs,—'yourselves and them.' Now, the means of his own spiritual growth had been prescribed to him in the question next preceding : 'Will you be diligent in prayers, and reading of the Holy Scriptures?' How else, then, than with the same appliances, is the spiritual growth of his household, and therefore of all other households, to be promoted? If 'diligence in prayer and in reading of the Holy Scriptures' is good and necessary for him in his personal and ministerial capacity, no doubt it is good and necessary for them in their several positions in life. And in truth, the more general exhortation on this subject, which the Bishop has just before addressed to the candidate for the priesthood, points yet more distinctly to the spiritual nature of the means by which the christian life of households is to be nurtured ; saying, 'So endeavour to *sanctify* the lives of you and yours, and to fashion them after the rule and doctrine of Christ, that ye may be wholesome and *godly* examples and patterns for the people to follow.' And again, a little earlier, 'Consider how studious ye ought to be, in framing the manners both of yourselves and of them that specially pertain unto you.' Surely there is ground enough in all this for the duty of providing a household with opportunities both of praying and learning at home, over and above the public opportunities of the kind ; and how this can be done, or how the general life 'sanctified' and made 'godly,' without some kind of service and worship, we are at a loss to imagine.

We conceive, then, that on the showing of these passages in our formularies, past and present, the charter and commission of the English Christian householder is clear and broad ; clear as the Church's baptismal and ordination provisions, broad as the range of the household itself. Quietly, indeed, as if a matter of course, but positively and very really, the Church says to all competent households, concerning children, whether in age or knowledge, 'Take this child away, and nurse it for me.' (Exod. ii. 9.) Nor does she stop there, but extends the duty to all of whatever stature. But we must not forget that S. Paul, and, perhaps, S. Peter likewise, has placed the religious character of the household, in all its relations, on yet higher grounds than those of the wholesome disciplinary rules and provisions even of the Church herself. These relations stand awfully based, as we have seen, on the mystical connexion which

each member of the household has with the Church's Lord. Each member is to demean itself towards the other 'as unto the Lord,' or, 'as in the Lord;' viewing the other, that is, as so really a member of Him, as to claim honourable tendance on those mystical grounds: so S. Paul. Each is 'to honour' the other in their several office or degree, 'as being all heirs together,' in a deeply mysterious conjunction, 'of the grace of life:' so S. Peter. This apostolic view crowns our conception of the religious office and position of the household, and adds to what results from the former considerations one more channel in which the stream of household devotion will naturally flow. The household, we see, besides a general commission to form the general life of its members after a Christian sort, and a particular one to see to the Christian grounding and nurturing of babes in Christ, has yet a charge with respect to certain relative duties—a charge which it is therefore best fitted to undertake, because it is itself the exclusive scene of those duties. It has to see and provide—just because no power external to it can half so well see or provide—that the said relative duties have their due discharge, and, in order to that, their due sanctification. These mysteriously consecrated duties have to be kept in their right place, lifted up to their high Christian standing ground; and, as an especial means of doing so, are to be 'sanctified by the Word of God and by prayer:' they are to be dealt with as the duties of 'heirs together of the grace of life;' and that they may be realized as such, it is most necessary 'that their prayers,' the prayers of those who owe these duties to each other, 'be not hindered.'

There results, then, as the particular *ἔργον* and business of Christian household worship: First, as the carrying out of what the Church expects at the hands of the household, the special instruction and formation of the young and ignorant; but in reality the forming and fashioning of the lives of all upon the Creed and the Scriptures, and the habituation of all, at the same time, to direct acts of religious service; (a charge, it will be seen, not very different in kind from that which the Jewish householder received of old): and, Secondly, in some measure as the dictate of natural feeling, but still more in pursuance of the lofty mystical standing apostolically assigned them, the consecration, by common acts of devotion, by mutual intercession, edification, and the like, of the several ties and interdependencies of the household; and in a manner the continued dedication and presentation of the household itself, as no unhonoured image of the City and Household of God.

If this, then, be accepted as a reasonable theory of household religion and worship, it will of itself go far to prescribe or

suggest the forms most suitable for that worship. We need not repeat what was said at the commencement of this article on the desirableness of preserving, in general, a Church-like type and tone in casting such a service. The use of Psalms, as the time-honoured vehicles of praise and oblation;—of versicle and response, collect or other ‘oratio,’ and ‘Amen,’—those spiritual linkings together of heart and heart in prayer;—of some set and separate forms of confession of sins, and intercession;—these we shall now venture to assume as prime and staple elements in it. As to the contents of the collects, &c.,—after securing sympathetic communion with the Church by the use of the collect for the day or week, and by the intercession,—their general character will be pretty well determined by consideration of the purposes which the whole ordinance is to serve. They will touch, however simply or briefly, upon household wants, duties, and mutual obligations; thus carrying out the second head of those purposes which we have above described. The passages read from Holy Scripture,—for this too we assume as a household habit,—may properly be selected, in some degree, with the like aim; but the chief object to be attained by them will, we conceive, be the inculcation of the Creed: a scheme for this purpose will be suggested by-and-by. In the second of the three Primers (Bp. Hilsey’s, 1539,) set forth in the reign of Henry VIII., we find a useful collection of passages bearing on household duties. This collection bears the title of ‘The Office of all Estates;’ and we should be glad to believe, what this title rather encourages us to suppose, that the formula is an ancient one, to be found in the earlier Primers; but this point we have not been able to determine.

The mention of the ‘Primer’ will perhaps suggest to the reader the inquiry, what degree of direction, if any, do we obtain from the ancient usages of our Church, bearing upon the subject of interior or household devotion. For the Primers, as is well known,—though few, perhaps, know much more than this,—were books of prayers and other devotions for the use of the laity in the later middle ages. We might expect, therefore, to obtain thence some hints, at least, upon our present subject. And that expectation by no means disappoints us altogether. At the same time we must not be surprised, if the suggestions we obtain from thence consist rather of valuable counsels on a broad scale, than of modes and formulæ, or detailed suggestions, directly applicable to our purpose. The absence of book-learning, except among the Clergy, in those ages, all but forbade any very effective discharge of religious functions by the household as such; hence, while the chief books of devotion were cast into the plural form, and presup-

posed by their structure joint and responsive use,—running parallel indeed, for the most part, to the Church's forms,—we find but little indication of a regular system of worship having been formed upon them. They were probably used, after all, by such as could use them, as private devotions.

The first of the more general kind of counsels to which we allude, entirely coincides with one which we have ventured to give above: to the effect that the interior and domestic prayers of the laity should, in the main, *be different from* the appointed public prayers of the Church:—parallel to them, if you will, to any extent; parallel in spirit, in order, and the like;—yet not the same; not the Church's service as a whole, nor yet a mere cento and extract from it. We are aware that a different impression prevails, more especially as to the nature of the Primers. It is generally supposed and stated, that the Primers published in Henry VIII.'s reign, and all other Primers before them, were simply the daily breviary services with some additions. Even Mr. Bennett, in his lectures on the Prayer-book, echoes this strange blunder, and represents the King's Primer as an instalment of the Prayer-book itself. Whereas, the only thing which the Primer offices had in common with the Church's daily office, was that they were constructed on the same general plan; otherwise the mass of the psalms, readings, collects, &c., in the Primer office, on any given day,—in truth, they were the same for every day in the year,—totally differed (except on certain days in the year) from the Psalms, &c. appointed for that day in the Church's public services. This at once shows how crude is the view of those who would prescribe to us, as the personal or household service of each day, the hour services of the breviary, or some part of them; as *e.g.* those of tierce, sexts, and nones. The practice, we repeat, so far as it is intended as an expression of dutifulness towards the ancient English Church, entirely fails of its object, since it goes directly *against* her clearly expressed mind. Let us, however, proceed to consider what positive counsels or hints, besides this negative one, we can gather from the ancient ways either of the Western or the Eastern Church. We shall, in the course of our inquiry, make good the assertion we have just hazarded. Meanwhile, we venture to request the reader's particular attention to the inquiry itself.

The well-known fact, in physical geography, that the Rhine and the Rhone, flowing due north and south, take their rise in the same mountain-range, and within a few miles of each other, finds its parallel in the equally well-established ritual fact, that the great twofold stream of the hour-service system, which, from the time of the fourth and fifth century, we find flowing over

and embracing the Eastern and the Western Church alike, took its common rise in the same soil, the monasteries of Palestine and Egypt.¹ We could hardly have expected that an institution so peculiar, and so large an innovation (for such it was) upon the Church's earlier public practice, should have found such world-wide acceptance, and should have penetrated, without opposition, into regions of such widely differing ecclesiastical character. Such, however, was the case.

The hour-service system, to which the labours of Cassian in the fifth century gave currency in the West, was none other, as to its main features, than that which the East had received the century before, and its acceptance involved in both cases the overthrow of that simpler morning and evening office which, as far as we are informed, was the general custom of the church from apostolic times. Yet the usage, received in common, was accompanied by a considerable and even vast diversity of character and detail. 'The hours' of the eastern church have almost nothing in common with those of the western, beyond the name, the principle, and a general outline. The substance of the two sets of services, and, to a great extent, their *idea*, is different. The Greek is, for one thing, far more domestic, as those who are familiar with it will at once recognise, and as is evinced by the ample use which Bishop Andrewes has made of it, almost without alteration, for private and personal devotions. Hence, too, most probably, the difference between the mind of the two churches, as to the provisions they have respectively made for the private devotional wants of their children. The Greek Church, for the domestic oratories which, under certain restrictions, she allows, adds no more to the 'Horologium,' containing the Church's hour-services² than a brief form for private use. It was natural, considering that the Church had admitted, as it were, household thoughts within her precinct, that she should remand those who desired fuller household prayers to her own formularies. In the West it was felt that the case was otherwise, and that a peculiar provision, or adaptation at least, was needed; that the hour-services, just as they stood, would *not* be the best thing to commend to private and ordinary use. The particular adaptation made we shall speak of presently. Meanwhile, let it be observed what that was which the East and West were agreed in commending to the personal use of the people: it was, namely, the general principle of the 'Hour-services.' And what was that principle? It was not (as might be thought on a superficial view), merely, nor chiefly, the necessity and the duty of continuousness or great frequency in prayer. A great testimony

¹ *Vide* Bingham, vol. ii. p. 301; vol. iv. p. 370; and Palmer, *Orig. Lit.* 4th Ed.

² *Vide* Neale, *Introd. Hist. East. Church*, pp. 848, 1187.

was, of course, borne by the system to that necessity; but if this was the essence of the usage, why did it not go on to *hourly* and really continuous prayer? Nor yet, again, was it, as some would perhaps maintain, the beauty or fitness of a *septenary* scheme of daily worship: for both in the East and the West the hours are variously reckoned as seven or eight, according as Matins and Lauds, or else Lauds and Prime, are reckoned as one or as two services. No doubt the septenary idea influenced the number of services; but it was a secondary feature of the system, not its essential principle. No: the principle in the strength of which the great Hour-system, issuing, all armed and exercised, from the monasteries of the East, made easy conquest of all Christendom,—sweeping away before it a system of service which claimed, rightly or not, to be apostolically descended, and had been, in some shape or other, the daily orisons of saints and martyrs for four hundred years,—this principle was something more searching and commanding than an admitted Christian rule, only more rigidly applied, or a mere conceit of numbers. The principle doubtless was, that men were hereby taught and trained to base prayer, and to build up life, upon the articles of the Creed. It was not merely that there were seven periods marked in the twenty-four hours, each with its assigned portion of service; but seven *such* periods as had each some sacred and soul-penetrating association, alleged or real, with the saving Actions or Passion of the Saviour of the world.

‘But now, peradventure, ye might ask,’ says an English 15th century commentary¹ on the Hour-services, ‘why these seven hours, that is to say, Matyns-time, Pryme-tyme, and so forth, are rather assigned of Holy Church to the praising of God than other hours, sith there is many more hours in the day; and to this I answer, that these hours are more specially privileged than others, for grete workes that God hath wroughte therein, for which He is everlastingly to be praised For at even our Lord was taken of the Jews, and bounde and scorned; at midnight He was borne; before day He spoiled hell; and in the morning He rose from death to life. . . . At Prime-tide our Lord was led before Pilate and accused; and in the same hour, after His Resurrection, He appeared to Mary Magdalene; at hour of Tierce He was scourged and crowned with thorns; the same hour, after His Resurrection, He appeared to Mary Magdalene; and on Pentecost Sunday, the same hour, He sent the Holy Ghost down to the Apostles. At Sext, our Lord Jesus Christ was done on the cross, and fed with eyse (vinegar) and gall. The

¹ ‘The Myrroure,’ &c. *Vide* Maskell, *Mon. Ritualia*, vol. i.; and the recent translation of the *Sarum Psalter*.

‘ same hour, after his Resurrection, He appeared to the Apostle
‘ S. James; and on Ascension-day, the same hour, He sate
‘ and ate with His disciples. At hour of None our Lord Jesus
‘ Christ cryed, and gave out His soul by deth; the same hour
‘ a knight opened his side with a spere, and smote through His
‘ herte, whereout came water to our baptism, and blode to our
‘ redemption. At Evensong-time, our Lord Jesus Christ, on
‘ Shere Thursday, supped with His apostles, and ordained the
‘ Sacrament of His holy Body and Blode. The same hour, on
‘ Good Friday, He was taken down from the cross; and on
‘ Easter-day, the same hour, He met with two of His disciples
‘ going towards Emmaus, and made himself known to them in
‘ breaking of bread. At Complyn time, at even, He prayed
‘ and sweat blood. The same hour, on Good Friday, He was
‘ buried; and on Easter-day, the same hour, He appeared to
‘ His disciples.’

Such, with occasional variations, were the grounds taken up for the Hour-system. The associations in question were doubtless more or less familiar to the contemplation of the earlier church; and it had long been a private habit with the more devout to make devotional use of them. Thus, S. Cyprian, in the third century, points out four or five such associations: ‘ The
‘ worshippers of God of old observed three seasons of prayer;
‘ after events gave proof that there was a sacrament or mystery
‘ in the practice. At the third hour descended the Holy Spirit,
‘ &c. But to us, besides the hours of ancient times observed,
‘ both the seasons and sacraments of prayer are increased in
‘ number. In the morning we must pray, that the Resurrection
‘ of the Lord may be commemorated, &c.’¹ And truly, a golden thought it was thus to make these associations the occasion and the motive, as they came round, of a cycle of devotional acts. In truth, it was not so much ‘ Hours ’ that men were thus called on to observe, as divine facts of our salvation; shadows, bright or dark, cast by the True Sun upon the dial of the Church’s memory. The more full and exact elaboration of the idea, however, and the reduction of it to a definite system, was reserved for those to whom we have ascribed the authorship of it.

And so the system took a wondrous hold on the Church’s heart, and became for a thousand years the vehicle of her daily and ordinary orisons. Those secluded anchorites of the desert had made a mighty hit in psychology. As oftentimes falls out, the men of meditation had outstripped in practical wisdom the men of action. The watchers on the Mount had not only upheld by their spiritual spells the failing hands and the feeble knees of the warriors in the plain, but had found for them, too, the secret of praying still as they fought. They had devised

¹ De Orat.

how time and work might be sanctified and sublimed, in a manner, into prayer; an alchemy whereby the ore and dross of the world might be transmuted into fine gold of the sanctuary, by memorial contact, as it were, with Him that sitteth therein. Linked by correspondence of time (real or probable), with His holy actions, through the exercise of suitable acts of faith, the day, as it went round, became full of Him, and the Christian man, alone or with brethren, in the church or the field, was never far away from Christ.

Candour, and the Church's experience in the long run, require that we should point out presently certain inherent defects, and some positive mischiefs, involved in the scheme as a whole. But truly, in its great leading principle, the system was not unworthy of its mighty and universal sway. We cannot well err in reputing it a veritable suggestion, and a timely one, of the Spirit whose perpetual guidance was guaranteed to the Church. We say, a timely one, for it is very observable that this vast re-animation of the Church's devotion took place coincidently with the devastating spread of Arianism. It was in the latter part of the fourth century that the Holy Land, among others, and Bethlehem preeminently in that land, became, if we may reverently say so, the cradle, for the second time, of the religious love and adoration of the world. Then it was that the Jeromes and the Eustochiums retired to God from a world whose light seemed on the eve of extinction, to nurse the vestal fire which was never to be really put out; to frame, all unconsciously, for the Church, the type of services whereby she should take to her heart of hearts the articles of that creed which, already fearfully imperilled by the attacks of intellectual sophistries at Nice, and Ariminum, and Constantinople, had yet to bide the purifying fires of Ephesus and Chalcedon.

' When withering blasts of error swept the sky,
And love's last flower seem'd fain to droop and die,
How sweet, how lone, the ray benign
On shelter'd nooks of Palestine!
Then to his early home did Love repair,
And cheer'd his sickening heart with his own native air.'

Christian Year.—Advent Sunday.

Of this Creed-built scheme, then, thus profoundly conceived, thus eminently winning and operative, the general principle was, we say, commended by the Western Church of the middle ages to her children (*viz.* in the Primers), as the mould in which their interior and personal devotions, whether of single persons or of several, should be cast. 'Not only,' says Mr. Maskell, in his *Dissertation on the Primers*,¹ 'did she provide

¹ *Monumenta Ritualia*, vol. ii. p. liii.

‘ the greater services of the canonical Hours, but smaller offices
‘ were drawn up and approved, to be used in addition at the
‘ same times by the more devout among her children. Such
‘ were “ the Hours of the Holy Spirit,” “ of the Blessed Trinity,”
‘ all but “ of the Cross.” But none were so complete in their
‘ arrangement as the “ Hours of the Blessed Virgin.” Let it be
observed, that the principle of each of these Manuals (and these
were the chief ones, though there were others,) is exactly that
which we have spoken of. The counsel given in this practical
form is none other than this: ‘ Build up your life, day by day,
‘ all but hour by hour, through prayer and service, on some article
‘ or articles of Creed.’ The devout laity were encouraged, it
seems, to select amongst these several Manuals some one as the
rule of their daily life. As the Church’s septenary or octonary
times came round, they would have their thoughts fixed, and
their devotion exercised, on the facts of Christian belief, partly
by the general horary arrangement of *time*,—Matins, Lauds,
Prime, &c., which they would observe in common with the
Church, partly by the particular *services* supplied in the Manual,
whichever it might be, which they used. The association proper
to each horary period was, in some respects, even more clearly
marked in the Primers than in the Breviary Services; thus, at
the third hour, there is in the Primers, as a general rule, a
distinct recitation, daily, of our Lord’s going to the Cross; (and
so of the other hours;) whereas the Breviary Services leave this
association to be inferred, except in Lent, where it is expressed
by the hymn. But as to the general contents of the Primers,
it will be best understood what they were by referring to that
one which Mr. Maskell here speaks of as the most complete;
which indeed, by its universal prevalence, all but eclipsed all the
others; and the use of which (in one form) was even bound upon
the laity on one day in the week, viz. Saturday, by a decree of
the Council of Claremont, A.D. 1096. Now this office was
neither more nor less than *an abridged form of the office proper to
the festivals of the Blessed Virgin*. Thus abbreviated, and with
the omission (generally) of variations for the seasons, this office
was commended to the unvarying daily use of the people
throughout the year. And now let it be candidly considered,
and noted not without admiration, how profoundly important
a doctrine was thus committed to the daily contemplation and
devotion of the people—the doctrine, viz. of the Incarnation.
The slightest inspection of the office will show that its title is
so far a misnomer, that the great mass of its teaching tends to
fix the mind, not, as might be supposed, on her who bore the
Saviour of the world, but on the Saviour Himself. The psalms
are, in a great measure, those which are familiar to us as psalms

of festivals of our Lord; such as the 8th, 19th, 24th, 118th: the capitula, or short lessons, are from the exquisitely beautiful delineation of Him as 'Wisdom,' in the 24th of Ecclesiasticus. True it is that, notwithstanding all this, the office in effect tended only too surely to the fostering of superstition, owing chiefly to the invocations and hymns; though indeed, as Bishop Hilsey observes, in the preface to his Primer (1539), even these 'Scriptures themselves (such as, "He created me in the beginning before the world, and I shall never fail,") were distorted 'unto our Lady, which in their own native sense are nothing 'meant of her; but of Christ, the Wisdom of the Father.' But the really pervading thought and mind of the office, rightly and fairly looked at, is that of the Incarnation itself. And as this Primer, through the united effect of actual defects and of misapprehension, was doubtless one main instrument in promoting the worship of the Blessed Virgin, so we cannot doubt that, purged from those defects, and rightly used, it would effectually have built up the general mind on our most holy faith.

Such, then, was the Hour-system, in its public and its private application. It is an ungrateful task to point out the weakness of any element of spiritual strength; or to indicate the limits which are set, even by the nature of things, to the capabilities of any weapon which the Church has once wielded effectually. Yet truth is truth; such limits there are and must be; and it is the more faithful and dutiful course towards the Church, after all, to try to see things as they are; to admit, rather than to palliate failures; and to inquire after new forms of aid, if such there be, to human weakness, or after truer adjustments of the old, rather than to stand obstinately by the *status quo* of what is, after all, only a portion,—though a long one,—of the Church's existence. It is not to our present purpose to pursue the Hour-system, as a system of public service, through the history of its decline to its present state of desuetude—with the single exception of the Vespers office in the West. And in the East and West alike, where its services are performed publicly at all, it is by aggregation; by the abandonment, that is, of the proper character of the system.

But in the shape in which it was commended to the private use of the laity of the Western Church, it must be said that the system laboured under serious and fatal objections. In point of psychology there was, as we have said, deep Christian wisdom in associating the successive periods of devotion with articles of the Creed. But in that, the particular application which the hour-system presents, of the principle, there were two inherent and irremediable defects,—excessive condensation

of subject, and narrowness of range. The body of thought which the Hours with their associations were intended to bring before the mind in the course of the day, called for a more leisurely contemplation than men in general could bestow upon it. The remedy resorted to was to dwell intensely on a few of the articles thus propounded, to the disregard of the rest. Add to this, that, (as will be seen by referring to the rationale of the Hours, which we have above quoted from the 'Myrroure,') there were articles of the Creed, and those most important ones, which found little or no mention in the scheme, even as originally cast. The selection, for the contents of the Primers, of the festival services of the B. V. Mary, or of the Holy Ghost, may be viewed as an attempt to enlarge and deepen the scheme, by dwelling especially on some particular article of the faith. But this, in proportion as it intensified the contemplation, must have tended still further to limit the range of it. What was the result of the whole? Unquestionably this,—that the analogy of the faith was not preserved, rather was utterly overthrown, in the training which Western Christendom practically received through this instrument. The articles which, from their standing prominently out in the popular manuals, got hold of the heart of the people, and which therefore constituted in effect their Creed,—were chiefly those which concern the personal sufferings of our Lord;—these, as objects of contemplation, with the subjective feelings and introspections awakened by them, joined to an only too exclusively objective mode of regarding the mystery of the Incarnation, made up pretty well the sum of their practical acquaintance with the truths of Christianity. The doctrines of the Incarnation (practically viewed), of our Lord's Resurrection and Ascension, and of the descent of the Holy Spirit, exercised, we conceive, a comparatively small practical influence on the popular mind. An exception must be made in respect of the doctrine of the Second Advent, which was deeply inwrought, chiefly perhaps by means of the *Dirige* office, into men's thoughts. The Church's yearly cycle of truths, doubtless, came in to enlarge in a measure these views; but it may be doubted if it did this very effectually; for what a man learns daily, he learns most deeply; and two or three truths taken home by this method, will hardly receive their counterpoise from the annual inculcation of others claiming to be held equally with them. Nor shall we shrink from stating, though with all humility, our opinion, that the doctors of the later Western Church share with the people, in a great measure, the narrowness in point of practical theology of which we speak, and owe it perhaps to the same cause. Of course noble exceptions might be found; but as a general rule there is a depression, we had almost said an

abjectness, in their habitual mode of viewing and exhibiting the condition of man in Christ, which lacks, in our humble judgment, what the Apostle variously and repeatedly speaks of as the 'spirit of adoption,' 'joy in the Holy Ghost,' and the like expressions. We cannot except even the universal favourite Thomas à Kempis from the number of those practical writers, whose meditations, however perfect in their line, and however home they carry their appeals on the grounds taken up by them, we feel on a calm review to have presented to us but one or two of the truths we should live on, and to be fostering in that proportion an unreal, and, as it happens, an over darkly coloured view of the true life of faith. This may be due in a measure to the prevailing tone of the Western, as compared with that of the Eastern hour-services; we find the latter genial and glowing, chiefly with rays borrowed from the eucharistic offices, in a degree to which the western rite is a stranger; breaking out, for instance, into such bursts of song as the well-known 'Joyful light of the holy glory of the Father, immortal, heavenly, holy, blessed,' &c.; and in various ways giving prominence to the doctrines of the Resurrection and the Ascension.

The Hour-system then, considered as a practical and devotional mode of imbibing and living upon the truths of the creed, failed, not from any weakness or imperfection in the principle of it, but from the narrowness of the sphere within which its operation was confined. That it is naturally operative is sufficiently proved by the intensity with which it has inwrought two or three prime articles of the faith, *e. g.* the Incarnation and the Atonement—with whatever adherences of imperfection,—into the belief and affections of the people. It did build life upon facts of the Creed, and that vigorously, only abnormally; intensely, but too unequally. The question then arises, Can there be devised, or is there sanction for adopting, any safer application, either in the way of a substitute or a counterpoise, of the same principle?—can the Church have the good without the evil of the system? and may she still build up the interior life of her children on this attractive model? May household life and worship, in particular, derive a lesson of wisdom from the mind of the older Church, and, under some modification of her system, be at one with her as to the principle?

The state of the case is this. On the one hand we have the Church, in her ancient and primeval liturgical system, taking the articles of the Creed with a noble leisure; spreading her great thoughts, as becomes her and them, over great periods; bidding men pause and pray and practise, for days, or weeks, or months together, over single essential truths or graces of the Gospel: her Advent and Lent, her Christmas-tide and Epiphany, her Easter

and Whitsuntide, her long train of Sundays named of Trinity or Pentecost, are instances of this. On the other hand, we have seen a yearning in the heart of the Church for some closer linking of the daily life with the saving facts and realities of the Creed. Does the Church, according to its eldest and primitive mind, discountenance such a desire? Far from it. On the contrary, let it be considered if there be not a system as old as the world itself,—a system embodied in the Mosaic, adopted and expanded by the Christian dispensation, and in different degrees acted upon in all ages of the Church; which, proceeding upon the selfsame principle as the Hour-system, supplies that which we are in want of,—viz. a safe and thoroughly effective application of it.

The Days of the Week, it must be admitted by all who receive the Bible, are at once the most ancient measure of time, and that which bears the most distinct and unquestionable marks of divine sanction and dedication to remembrance of divine things. The days of the week are older than the hours of the day; moreover, God is the author of the one, man of the other. The astonishing fact of the distribution of the great work of creation into six days, might of itself have suggested a religious purpose to which man was to turn the economy, even had not the crowning mystery of God's rest on the seventh day distinctly announced such a design. And though the old Sabbatical arrangement might seem to discountenance, rather than encourage, any *positive* religious associations as belonging to the six days, such a presumption was speedily dissipated by the degree—no less astonishing and unexpected than in the parallel case of the creation—in which the facts of Christianity were inseparably bound up with the week-day cycle. So much, indeed, was this the case, that we may safely say, that it was as certainly a matter of divine preordination, that our Lord should suffer on the sixth, and rise on the first day of the week, as it was that He should suffer and rise at all. The truth of God stood engaged for these facts of time by the joint requirements of certain types and prophecies. Thus the type of the old Sabbath fixed the resting in the grave to the seventh day; that of the first-fruits fixed the Resurrection to the first; and these postulates granted, it follows of necessity, that Christ must needs have been crucified on the Friday, and on no other day of the week, because else the triduan type of Jonah, fixed as to its purport by our Lord's own interpretation, would have failed; accordingly, it was so ordained that in the year of His crucifixion the killing of the passover should fall upon a Friday. So deep in the Divine Mind, if we may reverentially say so, lay the preordination of the days on which these things should take place—a preordina-

tion extending, (as we may remark by the way, in favour of the hour-system,) to the very hour of the crucifixion itself, in virtue of the time appointed for the slaying of the Paschal Lamb, and for the evening sacrifice. But the scheme really extends to two other days of the week, thus including all of them but two. The offering of Himself by our Lord to the Father, as the perfect gift and sacrifice for sin, and to man as the life of the world, must needs have taken place, as it did, on the Thursday evening; because the hour was come,—He must be offered within the day which commenced with that Thursday's sunset; and various prophecies, paschal and others, had announced 'evening' and 'night' as the time of offering and deliverance; and the next evening it had been too late. Our Lord might be *offered* as victim on the morrow evening, but as priest He must *offer* Himself, if at all in the days of His flesh, and by His own voluntary and unconstrained act, that evening. So again, the betrayal-covenant of Judas took place, as signified by our Lord's own special announcement, 'two days' before His suffering; in fulfilment, perhaps, of some mysterious law, which connected His actions with triduan periods.¹ Two other great events there are, which were tied to particular days of the week; viz. the descent of the Holy Spirit to the first day, by a remarkably complex prefiguration, derived from the old feast of the weeks, and the giving of the law; and the Ascension (less certainly) to the fifth day, on the ground of the second forty days which Moses stayed in the Mount. There were, again, some striking analogies, to call them no more, between the events of the great Creation-week on certain days, and the Christian events belonging to the same days. There is, of course, the rest of God on the original seventh day, and the rest of Christ in the grave, and on the same day. This coincidence S. Paul not obscurely points to (Heb. iv. 10). There is the creation of light on the first day, and rising of the true Light on the same, to which also S. Paul (as we have before said) seems to advert (Eph. v. 14). The creation of man (perhaps also his fall) and his redemption by the death of Christ are on the same day; neither, perhaps, is it without significance that on that day were created the chief sacrificial animals. A coincidence, or analogy, which will more hardly be conceded, is that between the creation on the fifth day of the fowls of the air, and the ascension of our Lord on the same day, not through the lower air only, but through all heavens. Yet, surely, the analogy is no less natural than beautiful,

¹ *Vide* Williams' Study of the Four Gospels.

and the link between the type and antitype seems to be supplied by those passages, which promise to the people of God that they shall mount up as eagles, that God bears them upon eagles' wings, and the like; for in Christ's Ascension they are made to ascend into the heavenly places with Him.

The Church has never, in any age or clime, been altogether unheedful of the hints thus thrown out for the sanctification of time, by linking particular days with the articles of revelation. Not that the scheme has ever been worked out with the same fulness and zeal as the far less suggestive and less divinely prompted Hour-scheme. It would seem that the Church was so intent for ages on the latter expedient, that it was less alive to the capabilities of this; though it is, perhaps, not generally known to what great extent this too has been carried out in the East, or what increased attention was paid to it by the Western Church, (as will be pointed out presently,) at the latest revision of her ordinary offices. The first day and the seventh, the fourth and the sixth, were, from the earliest times, characteristically marked, as is well known, by appropriate additions to, or variations in, the ordinary services. The observance of the two first-mentioned days stood in avowed connexion, both with the Christian event and also with the creation event of each: the two latter with the Christian events only. This was the amount of primitive recognition of the scheme, as far as we are aware. On the introduction of the Hour-scheme, the week-day scheme was, in the East, retained coordinately with it; and not retained only but filled in and completed. Of the three *cathismata*, or hymns intervening at Lauds, between the Psalms, in the Eastern Canonical Hours, the two first are, on Sunday, of the Resurrection (*i.e.* relating to it); on Monday and Tuesday, of Meditation, chiefly penitential (*κατανυκτικά*); on Wednesday, of the Cross; on Thursday, of the Apostles; on Friday, of the Cross; on Saturday, of the Martyrs.¹ It will be observed that in this scheme, a devotional character is arbitrarily assigned to the Monday and Tuesday; the idea probably being, much as in our Easter and Whitsun Monday and Tuesday, that the thought of the Sunday is to be carried on; only in the Greek scheme, the meditation takes the form of penitential sense of unworthiness of the gift commemorated. But a more satisfactory appropriation of these two days is made in another department of the Eastern ritual, viz.—in the celebration, under certain circumstances, of the Eucharist. Where there are side chapels attached to the churches, and celebration takes place in one or more of these, in addition to the

¹ Neale: Hist. East. Church, Introd. vol. ii. p. 918.

celebration in the church itself, such celebration is associated with the thought,—on Monday, of the Angels; on Tuesday, of the Mother of God; on Wednesday, of the Forerunner; on Thursday, of the Apostles; on Friday, of the Cross; on Saturday, of the Departed Faithful.

This scheme is far more complete than the former one; the main difference being in the appropriation of the Monday and Tuesday, of which we shall speak presently. The Wednesday, there associated, like Friday, with the Cross, is here connected with S. John the Baptist; doubtless on much the same grounds, viz.—the ascetic character which the East and West are agreed in attaching, in different degrees, to the Wednesday; for in the Greek Church it is a fast. Thursday, in both schemes, stands connected with the Apostles, in memory, no doubt, of the commission received by them on that day at the Last Supper; and, most likely, of the Ascension also, both events having been confined to the Apostles. The Saturday, in one scheme, commemorates the Martyrs; in the other, more broadly, the Departed Faithful.²

There are also, in the Eastern Church, anthems attached to the Epistles, called *prokeimena*, resembling the Western gradu-als, (only *preceding* instead of following the Epistle,) varying with each day of the week;³ but there is but partial appearance of their being selected on grounds of doctrine. In Lent, the scheme which we have just set down is embodied in the Hour Service (at Lauds), in a singular form. On each day of the week, except Sunday, God is invoked as the Giver of Light, through the intercession, successively, on Monday, of the angels; on Tuesday, of, &c., nearly as above.⁴ It will be perceived that there is, in this application of the week-day scheme, some admixture of the two kinds of association, derivable from the old and new Creation; the thought of the first day's work, the light, being carried through the week in connexion with articles of the Creed.

There is nothing in the Western Church parallel to this fully elaborated symbolic scheme. But on the other hand, she gives the work of the Creation on each day a distinct commemoration in her ancient Hour Office; the hymn at Vespers being, on ordinary weeks, on this subject: some spiritual lesson being also educed from the work of each day, not, however, with any

¹ Neale: Hist. East. Church, vol. i. p. 184.

² It is interesting to compare with these the names or associations assigned in the Armenian Church, (whose traditions are not to be despised,) to the days in Holy Week, viz.—Monday, the Creation of the World; Tuesday, the Deluge; Wednesday, the Destruction of Sodom; Thursday, the Mystic Supper; Friday, the Passion and Crucifixion; Saturday, the Burial.—*Ibid.* p. 733.

³ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 900.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 924, note.

particular allusion (if we except, perhaps, the Thursday,) to the work of Redemption with which the days stand severally associated. Yet, as we have already intimated, in the revised Roman Office this deficiency of allusion to the Gospel associations of each day is, in some degree, made good. Certain Psalms (xxii.—xxvi.), which had hitherto, throughout the West, been said in the Sunday Prime Office, were, by Pope Pius V.,¹ distributed over the next five days of the week; and so distributed, as to convey, in the instance of the only three of those days which have any Christian event pertaining to them, an allusion to that event;—an allusion the more indubitable, because the Psalms are not allotted in their natural order. By this means the xxii. Psalm is assigned, with obvious fitness, to Friday; the xxiii., scarcely less fitly, as alluding to the Eucharistic Table and the Cup, to the Thursday; and the xxvi. to the Wednesday, for the sake of the allusion, in verses 5, 9, 10, to the Betrayal.

In the ancient offices of the East and the West alike, then, or still more taking their combined practice, we find a somewhat fully delineated scheme connecting the days of the week with the events both of creation and redemption. Delineated, we say, rather than wrought out with any intensity; for though the appropriation of hymns in the Eastern Hour Office must be a very effectual instrument for the latter purpose, we see that it is applied to work out the less satisfactory of the two slightly varying schemes. But are there not here strong inducements for working out completely something like that more satisfactory scheme which we have seen standing in connexion, though not a very prominent one, with the celebration of the Eucharist? Recurring to that scheme, then, (p. 78,) we observe that to the two days which are unoccupied by any Christian event, Monday and Tuesday, are assigned respectively, as their associations, the Holy Angels and the Blessed Virgin. These associations can hardly be purely accidental or arbitrary. It is most reasonable to suppose that the former is founded on the creation, on the second day, of the heavens, and with them (as Psalm civ. seems to say, and the Eastern Church, we believe, holds,²) of the angels. The Incarnation, again, *may* possibly stand associated by some ancient tradition—so tenacious is the Eastern Church of such memories—with the third day of the week; otherwise, it is most reasonable to find the link of connexion in the work of creation for that day, which in several points of view bears upon the Incarnation. The dust of the earth, which our Lord condescended to take upon Him, was on that day produced; as were also, out of the dry land, the trees

¹ *Vide Gavanti Thesaurus.*

² *Vide Andrewes' Devotions, Second Day.*

celebration in the church with the thought,—the Mother of God on Thursday, of the Resurrection on Saturday, of the Descent into Hell on Sunday. He is the 'Root out of the dry ground,' Himself also the principle of immortality, our life, our redemption, our regeneration into Him. So also He is the 'Seed out of the stem of Jesse; the Rose out of the thorn; the Olive out of the valleys; the Vine, &c., all works of His hand.'

This scheme is so pertinent enough, surely, to have been the basis of a new association in question, and to commend itself to the minds of those which we seem to obtain from the Church's experiences in the matter of personal and domestic worship, and modes of service, is both weighty and in attaching, it is so plain that it advises as in what it dissuades. It is particularly that principal function which we have connected with household worship, viz. that of commissioning all the members of the household on the Lord's Day, and, most likely, on the Creed. While on the one hand it encourages to the use of the principle we have so often spoken of, it also warns us against any narrow application of the principle. It bids us be broad, that we may be safe; to

There is a development, lest we overthrow the fair and true the Episcopate of the Christian faith. We cannot, in the face of dualisms, (as we have been reviewing, advocate the restoration, with ease and simplicity, of the Hour-system. To be safe or profitable of their use, both be applied with moderation, and counterpoised by schemes of a system of greater breadth and capability. Service system we find sketched to our hand, and commended weeks in no common manner, in the Week-day system. A very thorough modification of the scheme which the combined usages of the East and the West present to us, yields a complete and beautiful cycle of weekly devotional praxis on the Creed. All that is needed is, with the West, to adopt the habit of associating each day with the work of creation belonging to it; with the East, the like habit in respect of the works of redemption; while, so far as there is fair ground for doing so, we recognise the analogies subsisting between the two series of associations. With respect to the two unappropriated days of the Christian week, we cannot do better than follow, with slight adjustment, the lead of the East. By this means the Monday will stand associated with the operations and ministrations of the Holy Spirit, in virtue of the creation on that day, of His types and media, as well as of the angels; Tuesday, on grounds already touched upon, with the Incarnation. And we may mention, that such a habitual view had long ago suggested itself, and been acted upon, by persons who knew nothing of the eastern age; so natural is the connexion on which it rests.¹ Objections

¹ So also Hickes, Devotions, Tuesday Lauds, Psalm xxxii.

will doubtless be felt against these comparatively arbitrary associations. Let us follow, it will be said, where Scripture clearly assigns associations, but no further. We would respectfully but most earnestly combat this prepossession. The whole scheme, be it understood, is so far arbitrary, that there is no distinct Scripture command or insinuation in favour of the *observance* by Christians, in the way of memorial, of more than a single one of these associations. If it be said, Let us follow only where the Church leads; we have shown that one vast section of the Church does recognise these very associations. But in truth, our earnestness in contending for them proceeds from no fondness for the 'rotundity' of the scheme as a scheme, nor yet from excess of anxiety to follow in the path of ancient suggestion; but simply from hence, that some such arrangement is indispensable to the faithful carrying out of the counsels which we have been gathering from the Church's past experience. We could not, with any consistency, utter a word of warning against the narrowness and inequality of the Hour-service mode of inculcating the Creed, and yet acquiesce in the like narrowness and inequality in the weekly one. And is there not such an inequality, if, while all other doctrines have their assigned day, the Incarnation and the operations of the Holy Spirit have none? Shall we not be returning, at this rate, to the old abnormal developments of doctrine, from which the Church has suffered so much? Let us be allowed to plead, therefore, for the adoption of the scheme as a whole.

But we derive much satisfaction from the conviction, that, with the exception of the two particular associations we have just been insisting upon, the week-day system is by no means new to the English mind of the present day, as a type in which to cast either personal or household devotions. With the former kind we are now no otherwise concerned than as leading up to the latter. But in both departments we have a devotional literature of great extent, exercising a wide and deep influence on the national mind. The admirable and much-used 'Private Devotions of Bishop Andrewes,' 'streaming,' for the most part, 'from the fountains of the East,' present of themselves a most complete grounding in this system. Archbishop Laud's, again, with less of fulness and power, and drawn almost entirely from Western sources, are remarkable for a felicitous combination of the Hour and Week-day systems. It may be expected that we should mention next Bishop Cosins' well-known Manual; but, while recognising the value, both of this and of the more authoritative 'Horarium' of Queen Elizabeth, (1560 and 1571,) after which it is formed, as evidences of a due appreciation

among ourselves of the Hour-system, we cannot place either these or the innumerable manuals, based upon the same principle, which have appeared of late years, in the same category as those of Andrewes, Laud, or others, in which the week-day scheme is recognised in more or less of conjunction with the horary. So again, to go yet a little further back, the Primer of Edward VI. proceeds certainly upon the weekly principle; having Psalms and Lessons varying (without any visible *rationale*, however,) for each day of the week. But on examination the rest of the office is simply the Church's daily office put into the singular number. It is, therefore, no more than an anticipation of Dr. Hook's scheme of Family Prayer, (from which we have already taken leave to express our dissent,) only with the addition of *improper* Psalms and Lessons.

We come, then, to the adapted work of Hickes, the non-juror. This, again, combines the horary and week-day scheme. He makes four seasons of prayer in the day; reducible, however, to two; giving them the names of Matins, Lauds, Vespers, and Compline. The first and the three last days of the week are associated with events of Redemption; the remaining three with those of Creation. The work is hardly likely to be used as it stands, but is suggestive both as to manner and matter. One feature in it more especially to our purpose, is that it recognises, more clearly, perhaps, than any preceding manual, the position and the religious importance of the household. Not only are all the offices given equally suitable, as he observes, for a single person or many, but there is added an office, morning and evening, for a family, of which we quote from his preface the following account, for the sake of its general conformity with the view which we have expressed in an earlier part of this article, both as to the religious function of the household, and as to the suggestiveness of the old Primary offices:—

‘ In the office for a family is briefly comprehended, all that relates both to the erudition and devotion of a Christian family, and all the stages of human life are fitly represented, with the various dispensations of God towards mankind from the beginning to the end of all things, in order to one final and perfect restoration. And as families are founded in the society of man and woman, as first instituted by God, one main part of the service proper for a family, turns upon the religious and useful discourse of the evil and good which have been derived to mankind by woman, being part of the reformation of the office for the B. Virgin.’

Before we leave the Caroline and non-juring devotional writers, we find ourselves constrained to enter our protest against a recent well-meant but most infelicitous attempt to meet the popular mind by a compilation of them. ‘Family Devotions for a Fortnight’ is a title sufficient of itself almost to

take away one's breath. We are reassured, however, by finding ourselves in the company of our old acquaintances, Andrewes, Ken, Kettlewell, Spinckes, &c. and are ready to believe that no harm can come of such honoured sources. Yet it is even so, that the work is simply a reproduction of that old wretched type of long-winded Presbyterian 'exercises,' in the way of prayer, which has these many years so eaten out the heart of devotion and churchmanship in our households; only that the matter is borrowed as aforesaid. Surely this is a little too bad. The great names we have mentioned might have been spared an application of their devotional writings which they would themselves have most strongly repudiated. We are disposed, however, to look on this compilation as providentially put forth to give the *coup de grace* to the system which it is intended to uphold and perpetuate. If it is found, as we are confident it will be found, that not even the pure orthodoxy of Andrewes, nor the seraphic animation of Ken, drawn forth into a long and continuous spell for family use, can keep people from going to sleep over it, it will then, perhaps, be admitted that the plan is radically and incurably defective, and must be given up once and for ever.

It is a more pleasing task to proceed to speak of the Manuals of Mr. Bowdler and Mr. Ward, from the publication of which, we are inclined to think, may be dated a new era in the matter of household worship. From the preface to the former we have already given an extract, which will bespeak its general character (p. 33). The Gospel associations, on such days of the week as have any proper to them, are duly set down as a heading, and worked out by means of versicles and collects. We have also an association arbitrarily assigned to Monday and Tuesday; viz. to the former, 'the Glory of God in the Creation of the Heavens, and of Christ in the Church'—the rationale of which last is not apparent: to the latter, 'the Glory of God in the Creation and Providential Government of the World;' an idea borrowed from Hickes, but by him connected with the work of creation for the day,—'God as the Preserver and Sustainer.' Neither of the appropriations is satisfactory; because they fail to supply the gaps in the week-day scheme, considered as a means of teaching the Creed. Neither can we commend the manual as a whole. Many of the prayers are too wordy, the confessions especially, and not a few of them drawn from that very poor series, 'Prayers at the end of the Bible.' The services, also, vary too much; being totally different, except in outline, for each day of the week: whereas it seems desirable to familiarise households to some two or three varieties, at most, of confession, intercession, &c. Add to this, that there are no Psalms

printed, but only a general suggestion for their use. We consider this defect really fatal to the practicability of any Manual, as we shall have occasion to explain presently. Those, however, who are in search of valuable materials for composing or completing a Household Office will find an excellent supply of them in this careful, and, in the main, most churchmanlike compilation. There are variations in the way of versicles and collects—the latter occasionally too novel in their composition—for the Church's days and seasons.

A high degree of commendation must also be accorded to Mr. Ward's 'Family Offices:' in some respects, indeed, it borders hard upon perfection. Its defects are chiefly of a mechanical kind: these are, however, so serious as to forbid, we apprehend, its obtaining any very general acceptance. We can hardly commend too highly the degree in which church-like elements and character are preserved throughout, together with the judicious restoration of the best of the old features which we have in any degree lost; such as the use (at least on high days) of a *bond fide* antiphon before and after the Psalms; of a responsive canticle after the lesson, and of invocations of the Holy Trinity. There are also ample and well-conceived variations for the Church's festivals and seasons. The 'turning of the book,' to find the variable portions, is also simple enough, as far as the household are concerned; but would require some practice on the part of the person conducting the service. The provision for expressing the associations of ordinary week-days is the most satisfactory that we have hitherto spoken of, at least in one respect; viz. that the work of creation for each day is made the ground of one or more ascriptions of praise in a responsive form. The matter of these ascriptions is also noble and commendable. Yet, unaccountable as the omission may seem, on two days of the week only is the Gospel association added to the creation event; viz. on the Sunday and Friday. Not even on Thursday and Saturday are the Ascension and the Resting in the Grave commemorated. Besides this, the book shares the defect of Mr. Bowdler's, in being absolutely indeterminate as to the Psalm, hymn, or lesson to be used on any given day. Directions like the following are far too loose to be likely to result in anything practical:—'Then may be said such Psalm or Psalms as the master shall appoint;' 'then may be read a lesson, after which may be sung a hymn' (p. 4 and *passim*). People in general are too idle, or too busy, to be reckoned upon for acting out such bare suggestions: still less can they be expected to extemporise such a selection as will forward the general aim of the service. Mr. Ward's book, it appears to us, would be especially suited to furnish the Morning and Evening Office of

persons living together in something of religious retirement; for to such a case the fulness and variety of the offices provided for the different days and seasons of the year would be better adapted than to the case of an ordinary household: such persons, too, would have less difficulty in arranging and using a proper cycle of Psalms, hymns, and lessons.

Considerable merits, with still more considerable faults, must be the sum of the character we have to give of the 'Daily Office for the use of Families, to be said Morning and Evening throughout the Year,' published uniformly with the Parochial Tracts. In giving this character of it, we are measuring it, it is true, by a high standard; but we cannot, in the present improved and advancing condition of this branch of devotional literature—some proofs of which we have already given—speak of this as more than a commendable, far from an entirely successful, production. We readily recognise in its structure many excellent features, especially the principle of association, as far as regards the Gospel events for each day, in some degree carried out; Psalms, sometimes well selected, and printed in full; hymns for each morning and evening, from sources old and new; a sort of antiphon (not exactly after the old type) before the Psalms; and a 'Thanks be to the Lord' after the Lesson. Here are also many good ancient things brought back; such as the old Sarum 'Oratio dicenda ante Divinum officium;' and the older and fuller form of the Prime Collect, 'Direct and sanctify, rule and govern, our hearts and bodies, our thoughts, words, and deeds,' &c. Yet the manual abounds with most egregious faults. Considering the earnest tone of churchmanship which pervades the preface, it is surely an astonishing omission that there should be not a single variation provided, of any sort or kind, for the Church's seasons or days. No; 'morning and evening throughout the year,' the office is to be precisely the same, week after week. An ancient error, we grant, (to wit, that of the Primers, only that *they* made all *days* alike;) but, surely, an indefensible one. There is not so much as a suggestion to use the proper weekly Collect. Further, the services are a world too long. We cannot believe that they had ever been tried before they were printed. Eight or nine pages—pages such as those of the 'Parochial Tracts,' including four verses to be sung, is really somewhat in excess. Here, too, there is too much variety and absence of fixity in the service. The minor ritual mistakes are numerous, such as appointing the Easter-eve Collect for Sunday; Psalms, *not* of the Crucifixion, for Friday;—indeed, there is but a single brief allusion to that event in the whole office of that day. So, again, the Ascension is not once expressly alluded to on Thursday. The 8th Psalm

is, indeed, appointed, as is also, we are glad to see, the 23d, in reference, of course, to the Eucharist; but the idea is nowhere expressly brought out. Neither, again, is there any provision made for the occasional needs of a household. It will be seen that, in our view, this Manual requires a world of retrenchment and expansion, before it can claim to be a very effective instrument of household devotion.

And let it be carefully remembered, of all the Manuals which we have hitherto spoken of, that whatever commendation we have been able to bestow on them in other respects, in one point they all fail alike of being adequate instruments for carrying out what we have ventured to affirm is the primary business of offices of this kind. There is not one that frames the lives of the household fairly upon the Creed; not one that does not develop the Creed unequally by reason of its filling certain days with the thought of certain of its articles, while other articles receive no similar treatment. Now this we do most seriously contend is a capital, crying, fatal defect. It is a course we really have no right to persist in. It is a careless half-churchmanship for which we can see no excuse. It is pretending to follow in our spiritual mother's footsteps, and taking to our own by-ways for a good part of the journey. Show us the article of the faith which she omits in her yearly cycle, and we will be content it should be left out in our weekly one. When it can be proved that she has not her Christmas and Whitsuntide, as well as her Good-Friday and Easter, we shall be satisfied to fill Friday and Sunday with thoughts of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, while those of the Incarnation and the gifts of the Spirit are left to the meditation of chance hours. No; unless we are prepared to complete our cycle, we had really better abandon the association principle, as regards the days of the week, altogether.

We should, however, have little satisfaction in having thus brought out, in the strongest manner we are able, the paramount importance, in our view, of this feature in a household service, were it not in our power to commend to the notice of such as have followed us thus far, a book of Family Offices, in which excellence of almost every other kind—at least, according to the model which has approved itself to our humble judgment, on grounds set forth in this article—is consummated by the fullest and most careful elaboration of the principle of associating, not some days in the week, but every day, with one or more articles of the Creed. The Manual which we have, not without significance of our estimate of it, placed first in our list, though last in our survey, needed not the signature of a nobleman well known for devoted affection, condensed into the most practical

forms, towards the English Church, to commend it to the adoption of English Churchmen. But we are of opinion that Lord Nelson has done right in not withholding his name. This, surely, is the very way to express, on behalf of a work of the kind, that it claims to be no more than a private effort; a suggestion or contribution humbly offered by a faithful son of the Church, after taking counsel, as is here stated, of clerical friends;—not, by any means, a book having authority. We say this as having understood that an objection, on the ground of the compiler's name having been given, had hindered the reception of the Manual in some quarters. We may anxiously desire that the need for private effort were superseded by the Church's *imprimatur*; but so long as this is not so, it is mere child's play to seek to invest what we must know to be unauthorized with the spurious impressiveness of the *ignotum pro magnifico*. We also get the benefit of an assurance, that the offices here put forth have not a mere paper existence; but that, having been tested by a six months' experience (Pref. p. vi.) in a large household, they have been found to come up to a standard and ideal of household worship, which the book itself proves to be no mean one. We could add to this, from smaller households and a humbler sphere, testimonies to the bright new life which the adoption of these forms has at once infused into the deadness (alas! to a proverb) of 'family prayers';—the testimony, too, most valuable and unsuspected of all, that of servants and children; borne partly by the evident warmth and heart with which the worship is joined in, partly by the pleasure expressed at the new kind of heavenly service to which they have found themselves thus admitted. But, in truth, we mistrust our own judgment of the general merits of a compilation which in one particular coincides so preeminently, as we have said, with our own conclusions and prepossessions. We prefer, therefore, to cite the verdict of a contemporary, not too easy to please in a matter of this kind; whose favourable judgment, too, it will be seen, rests upon every part of the book *but* the one which finds such especial favour in our eyes, and which he, on the contrary, firmly, though temperately, demurs to: and as he has also well described in brief the plan of the offices, and raised one special difficulty, we shall take leave to quote his words in full:—

'We have no hesitation in saying that, speaking generally, it is the most satisfactory and best arranged Manual that the Church of England has yet seen. The services are formed on the Old Catholic model, adapted in some degree to our own established religious habits, avoiding long prayers and lessons, and making due use of psalms and hymns. The basis of the service continues always the same; but there are portions specially appropriated to each day in the week and to the Church's varying seasons.

The most novel feature in the arrangement—the questionableness of which we fear will materially hinder the acceptance of the Manual in many quarters—is the attempt to assign some event in the Christian Dispensation, corresponding with the recorded events of the first creation, to each day of the week. In our Number of May last we discussed at some length the question how far this very tempting idea can be carried out; and we saw that for Monday and Tuesday it decidedly fails. Earl Nelson, however, is not to be deterred; and so assigns the descent of the Holy Ghost (contrary of course to the general tradition of the Church) to Monday, and the Nativity to Tuesday. An arrangement which thus disconnects the Sunday with the commemoration of the Descent of the Holy Ghost, will certainly startle English Churchmen. The editor, indeed, assures us that “a similar appropriation of the second and third days of the week has long prevailed in the Eastern Church,” but we cannot make out on what authority this statement is made. In the authorized *Horologium*, or Manual of Private Prayer of the Greek Church, which we have consulted, it certainly is not the case; and the fact of commemorating the descent of the Holy Spirit on *Whitsunday* seems irreconcilable with such a habit. If, however, it can be shown that we are in error, we shall be most glad to beg pardon of the noble compiler. And if persons can get over this difficulty, we promise them that in all other respects they will find nothing in the Manual but what is excellent.—*The Ecclesiastic*, Dec. 1852.

Our contemporary has, it may seem at first sight, hit a blot in Lord Nelson's arrangement of the days. But the truth is, that though in the preface the Descent of the Holy Spirit is spoken of as the subject of thought for the Monday, this is evidently an accidental slip, and really misrepresents the provision made in the Manual itself. By turning to the office for Sunday, it will be seen that the Descent *is* commemorated on that day, and not on Monday. What *is* commemorated on Monday is the *gifts* of the Holy Spirit, on the ground of the creation on that day of the principal types and media of His operation,—such as the air, water, and dew. To this, we conceive, there can be no well-founded objection. There can be few but must have felt that the topic of our Lord's Resurrection so fills of itself the first day, that the association which connects the day with the Holy Spirit finds but a secondary and partially realized place; so that it is even natural to crave another day for the meditation of ‘His manifold gifts:’ which can be perfectly well done without in the least dissociating the Sunday from the Pentecostal Descent. And the fact that the Church appoints in two instances (Easter and Whitsuntide) the Monday and Tuesday to receive (so to speak) the superflux of thought redounding from the Sunday, is a sort of warrant for the choice of one of these days for the purpose we speak of. Then comes in the practice of the Greek Church, determining us, of the two, to the Monday; the Tuesday being left, as by her traditionally associated, for the remembrance of the Incarnation.

We trust that what we have said will remove all real ground

of objection; only, of course, the error in the preface to the Manual should be corrected. We hope, too, to find that our acute contemporary is satisfied, by what has been advanced in this article, that there are fair grounds in the practice of the Eastern Church for the appropriation which he has demurred to, but has so courteously expressed his willingness to be convinced of.

We shall not need many words to point out the grounds upon which we are disposed to endorse the favourable judgment of this Manual which has just been quoted, and to give it our suffrage as one which may well be accepted and used in this Church of England, until the Church herself shall give us a better. These grounds are, in brief, its combining all those qualifications which we have stipulated for in such a book, in order that it may answer the ends of a Household Worship; and in some one or more of which we have found all others, that we know of, deficient. We do not say that some of these have not attained greater excellence or fulness in some one particular or other;—one, in largeness of Festival variations; another, in evolving by suitable Scriptures the household idea,—(a point on which we are inclined to counsel some enlargement here, though of collects for all occasions of household need there is an ample supply;) a third, in the combination of the horary with the week-day principle. But, looking to operativeness and feasibility,—to well-balanced retention of all desirable elements, combined with simplicity of arrangement,—and, above all, to the work the household has to do, and the manner in which it should hold itself in subordination to the Church's own operations;—in all these respects, taken together, we confess that we know of nothing to be compared with this little volume. Not that we vouch for all details. While we commend, for instance, the all but Wesleyan warmth which is boldly thrown into the Hymn department in many places, we still think the selection might be improved upon. The appropriation of Psalms, too, may require to be reconsidered here and there. A table of suitable Lessons is also greatly needed, and will, we hope, be thought of against a second edition. One point which we more especially commend, is the relative position of the Creed, short Litany ('Lord, have,' &c.), and Lord's Prayer, following each other. This is the natural baptismal order, and it is of some importance to preserve it, in a household office especially. For in the Creed, the baptismal faith and position are taken into the mouth; in the threefold invocation and the Lord's Prayer, the baptismal privilege is exercised in its simplest and normal form. Another point is the ample supply of Psalms which the book contains. There is a fixed one set down for each day of the

ordinary week; but if this be found to savour of sameness, week after week, it is easy to draw upon the sevenfold stock provided for the season corresponding to each day; it is but to name the page, and turn to it.

The manner in which the ordinary weekly cycle is wrought out, and how it is superseded, on all fitting occasions, by one deriving its colour from the Church's own topic of thought, cannot be better expressed than in the words of the Preface:—

‘In compiling the accompanying form of family Prayer, with special Services for the days of the week, and for the great Seasons and Festivals of our Church, I have kept two objects mainly in view, 1st, to instruct our families in the simplest and most striking manner in the great doctrines of the Church; and 2dly, to effect this with the greatest possible simplicity of arrangement.

‘To accomplish the first, I have made use of short special services, arranged in cycles, weekly and annual, containing a Hymn (which may be said or sung), Text, Versicles, and Psalms, by means of which the teaching proper to the day or season can be clearly and forcibly brought home to the mind.

‘The several days of the week, with the Psalms, &c., and Hymns appropriated to them, are intended, by their continued revolution as of an inner wheel, to teach the great lessons of the Christian year. In virtue of the Services thus appropriated,—

On Sunday we think of Easter	The Resurrection.
... Monday..... Whitsuntide.....	The Descent [qv. ? Gifts] of the HOLY SPIRIT; the holy Angels.
... Tuesday	Christmas..... The Incarnation.
... Wednesday	Lent Our LORD's Temptation and Betrayal.
... Thursday	Holy Thursday..... The Ascension; Institution of Holy Communion.
... Friday	Good Friday..... The Passion.
... Saturday	[Easter Eve,] Advent. All Saints; Baptismal rest in CHRIST; Judgment.

‘While the outer wheel, consisting of Special Services adapted to the Church's own appointed Seasons, is designed, as each Season comes round, to supersede these, and carry on the thought of that Season through the Octave of the Feast; or, (as in Lent and Advent,) through the whole Season.

‘In this set of Special Services there are, besides the Versicles and Hymn, Seven Psalms applicable to the Season and appointed one for each day of the week.

‘To secure the second point, the variable portion of the Service is so arranged as to require only one reference to the part of the book containing it; and only one occasion for change of position during the Prayers. The Prayers with short Lessons, (which experience seems to show are the most instructive,) would not occupy a longer period than fifteen minutes, seldom so long, and from the variety and responsive form given to them, will be found to cause less weariness and inattention than a string of Collects, or one continuous Prayer that occupied but half that time.

‘In the weekly scheme of Services here drawn out, the topics assigned to the first and four last days of the week, rest upon the sanction of Holy Scripture. For the Monday and Tuesday, however, no scriptural asso-

ciation is provided, beyond the works of creation performed on those days; yet there are fair grounds for associating them with the operations of the HOLY SPIRIT, and with the Incarnation respectively. For we have the creation, on the Monday, of the heavens, and with them, of the highest order of spiritual beings, the angels, as also of the air, winds, waters above and beneath the heavens, the chief emblems of the HOLY SPIRIT. On the Tuesday of the dust of the earth, which our LORD ennobled by taking it upon Him at His Incarnation; and of the "ground cursed for our sake," but partaking in hope together with us of "the glorious liberty of the children of GOD," (Rom. viii.) which by the Incarnation is given to us.

'By this arrangement, then, Whitsuntide and Christmas are provided with a Weekly day of commemoration. A similar appropriation of the second and third days of the week has long prevailed in the Eastern Church.

'We may also consider that on the first day of the week we commemorate the operations of all Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, those of the two other Persons on the second and third, while from the third to the last day of the week inclusive, all the saving actions of our LORD from the Incarnation to His coming to Judgment are commemorated.'

We will select a specimen or two of the manner in which the Creed idea is carried out by means of a daily threefold ascription of praise.

'MONDAY.

Text.—By the word of the LORD were the heavens made, and all the hosts of them by the breath of His mouth.

1. O Thou Who didst on this day create the heavens and the heaven of heavens, angels and archangels, cherubim and seraphim :

Glory be to Thee, O LORD.

2. O Thou Who didst create types of Thy HOLY SPIRIT, waters above the heavens, showers and dews, lightnings and clouds; wind and storm fulfilling Thy word:

Glory be to Thee, O LORD.

3. O Thou, Who hast given unto us the manifold gifts of Thy SPIRIT :

Glory be to Thee, O LORD.—*Lord Nelson*, p. 15.

'THURSDAY.

Text. Set your affections on things above, not on things on the earth.

1. O Thou, Who as on this day didst create the fish of the sea and the fowls of the air, a type of Thy baptized and risen members :

Glory be to Thee, O LORD.

2. O LORD JESUS, Who didst as on this day ascend into heaven to be head over all things to Thy Church, and to make us sit with Thee in heavenly places :

Glory be to Thee, O LORD.

3. O Thou, Who on the evening of this day didst institute the Sacrament of Thy most blessed Body and Blood :

Glory be to Thee, O LORD.—*Ibid.* p. 26.

And the idea, it must be remembered, is further carried on by a suitable hymn, antiphon, psalm, lesson, versicles and responses, and collect or collects. To use all this aright, twice in the day, must surely be to fill ear and heart with the invigorating tones, day by day, of the articles of our most holy faith. Indeed,

it were easy to discourse convincingly of the happiness of such as thus have the key note of their lives set 'anew every morning ;' and whose weekly round, instead of being attuned to the dull strain of this world's routine, rings responsively to the seven-fold changings of the Creed. Every one knows the peculiar aspect, the Resurrection bloom, as it were, which the world, external and internal, wears on a Sunday: why may not every day of the week breathe a corresponding, though varied, spirituality, penetrating, in the same manner as the Sunday feeling does, the whole being? Let each day be but thus transfigured or chastened with the presence of some glory or sorrow of the gospel, (and it is no chimera that this may be done,) and we shall have provided ourselves with no mean help towards maintaining the life of faith, and supplying the want of objectiveness which is so characteristic of the religious popular mind of the day. We do not say that household services alone will accomplish all this; it must be followed up in the personal life, and by the use of psalms at times of leisure, devotions formed on the same plan, and the like. And in the case of children, *the tone of the day*, as set by the household service, may be made a most effectual instrument of distinct and simplified religious teaching. The little book entitled, 'Lessons for the Days of the Week,' with a slight addition to the Monday and Tuesday readings, will be found an excellent help in teaching on this plan. For the benefit of those, young or old, who find a *memoria technica* convenient, we subjoin a summary of the associations of each day of the week with the gospel events and truths, including, occasionally, those of creation also.

Think, the First Day, how JESUS rose, the Light of Life to give,
And sent the Spirit down, that we that Risen Life might live;
Next, of that Holy Spirit's types and ministers most true,
The Angels and the viewless Air, the Waters, and the Dew;
And third, how on the earth He made the world's Creator trod,
And took our dust, and was as Man, that Man might be as God;
And fourth, how sadly on His path His Sun and Moon arose,—
Rose on His Forty Days of Fast, and His Betrayal Woes;
Fifth, how Himself, a Gift to God, to us a Feast, He gave,
Went up as Priest and King, and sits to offer, plead, and save;
And sixth, how on the painful Cross His precious Life was given,
That we with Him to self might die, thro' Him have peace with Heaven;
Seventh, how His Saints in Him have Rest from works of sin, and pain,
In Baptism, or in Paradise, until He come again.

On the subject of practical household religion, again, some valuable matter will be found in the lamented Mr. Suckling's little 'Address to his Household.' We gladly observe an entire coincidence of view with our own, as to the position and duties of households, those of the clergy especially.

We have yet a practical counsel or two to give. The first is, that those who intend to adopt this or any other well-constituted manual of family devotions, *must take some little trouble about it*. We English, with our staid ways, are a little shy, even among our own people, of bestirring ourselves to carry out, and see that others carry out, anything unwonted of this sort. But the household must really be put through their parts, so to speak, in the first instance, at the risk of occasional awkwardnesses, or nothing will be accomplished. We offer no opinion one way or the other as to the desirableness of something of the nature of an oratory, or call it a room set apart for this purpose. Only we will observe, that their view is defensible enough, who think it possible to withdraw the household prayer *too much* aloof from household associations; and that it may, after all, be the truest and most natural mode of sanctifying the hearth and the table, and with them life's common occupations, to perform household devotions in the midst of them, only with such seemliness and order as the matter admits of. Again, there is an old established fallacy, which really must be exploded:—it is to the effect, that a single book is enough for the services of a household. This notion, only that it is obviously a mere *laissez-faire* one, runs curiously counter to the zeal which rightly exists for every man, woman, and child having their Prayer Book. There is, in reality, exactly the same kind of need in one case as in the other. Let no man dream, therefore, of setting himself up with a single copy of any manual worth using: the number of his household should be the only measure of his investment this way. Compilers are bound, however, to bear this in mind, and we believe it will be generally found that every endeavour has been made to reduce, as much as possible, the cost of manuals of this kind. On the other hand, let those who crave greater fulness in some department or other of such books, reflect that the compiler is limited by the consideration of bulk and expensiveness from putting in all that he might desire. On this ground, we have forborne to urge, *inter alia*, the addition of a mid-day service to Lord Nelson's book, though we conceive that such a thing will be desired in many quarters; it will be seen at once, that unless it were unvaried, (which is objectionable,) it must swell the work greatly.

One word on behalf of the peculiar case—for it is peculiar—of those who should never be forgotten, the households and householders of the poor. It is evident that what we have been sketching is above them: that brevity and simplicity must be studied tenfold in their case: which, indeed, deserves, every way, a separate consideration. We have thought it well, however, to advert to the forthcoming 'Broad Sheet of Family Prayers for

the Labouring Classes,' as a step in the right direction towards supplying their needs. Noon-day and evening would appear to be their best opportunities of snatching a few minutes from labour or rest for this purpose. And one thing seems indispensable, in order to procure the actual adoption by them of any form, however simple, viz.—that the clergy should superintend once and again the performance of the little service. We invite the especial attention of the clergy to the best methods of bringing in the reality of so wholesome a practice.

ART. III.—*Reminiscences of Thought and Feeling. By the Author of 'Visiting my Relations.'* London: Pickering. 1852.

THERE is something attractive in all autobiography. To be admitted to a man's intimacy, even in a book, and along with the rest of the world, is a favour; and some share of that politeness and deference of demeanour attends upon our reading his statements, if he can prove any claim upon our interest, that would characterise our reception of them by word of mouth: so natural is it to seek to restore the self-accuser, who makes us his confidant, to his own good opinion. But a different frame of mind is needed for deriving the full benefit from this branch of literature. There is no reading which calls more for a judgment always on the alert—we might say, always suspicious; there is none where, with professions of candour meeting us at every turn, we are left more to our own sense to discriminate where truth really lies. A man with the purest aim at sincerity, cannot paint of his inner self a likeness to be recognised by all the world at a glance. Keen and practised habits of observation are needed to distinguish between faults known to the writer alone, and faults conspicuous to the world,—to enable us to give him his true place in the scenes he describes, and to discover what are the disturbing forces at work to hinder a full expression of truth; vanity, temper, wilfulness, self-consciousness, impatience, all of them likely elements in the character of those who throw off natural reserve, to talk about themselves.

With all these drawbacks, to any but the judicious reader, autobiography is of great value, and not the less so, perhaps, for thus exercising our judgment, and not permitting it sleepily to receive impressions. Especially is it valuable where it sheds light on the history and character of those who have had influence, or taken part in great religious movements, who have been forward in the battle-field of opinion, or who, less conspicuous, have yet thrown all the weight they possess into the cause of reformation, or change, or progress, the advocacy of new doctrine, or the reassertion of forgotten and neglected truth. Biography may mislead; a man's friends may err through affection or partiality. Prejudice, or dull perception, may lead to a permanent misrepresentation, apart from intention to deceive; but truth is to be found in all that a man tells about himself—not, as we have already asserted, on the surface, but it does not fail to show itself. A man cannot talk for an hour, or write a chapter,

on what most intimately concerns himself, and the clear-sighted listener, or reader, remain in ignorance of his leading characteristics. Something will transpire to show the congeniality of the temper and character with the views. How a man has arrived at his opinions, is often no bad guide to the value of the opinions themselves, especially to persons less versed in the abstract investigation and study of truth, than in the practical knowledge of what should be its results on the character, and what class of thinkers and actors are most likely to arrive at it. Those views at least deserve consideration and respect which are held and asserted by a calm, reasonable, constant mind, which does not pass from one conviction to another, but holds fast what it has once acquired as a part of its very being; not changing, but adding to, as thought matures; combining, harmonising, completing. It must be confessed that minds like this seldom write their own histories. They are more possessed by their subject than by their own part in it. It is the struggle, the turmoil of conflicting opinions, the sudden transitions of thought, the convulsions of feeling, which are the staple of such treatises; and the reader is justified in questioning with redoubled doubt and suspicion the conclusions of a mind which has held and rejected so many previous theories, which has so often been convinced before and forsaken its convictions. Error may often be put in so plausible a form as to look like truth, and assert itself with some weight, if supposed to be the result of a long and deliberate train of reasoning; but when we find the doctrine is taught by one who has taught its opposite before, and whose whole career shows changeableness and self-will, it stands at once upon its own merits; nay more, it loses from such an advocacy; for either it may, in its turn, be discarded like other past notions, or if held on, may only prove its congeniality with those evil dispositions.

Except that self is so ensnaring a theme, we cannot but wonder that this consideration has not checked the flow of some public confessions; but with many, truth is not truth apart from their own particular mode of holding it and arriving at it; so that the two, as it were, hang together; and however terrible the struggles may have been, there is some pleasure in talking of them. The higher the scene in which self performs its part, the keener often the interest in this self-portraiture. Nor does excess of candour in the confession of past error apparently much abate the pleasure. The past, to many minds, is so really past—they say ‘good-bye’ to the different phases of themselves with so hearty a good-will, and with such entire leave-taking—they feel so little responsibility for whatever happened in their former states of being,—that it costs them very little to reveal scenes of

folly or vanity, or grosser error. They are all but so many disguises setting off the present; faults rather of the previous systems by which they have been enthralled, than coming very directly home to their own personal identity. Nay, where there is a sense of humour and some natural gift at expression, there is even amusement in the very act of putting a former self out of countenance by telling some good story against it.

These remarks, suggested by the volume before us, in one respect do not fully apply; for while in most cases the antidote, as we would venture to call many a personal history, comes long after the bane has been diffused, here the bane and antidote come together; so that whatever harm might be got by false and dangerous opinion expressed in a dispassionate tone, more frequently by omission than by any bold assertion, and with the accompaniment of some plain practical good sense, and the profession of a deeper than ordinary spirituality, ought to be at once negatived to every reader by the picture of a life which the autobiography presents.

The work may be characterised as a clever one, not thoughtful in any true sense, and with hardly the profession of deep reasoning: the writer boasting of a sort of womanly intuition which serves her instead of that more laborious process; but furnishing a practically sufficient view of her own nature, and of the nature, too, of her present belief—as far as she holds anything that can be called such: and as this style of belief is growing into fashion with some minds, of which modern literature supplies us with too many semi-German learned instances, it is well to see its history apart, as we may say, from theology, on a mind of some power, but both from sex and circumstances removed from the training of a theological education. The fear that its more popular form, and (we may add) its more readable qualities, may place this volume in some hands where it may do mischief, has led to the present notice.

The book is divided into two equal parts, and it matters little whether we begin, like our authoress, with the thoughts and the religious theory, or, reversing this order, first dwell on the course of life out of which the present system has developed itself.

The case stands thus: here is a person believing herself to be in a deeply religious state of mind,—having attained to a spiritual knowledge, indeed, from which she can look down upon the faults and mistakes of all other religious professors,—writing a book for the avowed purpose of explaining her views, and of showing how she was brought out of a course of error and unhappiness into the knowledge and possession of divine truth and peace; who yet, in this professed exposition of her creed,

avows no belief or trust in the Redeemer as an object of faith, nor yet in the Bible as the word of God; nor yet in the Church of Christ as His fold and pasture, nor in any fundamental doctrine of Christianity—beyond, indeed, the existence of God and His Holy Spirit; and this doctrine itself suffers mutation in the progress of the volume, ceasing to be an external object of faith, and in the end owned only as existing in the heart of the believer. We do not say that all these doctrines are deliberately disavowed,—if it were so, the book could do no harm,—or that a careless perusal would prove their general neglect or rejection, but what we say is, that nowhere are they asserted as essentials, or a positive belief in them expressed, and that the holding of them in the ordinary sense is disparaged. And yet it is remarkable what a tone of feeling and emotion may pervade a religious work marked by such striking omissions, and therefore we must consider it very fortunate that the writer, who has chosen, late in life, to declare the conclusions to which she has arrived, should have been led by an impulse, which would be variously characterised, to lay before us the course of life which has issued in this negative creed; and a very different path it has been towards the attainment of truth, than many an inspired precept guides us to by its promises and warnings.

The sex of the writer has already been intimated, and though she does not announce her name, she conceals nothing beside. It would be easy, therefore, to supply this one deficiency, did we not prefer retaining the slight disguise. Strictures are less personal when attached to no name, nor is it such an outrage on our gallantry to show, as can so easily be shown, that '*the writer's*' bad, ungoverned temper, and violent will, are at the root of all her errors, and most of the sufferings and unhappiness her book records, as that Miss So-and-so has been possessed of these unfeminine and unpopular characteristics.

In revealing her sex, the author expresses some affected misgivings that, by doing so, she deprives her book of all its weight with the generality of readers; a misgiving out of place in one who believes herself, in some remarkable way, to possess truth, and a reproach which the world does not at all deserve. Though there may justly be expected from a masculine understanding and training a more continued and vigorous hold of an abstract train of thought, this prejudice would yield at once to the evidence of clear reasoning power. But this is a quality as much absent from our author's writings, as from her course of life; there is no concatenation of ideas, no train of argument, no discrimination—but a medley of detached thoughts, some telling for and some against her aim: common sense and extravagance, credulity and unbelief, practical observation and the wildest

theory, vagueness and daring assertion, all contradicting and opposing one another. While we are ready to acknowledge considerable literary merit in the graphic scenes drawn from her recollections and personal experience, and also in the point, and satire of her descriptions of her own and other people's absurdities, the whole autobiography furnishes a useful lesson,—what inefficient guardians from folly and exposure are even a good intellect and capacity, without some moral guidance and self-control. The autobiography opens with the following remarks:

‘Whilst writing these pages, and giving the reins to my pen on the subject of religion with a licence which I fear may be displeasing to some readers, I have often wished, by way of explaining the cause of my taking so positive a side of the question, to relate some of the circumstances of my mental history; but ever, as this desire has presented itself, I have been prevented from fulfilling it by a dread of thrusting myself, as an individual, into notice;—a feeling which, when people have passed the period of threescore, and value no worldly possessions so much as ease and safety, it seems but prudent to entertain.

‘It appears, however, to me, as if I were internally called upon to give “a reason for the hope that is in me,”—since, if we address the public at all in a didactic form, we are, as I conceive, bound to confirm those addresses with whatever we have to produce as personal experience. Nothing is sure to us but what we have acquired in that way; and those who tell us what they *know*, and can set their seal to, as incontrovertibly found by *them* to be true, render us, if but little service, still, the best service that they can.’—Pp. 137, 138.

The last sentiment is the key-note of the book; the rejection, that is, of objects of faith, in favour of an inward light and guide. Another motive is next avowed, that of removing from herself the charge of mistiness in religious views which has been brought against a former work, ‘*Visiting my Relations*,’ probably known to some of our readers; a charge to which, in spite of her endeavours, the present volume is even more open, except so far as we take the only way of clearing it, by supposing a general infidelity and unbelief of all truths not acknowledged. She then proceeds to her personal history, which, even on the very threshold, betrays her besetting sin, and gives an insight into that wayward nature, rebellious against all authority, which first led to filial disobedience, and now, in mature years, permits a daughter to write disrespectfully, and with feelings almost vindictive, of her father, under the excuse of the world’s profiting by the painful disclosure.

‘Whatever be the strength and expansion of man’s intellect, the necessity for learning to endure patiently, falls largely upon woman; whose patrimony, for the most part, is little else than a profound capacity for sorrow.

‘It was a great inheritance of this kind that devolved to me, in the temperament I derived from my father, a vivacious Irishman, endowed with a remarkable portion of the impetuosity, propensity to blunder, and

inexplicable confusions which render that unhappy nation a sort of anomaly in the creation. I think the very greatest of his mistakes was that of taking me home from boarding-school when I was just thirteen, in order, nominally, that I might be companionable to my mother, (of whom I was the youngest and only child she had left as a home resident—the others being disposed of by marriage and other ways,) and also to show proper obedience in a state of pupilage; for as my education could not, even in my father's rapid way of jumping to conclusions, be supposed to be finished, I was furnished with instructors in such branches of polite learning and accomplishment, as in those days of simplicity, when *ologies* as yet were not, sufficed for a young lady in the middle ranks of life.

'I say that *nominally* I was taken home to be docile, and finish my studies, and make my mother happy as her companion, my father being frequently absent from home by reason of business engagements and other causes: and a few years later, perhaps, I might have been sufficiently subdued by school discipline, and better matured faculties of reflection, to have submitted to the few restraints by which my residence under the parental roof limited my will; but I was then too young to have the least conception of the use and value of self-control, or any other idea of human life, but that people were to enjoy it as much as they could. Accordingly, to the full extent, of such joys as Misses of thirteen covet, I made myself the possessor, and especially in the article of novel reading, in which I was to be called learned for my years.'—Pp. 140, 141.

As her father and mother saw but little society, and she had few companions herself, the kitchen was her chief scene of social enjoyment, where her faculties for ridicule and satire were cultivated and indulged.

'It must not be imagined that I was left to run wild in this way without an occasional check from my parents. Very slightly, and but seldom, was it bestowed on the part of my mother; who, not particularly happy herself in some of her domestic relations, was too well pleased to be amused with my capacity for entertaining her, to run the hazard of disturbing it with homilies that I detested and resented; but from my father it came pretty sharply, suddenly, and sometimes oftener 'han was wanted. Nothing could be more obvious than that I was running to waste in a fearful way, and demonstrating my views of things and people with a vivacity and energy less becoming than remarkable in so very young a person; and that it would be good for me to be curbed rather more than a little; but that it should be done after the manner in which you would curb a restive horse (I do not mean by the application of a whip, but of sharp words), was not quite so good; inasmuch as sharp words addressed to some natures, like rough treatment to some horses, tend to make them worse than they were before.

'It was so with me. The indignation, the proud resentment with which I encountered reproof so administered, produced results, which, deepening in their nature from year to year, rendered my position towards my poor father and his to me, one of the strangest and the most painful that I think it would be possible for parent and child to experience.'—Pp. 142, 143.

This indignation at reproof characterises her throughout; we see how, later in life, every remonstrance, or decided difference of opinion, produced an estrangement and alienation towards the counsellor. Even in the present volume, which pictures

repose of spirit after all these storms, we see traces of the same asperity towards any who shall dispute her conclusions. She goes on more fully to paint her unnatural position towards her father.

‘ And the stranger, and the more painful was it, because we each of us possessed beneath the bitter and vindictive traits of character that caused so much exasperation of feeling on both sides, a fund of affectionate and genial sympathies that only wanted the right training and regulation to have made us happy in the link which nature had established between us. But as I could not endure to be treated harshly, and resented every sort of opposition that came in the form of a command, and the nature that had me in check was my very counterpart, augmented by the possession of authority and a still stronger will, I could not be otherwise than most unhappy ; and I was so as a very young girl, and still more so as a young woman. By that time, the mode of reproving which was distasteful to me as a child, had become so insupportable, as to excite in me a way of opposing it by harangues (for the most part true enough, but) so abominably impertinent, that almost anything must have seemed better than to run the hazard of producing them. On this account I suppose it was, that gradually as I grew older, my father left me to myself, apparently with a silent disdain of interfering, except by occasional sarcasms, with any of my proceedings.’—P. 143.

Some regret we see expressed for this miserable state of things, but it never amounts to repentance, or to fully realizing that the breach of the fifth commandment was the consistent habit of her youth. She is able to moralize upon it, as if such a position of father and child were a well-known and common one, and even to trace a blessing to herself from her own sin ; a favourite mode of consolation with her in the subsequent indulgence of self-will which marks her whole life.

‘ If it should appear in any degree unseemly for me thus to dwell upon circumstances of so private a character, I can only plead in excuse for it that it would be totally impossible for me to relate my mental history without distinctly tracing it to the particular influence which this unhappy domestic position exercised upon the whole course of my life. Painful indeed was that influence, as I have sufficiently demonstrated ; but it had a rich blessing enfolded in it, and one which the predominance of the religious sentiment in my nature rendered largely available. I cannot recollect the time in which I was not the better for sorrow ; for I cannot remember the distress of any kind that did not, as by an instinct, carry me straight to God, as a child when vexed runs to its mother for help and comfort.’—P. 145.

How far this parental neglect and mismanagement were real to the extent here intimated, it is difficult to judge. Some great fault in training there undoubtedly was. But there is also in some minds such a resolution to *learn* nothing, to take in from others no opinion or rule of conduct, such an insatiation to prove that to their own selves, to their struggles or sufferings, or mental effort, they owe all the knowledge and experience they

possess, that from tempers like this we must receive with great caution all reflections on the system and moral rule under which they have lived; knowing it, *à priori*, to be a fact, that wilful minds will always be full of such reflections on circumstances affecting themselves which they could not control. In conclusion, she gives a sketch of what her father was in himself,—trying to those who had to live with him, no doubt, but we are disposed to think more sinned against than sinning in the matter of his daughter, who, according to her own confession, refused even the thought of obedience to her mother's gentle rule. This unhappy domestic party are thus pictured:—

‘Let me, however, in justice to my poor father, state, that his faults were never of an immoral kind. He was a strictly honest, benevolent, and on the whole, a generous man; and, from first to last, in spite of all hindrances, my mother was devotedly attached to him, as, in his eccentric, Irish way, he was also to her; and very sure I am that he would have felled any body to the earth, who occasioned her a thousandth part of the uneasiness that he himself did.

‘In the meanwhile that I was thus unhappy in my connexion with him, I was truly loving and beloved in regard to my mother;—though being not the governed, but the governor there, I was, I deeply lament to say, a long way from exhibiting towards her the docility and dutifulness which are hard acquisitions in the way of behaviour for the young and the wilful to manifest towards the old. I was certainly not amiable. The irascible and bitter qualities which gave to my nature its fire and force, not having been in any proper way restrained and regulated, ran out like ugly weeds into a degree of self-love and self-pleasing which I did not recognise as a sin, till the selfishness and ingratitude of others against myself, occasioned me to remember that I had been guilty of it.’—P. 147.

There was, in fact, no parallel between the selfishness and ingratitude she here complains of, as subsequently befalling herself, and this flagrant breach of duty towards her parents. But we must not anticipate events.

Her father resided in Cambridge, where he followed the medical profession, and here she enjoyed intellectual advantages with which few other places would have supplied her. Her father's disposition was not such as to cultivate or invite a large acquaintance, but amongst the few were some highly gifted persons, members of the University, chief of whom was one whom she designates as ‘the Professor;’ we may go a step beyond her, and add the name to the academical title. Any one who knew Smyth, the Professor of Modern History, will be at no loss to trace to him all that is wise, either in remark or quotation in the present volume: strangely as his common sense mingles with the Gnosticism, Quietism, Mysticism, and other extravagances with which his practical experience are here allied. The authoress has, in fact, powers of appropriating, without harmonising, the different views and notions which came

before her; and it is curious to observe the influence of a strong mind on one whose natural bias is totally opposed to common sense—how the wisdom remains external, and will not amalgamate or fructify.

However, all the good which this lady acquired from this intercourse with superior minds, she is careful to explain, was simply intellectual; and she desires us to believe, that with her prayer-book in her hand, with the ordinary habits of attending church and hearing sermons, and with, we are led to suppose, the average amount of childish instruction, she was yet ignorant of the first principles of our religion. Not only had they not reached or influenced her heart, but she was unacquainted with the sound of them. On her first introduction to the Professor, she was nineteen, and he, at that time, old enough to be her father; her talent for music pleased him, and sitting by her father's fire-side, he in return for the strains of Corelli, Handel, and Geminiani, introduced her into the fields of thought and literature, in which, she gives us to understand, he found her an apt scholar.

'In short, in a way quite curious from its conciseness, simplicity, and natural emanation from the course of circumstances, he did all, I may truly say, that ever was done in an external way for my mental cultivation. Much was not wanted where a hint sufficed; and when two or three careless unconscious words of quotation had the effect, perhaps, of introducing me to months of study.

'All this however, though good, was merely intellectual; and, except as it nourished what good sense I might possess, was more influential in cultivating a sentiment of pride and self-sufficiency, than any more amiable tendencies. My father, who, as an Irishman, was, of course, exceedingly keen in a knowledge of character, (I might rather say in a knowledge of spirits, for his faculty of perception went deeper than the superficialities of character) and who was shrewd enough to discern that although the Professor's conversation was addressed to them, it was rather to my mind, than to his or my mother's, that he looked for the full comprehension and enjoyment of his discourse, grew more and more indisposed to regard me with kindness.

'As my natural disposition to let myself out in words (though seldom active in his presence), began about this time to take a literary tendency, it generated, I believe, a double feeling in his heart, of delight and dislike, which, in a more kindly nature, would have led probably, to the predominance of the agreeable one; but which with him, poor soul! blighted and disappointed as he was in his expectations of comfort in me, conducted him straight to a morbid suspicion and jealousy of my fancied superiority, which, though it did not break out in language, lurked painfully in his manner.'—Pp. 150, 151.

What good end the writer proposes to herself in justification of publishing this wretched, and, we fully believe, morbid suspicion, we cannot imagine. It is too evident, that in reviewing her past life, which she feels herself called upon to do, on the

pretence of giving a reason for the hope that is in her, all the old unchastened feelings wake up, and, after the lapse of forty years, in spite of the boasted inward light and peace, early jealousy, envy, and mistrust are revived in their first bitterness.

That nothing may be left unspoken that is thought important in the history of a mind, this lady now touches upon a tenderer and softer chord, and lets us know that, while she rejected some offers of marriage, to which her heart could not respond, she did not escape the trial of a hopeless attachment, 'that bitter cup, which but few women escape, at least, from tasting.' But our curiosity so far stimulated, is no further indulged; we are bid to take for granted that the overwhelming influence, 'which links to the soul one thought alone, and that a thought of anguish,' could not be wanting to a nature like hers; and there the subject is dropped, not to be again revived.

It is almost a matter of course, that a young lady devoted to literary pursuits, on which all her time was spent which society did not occupy, and conscious of whatever power she possessed, should be touched, as she says, with the desire to try her hand as a writer. If we had space, we would give her experience in this phase of her history, as being a good specimen of the different temperament of authors and critics. She brought out, under Professor Smyth's counsel and criticism, a novel, called the 'Favourite of Nature,' which, however unknown to our readers of the present, had, it seems, considerable success thirty years ago, and touching on some secret chord of feeling, cost the professor some tears when reading the MS. She found it expedient to conceal her authorship from her parents; but became convinced that her father secretly guessed it, from the doubtful evidence that when she laid her novel in his way, and he began to read it, she heard him pronounce the heroine's character to be 'very futile.'

It is quite time, however, that we should address ourselves to the book's more serious topics; passing over rapidly the events which led to her first change of feeling. In the first flush of her literary success her mother died suddenly; and at the moment of bereavement, a little scene is recorded between father and daughter, of a more amiable and natural character than usually occurred between them; but he did not live long to profit by such endeavours towards his comfort as she cared to make. At the age of thirty-two she found herself absolutely her own mistress, and with a sufficient competency for all she could need. We believe it has been remarked, that all ardent and ill-governed minds have in some one period of their lives given way to the love of money. Our authoress confesses that this moment came to her. She received at one

time five hundred pounds for copyright and manuscript, and this awoke in her the passion of gain. It is not unlikely that her strong language exaggerates the feeling, such as it was.

'All this was very pleasant, and made the occupation of great importance; but the simplicity and charm of it was dead and buried under the grovelling desires, the panting eagerness, the hateful appetite for money, which so easy an acquisition of it excited in my nature. The delightful world of fancy which I had loved for its own sake whilst writing the "Favourite of Nature," the calm and useful reflections with which I then took time to enrich my work, and the wholesome pause of a few weeks to let it cool, and to refresh myself in order that I might pursue it with greater advantage, were wholly gone. My time was now put up at a premium, and so were my words and sentences; a view of the case which naturally generated haste and driving to put them together; and a counting of lines and pages to see how much of the commodity I had got ready for the market. These were virtually the motives that governed my exertions, though I did not perceive it then to be the case.'—Pp. 163, 164.

For nearly a year she remained alone in her father's house, not without feelings of desolation, if not compunction, in her solitude. It then became necessary to change her residence, and it was deliberated whether she should remove to London; but the Professor's implied counsel to remain where she was, determined her to make Cambridge still her home. 'Better,' he said, 'to be somebody here than nobody there.' And she was soon to be somebody in a new sphere of action.

'I have never ceased to bless the Providence that guided me to a residence under the roof of Mrs. S——; a lady who was, in the largest sense of the term, a high religious professor. As the daughter of one, and the sister of three clergymen, she had formerly occupied a far higher station in society than that of keeping a day school; an employment, in which, assisted by three of her daughters, I found her engaged at my first introduction to her. I had known her by reputation some time as a fervent follower of Mr. Simeon's; and when, after vain inquiries here and there for a suitable residence, an intimate friend, who had children at her school, suggested to me that Mrs. S—— had apartments to let, I immediately repudiated her house as an abode.

' "Just think," said I, "of her trying to convert me! and if she did not do this, of her haranguing me on the iniquity of my going out to parties two or three times a week, and coming home at midnight or later!" a case of frequent occurrence; for after I got into notice as a successful author, my sphere of visiting was so rapidly extending, that few were the evenings I passed alone.'—P. 167.

A disengaged evening came, when Mrs. S—— was invited by her new inmate to spend the evening with her, a proposal gladly accepted by the good lady, who desired nothing better than to prove her theological prowess upon a new subject.

'As our conversation was exclusively on the subject of religion, it being the only one on which she ever spoke, I may as well give a brief sketch of what at this time were my own sentiments on that important point; if any I could be said to possess that partook of a marked and distinct character,

But I scarcely think that I can better describe them, than by saying that I had a deep, loving confidence and faith in God, as a Being full of wisdom and compassion, and who, through every trial of suffering or temptation with which He permitted His creatures to be exercised, had only their ultimate happiness and everlasting blessedness in view.

‘As for the doctrines of Divine wrath, eternal punishment, reprobation, election, and the rest of it, I had doubtless heard the names, but I knew nothing of the nature, as preached and taught by Calvinistic divines.’—Pp. 168, 169.

We presume by this contemptuous classification, as indeed from the whole tenor of the book, that all these doctrines are alike discarded in her present theory. She goes on to say that having in her youth been accustomed to the old cosy, sleepy style of sermon, which she tells us used to prevail in the University, she had fallen into such habits of inattention, (and this, it must be owned, is one of the lasting ill fruits of bad or stupid sermons,) that even when the style of preaching mended, her attention did not. But besides this, and far more than this, may we infer as the real ground of her ignorance, her nature’s tendency to disdain all lawful authority; anything that *claimed* her obedience or the submission of her intellect, coming in the way of providential dispensation, she rebelled against, from the early days when she despised her parent’s reproofs, through every change and vicissitude of her after life, up to the period when the volume closes on her mature age and deliberate convictions. Many a self-chosen guide she follows for a while, and discards when it pleases her, but never one who could prove a right to her attention and deference for his own mission or the cause he pleaded. But whatever the cause of her ignorance, she would have us believe the fact that the great doctrines of Original Sin and the Atonement were novel subjects to her thoughts, and filled her with wonder. What ideas she had attached to the teaching of the prayer-book she does not tell either here or elsewhere; for as neither Mrs. S—— on the present occasion appealed to this voice of the Church, nor any of her subsequent self-chosen guides ever, as far as we are informed, made mention of it, this great witness to Christian faith and doctrine is passed over in her book as though it had never existed to testify against her. Catechism, creeds, and prayers had fallen alike on unheeding ears. Mrs. S—— found a ready solution for her ignorance in the fact that she did not attend Mr. Simeon’s preaching, who, with one or two others, monopolized, in her estimation, all the ‘Gospel’ in the place; this Mrs. S—— being, however, in fact, something more a follower of Whitfield than of Mr. Simeon.

‘“I had no idea you made so much use of the Saviour,” was, I remember, one of the expressions of surprise that escaped me, and which

occasioned her to clap her hands with joy, as with glistening eyes she replied,—

‘“That’s it, my dear lady! that’s just the whole of the case. A sinner and a Saviour!”’—Pp. 170, 171.

This is a somewhat flippant and shallow condensation of a great doctrine; but that Mrs. S——’s wording may not for one moment dim our reverential sense of its overwhelming importance, let us contemplate it as expressed with eloquent enthusiasm and a holier zeal by one of our Church’s greatest divines. ‘Let it be counted folly or frenzy, or fury whatsoever; it is our comfort and our wisdom. We care for no *knowledge* in the world but this, that man hath sinned, and God hath suffered, that God hath made Himself the Son of Man, and that men are made the righteousness of God.’¹

The interview left our authoress ‘profitably impressed with a new view of herself, as a creature born in sin and shapen in iniquity;’ she was ready to receive the doctrine of original sin, which in a certain sense it is to be implied she still holds, though in what sense is not so clear. She goes on,—

‘With respect to the remedy, I can remember the exact words I made use of, after Mrs. S—— had laboured the point of assuring me, and had confirmed her assurances with the most appropriate texts, that all we had to do, under a sense of guilt and pollution, was “to wash and be clean.”’

‘“But how wash, Mrs. S——? What do the words imply? I cannot understand them except in a spiritual and figurative sense.”’

‘“Of course,” she said, “they could not be understood in any other;” but ever as I pressed her to give me her meaning in some definite and specific terms, she answered me with texts which just as much required to be interpreted, as that on which I was inquiring.

‘The outward blood shed on the cross at Jerusalem, was the remedy to which all her answers, and all the Scriptures which she quoted, applied.—A spiritual Redeemer,—and a holy, internal redemption, I could understand;—but this mixing of an external and material object with it, perplexed me in a painful degree.’—Pp. 171, 172.

If Baptism had been seen as a Sacrament, the relation between the external and the internal would have been seen also. The sacramental union of matter and spirit, of the visible and tangible with the spiritual and invisible, sanctified in the Incarnation, and to be traced in every dispensation vouchsafed to our complex human nature, needed here to have been asserted. Mrs. S——, speaking as she had been taught, in so boldly pronouncing on the merely figurative meaning of a true mystery, little thought of the bold reach of heresy she was encouraging in her listener; even no other than the old Gnostic notion that our Saviour’s existence on earth was only to be understood ‘in a spiritual and figurative sense;’ that there was no reality, no true assumption of our nature, but an appearance only; in

¹ Hooker on Justification.

short, a visible myth or allegory, in which light alone, we suspect, our Saviour's life on earth is received by the present writer. Her comments on this conversation furnish some distinct idea of her present formed opinions. The more pernicious, the deeper they are sought into. For the vagueness of the language and the spirituality of the tone, act as a veil. But what meaning but the worst can be attached to the idea of *spiritualizing and simplifying* every external object of belief, as if there were no object of belief apart from man's reception of it? For are not all objects of belief 'external' to the believer? Is not the Saviour upon the cross? and our Father in Heaven?

'I can truly say I longed to "lay hold upon eternal life;" a scriptural precept, which amongst others, she suggested as a command to cleave to Christ. I can now distinctly understand, that, so far as her conceptions of redemption meant any real purification and cleansing of heart, she must have arrived at the same result to which I have myself been conducted, and where I now rest; and where, as I believe, everybody must rest who clearly discerns, and ardently desires, to be delivered from the power of internal evil;—for, when we avoid the debateable and circuitous ground of religious creeds and systems, and come straight to the practical point where every creed and system that ever was composed or compiled must eventually centre,—we find all genuine faith to consist in the conscious and influential belief of the individual in the presence and agency of the Spirit of God within the soul. Every external object of belief must be brought *inward*, and spiritualized and simplified into this;—or what is it? Give it any other name or nature than an ever-living, ever-acting principle of confidence in God, founded on a *knowledge*, not a *notion*, of his nature of boundless mercy, and ineffable, unfathomable love and wisdom, revealed by the Spirit of Truth to the soul,—and, again I ask, what is it?

'I have said that I can now understand that, in so far as the religion of Mrs. S—— had any truth and comfort in it, it must, when stripped of all extrinsic mixture and confusion, have been the same as that in which I now rest; but, as she then propounded it to me, it brought me no rest, nor anything else but mystery and incongruity.'—Pp. 172, 173.

The great difference, and the one she would instantly acknowledge, was that Mrs. S—— believed in an objective Saviour; the only inference to be drawn then is that she does not believe in one; and as she does not deny that the Scriptures point to such a divine external Object of faith, her belief in Scripture must stand in the same category.

Our authoress, we are disposed to think, misdates her misgivings. They were not simultaneous with Mrs. S——'s arguments, for she seems readily enough to have embraced her views. Mrs. S——'s ardent zeal for her conversion, the patience with which she listened, the respectful and admiring interest expressed by her daughters, the excitement such a convert raised in the religious world of Cambridge, with some feelings of disappointment and satiety connected with the pursuits and society she had hitherto been occupied with, to which

impetuous and self-willed characters are so liable, all operated towards what was esteemed her conversion.

'I need scarcely say that this interview was followed by many more; in all of which she pronounced me to be in a *growing* state; and, so far as my head was filling with notions and doctrines, I suppose I might be advancing into a new phase of faith. At all events, I made rapid progress into that stage of it which consisted in decrying the purposes and pursuits of everybody who did not think with me; and I had a grim, dreary satisfaction, whenever I was out of humour with any of my former associates, in thinking that I was in a much safer condition than they were. Still, with all the latent bitterness of my own nature, and the fiery Calvinism of Mrs. S—— to aid it in the denunciatory way, I confess I could not, without great uneasiness, contemplate the everlasting perdition of some of my dear old comrades, as inevitable. Some five or six of them, I must, at all hazards, labour to convert; and as one of the oldest and most esteemed, I took the Professor in hand.

'What arguments we had, again and again, when he dropped in for half-an-hour in the evening! and how well do I recollect, on one occasion, when he came to meet a lady who was a mutual friend of us both, but who having married and settled at a distance, was then only on a visit to her friends, what a miserable, self-reproving creature, my propensity to indulge in these theological harangues, occasioned me to be. Of course I never talked of anything *but* theology in those days; and as there was only my friend (whom I wished also to convert) present, in addition to the Professor, I plunged into the subject wholly unrestrained. Neither of my companions would have anything to say to my Calvinism; which the Professor opposed with quotations from Paley. Paley, of course, I held in extreme contempt, as an evangelical doctor; scarcely acknowledging him to be a believer at all; and certainly not one in the sense which Mrs. S—— had taught me to attach to the term.'—Pp. 174—176.

At this time we may be sure the lady would admit of no latent difficulties to the Professor; her strain would be one of triumphant conviction; and we note this because it is important to rate such convictions at their true value. Her own reports of the violence of her denunciations on all who differed from her are not exaggerated; there is contemporary evidence to confirm the fact of her rabid intolerance. The controversy with the Professor ended by her flying into a violent passion, while charging Paley with a failure in Christian meekness and humility, on which her antagonist set her down in his own cool fashion.

The character of Mrs. S—— is well drawn. We recognise a weak and vain person, unchecked by any restraining influence, but full of energy and readiness of mind, and dignified by a certain stability, from the check of an even temper and necessity of industrious habits, which place her in favourable contrast with the violence, the egotism, the vacillations of purpose, of her more intellectual guest. Our authoress had drawn another likeness of her in '*Visiting my Relations*,' to which she refers:—

'I dared not then, nor do I now dare, to attempt any extended detail of the extraordinary quotations from Scripture, and the grotesque application

of them, which she contrived to interweave in her discourse. I am fully persuaded that any representation which I could give of her, as she is now before my mind's eye, turning the sausages in the frying-pan,—or folding collars and handkerchiefs,—or ironing them, whilst in the midst of such of these employments as happened to be going on, 'twas "many a holy text around she strewed,"—I am convinced, I say, that any picture I could paint of her thus engaged, would be weak and ineffective compared with the raciness and spirit of the actual scene.

'It was a most incongruous affair, beyond all question; but it was lively and encouraging to an anxious inquirer. Not a particle of denunciation had she for me so long as I was her patient listener, and promising disciple, and, by the real disquietude and conflict of my spirit, inspired her with a good hope that I should eventually, as she said, "come out and be separate, and touch no more the unclean thing."—Pp. 179, 180.

* * * * *

'Her daughters partook of her temperament, and, together with their mother, were simple, cheerful creatures, more unsophisticated, and unconscious of the world and all its details, than it had ever yet been my lot to come in contact with. They were industrious in their employment, contented with their lot, and kindly disposed towards one another. There was a kind of indifference in respect to everything and everybody out of their own domestic circle, which gave them a peculiarity that did not displease, though it rather puzzled me, to understand. After-events enabled me to trace it to the operation of pride; a sentiment which, in its largest development, they one and all possessed.'—Pp. 181, 182.

With this talking, gossiping circle, over whom she felt both socially and intellectually such superiority as to remove any shadow of reserve in discussing her own doubts, fears, thoughts, and feelings, her new convictions gained strength. There seems to have been no end of talking; every impulse was expressed, every change of thought or purpose announced in the very moment of conception. Here 'impetuosity and wordliness' were a perpetual source of amused interest to the daughters, who used to hail 'dearest Ma'am,' and prepare themselves for a new confession whenever she made her appearance among them. While this was going on, the important step was taken of 'going to hear Mr. Simeon.' 'Do just go to hear him,' urged Mrs. S.—; (the Simeonite formula, as it has been said, for divine worship;) and our authoress went; not without misgivings of ridicule from her worldly friends, the thought of whom witnessing her exit from Trinity Church, as she streamed out with the rest of the congregation, was almost more than she could bear. Yet, for years, her father had not failed to hear Mr. Simeon every Thursday and Sunday evening, when his parish church was closed; without, however, enrolling himself amongst his devoted followers; for the only comment he was ever heard to make was an occasional remark, 'How very odd Simeon was to-night.'

A more vivid testimony to his merits had been given every week in their kitchen by an honest labourer, whom her father discovered to be in the invariable habit of walking fourteen miles

and sacrificing his Sunday dinner for the sake of this spiritual refreshment, on which he gave him a standing invitation to dine with his servants every Sunday, and for fourteen years 'Master Starn,' on entering the kitchen, did not fail to exclaim as his opening greeting, 'What a *sarment* we have had, sure-ly !'

Neither the example of her father, nor the weekly raptures of Master Starn, had, however, been able to operate against the ridicule which she had been in the habit of hearing and joining in, till under Mrs. S——'s training her mind was ripe for the occasion; and then, as may be supposed, the effect on herself was proportionably powerful.

'I was wholly unprepared for the touching,—the heart-appealing power, with which the fervour of his manner, and the deep devotional tone of his opening prayer, affected me. It might be, and I suppose it was, that some peculiar spiritual exercise was upon him; for never afterwards was the effect he produced upon me so potent as at that time.

"Is this the man," I said to myself, "that I have presumptuously derided, and ignorantly held in contempt?"

'Nothing, during the whole of his discourse (which was on the use and necessity of trial and affliction) was so distinctly present with me, as regret that I should have lived for so many years within reach of the privilege of hearing him, and have passed it by with insolent contempt.'—P. 187.

With respect to Mr. Simeon's preaching, there must have been great power of some kind, where the influence was so extensive; but we cannot regard our authoress's testimony as of much weight to prove it. We would rather trust to Master Starn's judgment on the matter than to hers. For we perceive in all her comments on books or living teachers, that she is affected, or otherwise, not by intrinsic excellence or original power; but solely as what she reads or hears falls in with her own frame of feeling. On some occasions she gives extracts from favourite writers, in fact the merest platitudes and common-places, in which she expects us to discern a mysterious power, and from which she professes herself to have caught new and more vivid insights into truth.

'Great was the clapping of hands, and triumphant the congratulations with which, on my return home, I was received by Mrs. S—— and her daughters, who had seen me at church with delighted surprise, not knowing of my intention to go; for, indeed, I knew it not myself, a quarter of an hour before I set off. Such a talking as we had about it!—such a decided determination avowed on my part, again and again, *never* to attend any other ministry than that of Mr. Simeon, from that time forth,—I should vainly attempt to record! The reader may suppose that I kept it from that month of May, till the following November, very faithfully, and on the whole, beneficially. But, with November, a daily arrival of invitations, and an agitated acceptance of them, formed the foundation of a great part of the difficulty and disquietude of which I have already spoken. Mrs. S—— could not but know for what purpose a sedan chair was so often waiting in the passage about eight o'clock in the evening; neither did I, for some time, seek to prevent her speaking of what she either knew or thought

of it. But, ever as her monitions came thicker and sharper, and her most just remarks that we could not go two ways at once, or serve God and mammon, pierced my conscience with their truth, I became more and more unwilling to continue my intercourse with her.'—Pp. 187, 188.

Mrs. S——, however, would not abandon her convert. By spreading abroad in her circle all the details of her interesting guest's struggles, dangers, and perplexities, she found allies to help her in her work. A Mr. K——¹ enters upon the scene, and through his wife seeks her acquaintance and uses his influence. Having made a fortune by successful and daring speculations in trade, he was now residing in Cambridge, preparing for his ordination. His reserved and forbidding manners did not prevent her feeling favourably impressed. They were, indeed, at first a sort of attraction. While he would listen to her and discuss her case, and enter into her troubles, she tolerated his implied rebukes of her vanity, and found in his sterner nature a new zest and excitement. To this Mr. K——'s character, indeed, she gives an interest which the reality wanted. He was in fact a dull and commonplace person, not likely to have possessed that insight into her inner self which she supposes, nor to have been much occupied with its study, but engrossed by the statement of his own narrow and exclusive notions, and if annoyed by her, probably only by her controversial resistance to them.

The acquaintance did not ripen into friendship, but influenced her for the time. She spends an evening with him, which concludes with family prayer, in which he introduces a petition 'for a dear friend exercised with temptation and beset with danger.' On her return home, she meditates on the deep insight he has shown into the besetting sins and frailties of her nature, and contrasts her present feelings with those she usually brought home with her from her evening visits, after which she represents herself as being so excited and intoxicated by the notice she had received, as to be utterly unable to collect her thoughts for even the most formal devotion, always on these occasions going prayerless to bed, unless something had happened to annoy her. Of course there must have been a great deal of morbid vanity at work to fancy so much danger in society; to suppose so many persons occupied in the admiration of 'her reputed talents and accomplishments.' But such being the case, we must join with Mr. K——, and Mrs. S——, and all the religious world beside, in the opinion, that, for her at least, an evening party for conversation or music was fraught with danger. Only it is not so easy to escape from vanity: and was

¹ The remainder of the name will be readily supplied by those acquainted with Cambridge at this time.

there not, after the evening at Mr. K——'s, some dangerous excitement from the notice she had received, in having been *the* object of interest, *the* subject of discussion, and always in the foreground, though she speaks only of holy influences?

There was, as she owns, a morbidness of mind at work, an influence inherent to the self-willed character, which induced a feeling of contempt for old friends and old pleasures. There are some minds, and those of considerable power, which cannot be content to *rest* in any enjoyment, not really because the enjoyment is wrong or injurious to them, though it is often assumed to be so, but because they have experienced all the pleasure it can impart to their nature. Self-willed and impetuous minds like to pass on; they cannot endure the staleness of monotony; and she is alive even herself to the fact that she *liked* the new excitement as being deeper and more satisfactory than the old. Nor is it difficult to understand that a warm and vehement discussion on the subject of our immortal interests, in which no impulses are checked either by speaker or listener, and any amount of eager talking is encouraged, may make a trio of Corelli, or a chat on literary matters, appear tame by comparison. It is certain that our writer in time tired of these talkings as she did of other things. In the following passage she calls herself, in the technical language of her then party, *gay*. Now, she was never *gay*; this was never to others, her character. Satirical, ambitious, sardonic, but not *gay*:—

'There was nothing left but to make a fight of it, or run away, or do as I had ever done, and make one of the gayest of the gay, amongst those whom Mrs. S—— called and considered "poor lost creatures." Now, albeit I could by no effort of will or imagination consign these (many of them) my admired acquaintance, and some of them my oldest and most valued friends, to the lot ordained for them by Mrs. S——; yet I could clearly perceive that it was not worth while, for the sake of any pleasure their society afforded me, to peril the advancement of the far deeper and more edifying gratification which was to be derived from intercourse with persons less under the influence of worldliness of thought and pursuit.'—P. 199.

There was in all her doubts and difficulties one resource in store for her, and this the most efficacious, according to her views, that could be offered to her case. Neither then nor now does this lady ever realize any established, stated, rule or guide,—any voice conveying the collected wisdom and experience of others, any *consent* of opinions, any authority as such. She had, in fact, believed throughout but in one authority—her *own* judgment. But there are times in every person's life when even the most positive cannot be sure what their own judgment is, and in such dilemmas the lady's resource has been to look about for some person to tell her—not his opinion, nor the universal opinion,

but—what he may be able to lay hands upon, though she cannot—her own.

Her first knowledge of Mr. Simeon was, as at once harmonising with, and developing an existing state of feeling, and she had therefore accepted him as a guide; and now an opportunity offered for establishing this relation upon a more intimate and private footing. The circumstance of her attendance upon his ministry was already made known to him; for the members of his congregation, she informs us, were eager to convey to his ears every triumph and success of his preaching; but she had had no private introduction. It was, therefore, with much satisfaction that she received an invitation from Mrs. D—— to meet him; that good lady tapping her on the shoulder, one evening coming out of church, and at the same moment introducing herself, and inviting her to ‘her Jews’ meeting’ for the following evening. The scene on this evening is described at some length, but is too curious as a picture of one form of religious society, which has had so wide a sway, to be omitted or curtailed:—

‘On the appointed evening I accompanied Mrs. S—— and two of her daughters to the house of Mrs. D——; where, on arriving, we were shown into a room surrounded on three sides of it by chairs; and in the front of those that occupied the end of the apartment, were two or three benches, on which were seated, in detached parties of three or four together, a great many ladies; it being exclusively a female assembly. In the middle of the room stood a large round table filled with toys, babies’ shoes, hand-screens, and such like small ware, the contributions of different ladies towards a fancy bazaar, which was to be held on some future day for the benefit of the Jews. As we were all supposed to have taken tea before we came, we had only to seat ourselves, and wait patiently the arrival of Mr. Simeon and the lady of the house, who were taking theirs in the parlour below.

‘I thought of the different scene at the Professor’s concerts, and quailed a little as I contrasted it with the present aspect of affairs. Excellent, good people, beyond all question, and fit to be my monitors and pattern in every respect, were the greater part of those that surrounded me; but,—but,—I must confess, that I languished a little for the elegance and accomplishment I had quitted: as Mrs. S—— sometimes phrased it, I ‘hungered after the leeks and the cucumbers of Egypt.’ Things would be better, I thought, when Mr. Simeon appeared; at all events, the stifled observations given in the ghost of a whisper, the demure looks, the everything that was constrained and disagreeable, would be exchanged for the animated interest, which, if in a drawing-room he were like what he generally was in the pulpit, could not fail to follow any sort of demonstration he might be disposed to favour us with.

‘At length the door opens, and Mrs. D——, accompanied by Mr. Simeon, makes her appearance, and the assembled ladies, to the number of some forty or so, begin to look a little more cheery and life-like. They could not well do otherwise, when Mr. Simeon, immediately upon his entrance, perceiving the display of fancy articles on the table, with almost literally a hop, step, and jump, darted towards them, and gazing enraptured first on one, then on another,—smiling, nodding,—and seeming to me more as if he were performing the part of Grimaldi in a pantomime, than anything

else—at length took up a pair of baby's shoes, held them before his eyes, smiled at them, nodded at them, laid them down, then sighed profoundly, and then sat down with his hand before his face.

'I should vainly attempt to describe the wonder and distaste (I might use a stronger term) with which I gazed at all this tom-foolery. The metaphorical expression of "*you might have knocked me down with a feather*," was scarcely figurative when applied to the painful revulsion of feeling I experienced. "Was this the man to whom for more than six months I had listened with nearly as much reverence as I should have listened to S. Paul himself!" For, remarkable as it was, that so long an abstinence from anything preposterous should have been the case, in respect to a person so exceedingly open to the influence of sudden and ridiculous impulses, I do not recollect, until the present unhappy occasion, I had ever witnessed anything in his demeanour, or had heard any observation from his lips, that I could have denominated absurd or puerile. Very eccentric I often considered him;—it would have been strange indeed, for anybody to have been an attendant upon his ministry for the space of half a year, and not to have arrived at that view of his character. But the earnestness of his devotion,—the fervour of his appeals,—the profound knowledge of human corruption, of the danger of temptation,—of the difficulty of conflicting with it,—in a word, his affluence in all that constituted a living experience, and enabled a preacher to speak from it to the heart and to the conscience of his hearers,—this it was, that had enshrined him in my heart, as a shepherd who well understood how to lead his flock from pasture to pasture, and to feed them, not with dead words, but with the bread of life.

'I would not have seen him under such circumstances as this evening invested him with, for any consideration that could have been offered me. Mrs. S——, who sat by my side, soon perceived the impression which this strange scene was producing upon my mind. I could not, indeed, long keep silent; but several times during its exhibition gave utterance to my disapprobation. I even proposed to go home. "I shall never be able to bear it," I said; "I cannot endure to stay if we are to have much of this."—She besought me to be still and patient. "It was only his way," she said; "he would soon have done with it;"—an assurance which was fulfilled, by his speedily proceeding to the business of the evening."—Pp. 201—204.

A painful scene certainly, to be recorded against a man of such undoubted sincerity of purpose as Mr. Simeon. But, after all, the fault of exhibitions like this lies more with the worshippers than the worshipped. There is a faint earthiness diffused over the melancholy company of women assembled for this spectacle, which calls to mind the superstitious atmosphere—dim, mouldy, and damp—to be experienced in certain Belgian churches, where the sight-seer is carried off to some cavernous receptacle for relics, and for the moment feels the influence of the place—awe, without elevation, and fear and mystery without a reason. It is in the power of any multitude of people who set up an idol, to make that idol play the fool in some way or other; the guilt of the victim lying chiefly in the preliminary consent needful to his installation. After this he has lost the great controlling power which keeps the common world sensible, and cannot be expected always to act as though he still had it.

Therefore the forty ladies who periodically came to witness these performances are less worthy of respect than their principal. But instead of reflecting on the evil consequences to himself and others of setting up one man as infallible, and inferring thence the necessity of some more stable rule and guide, our authoress on the first moment of disappointment, seems to have regarded the cause of religion itself as blown-up and annihilated by the exhibition, and the only practical use which the line of argument in her book derives from it is to remove the seat of authority still further into her own power and control, and to set up her own heart as her Bible and her Church.

‘I was wholly absorbed by my own disappointed feelings, and the dissatisfaction which they produced in my mind towards everybody and everything. “Vanity, vanity, all is vanity.” I saw the wise man’s sentence written upon everything! I was vain,—my worldly friends were vain,—their society vain,—their talents vain,—nothing was real to ameliorate my nature, and to pacify the restlessness of my heart; yet vainer than all, because he had presented himself to me under the semblance of wisdom, was the teacher to whose influence I had looked for that help which would have strengthened me to make the sacrifice of all that had captivated my imagination, and enslaved me to the world.

‘Little was I now disposed for the introduction to Mr. Simeon which I had but a short time before so greatly desired. I instinctively drew back, when at the close of the evening Mrs. D—— came to look for me amongst the company, for the purpose of making me known to him. Her rapid words and manner left me no choice in the question; for she had taken my hand and led me up to him before I had time to speak a word in opposition. I suppose he saw a reluctance on my part to the proposed honour, which promised no accession in me to the number of his female admirers.

‘“How is your brother, ma’am?” was his first address, and one which so clearly betokened his not knowing what to say to me, inasmuch as it was a painful subject, and must have been known for such by Mr. Simeon, my poor brother being a fellow of his college, that, added to the other unpleasant circumstances of the evening, it so disturbed me, that I hastened off as fast I could, glad to get home, and to find myself at liberty to relieve my mind of some of its emotions, by expressing them to Mrs. S—— and her daughters, with whom I returned in company. Our walk was not much occupied with conversation, for that is a word which implies reciprocity of remark; of which, on this occasion, there was none. Poor Mrs. S——, like “pausing Time, toiled after me in vain;” for, my movements partaking of the excitement of my spirit, I hurried forwards, “muttering my wayward fancies as I roved,” till, as soon as I had thrown myself on a chair in Mrs. S——’s room, I ended them with a resolution most audibly and definitively announced, that from that time forth I would have nothing more to say to the religious world. Mr. Simeon had cured me of all desire for their further acquaintance. I would go back, I said, to my old friends and associates, whose religion, let it be of what kind it might, would have protected them from making so absurd an exhibition of themselves as I had that night witnessed.’—Pp. 204—206.

Mrs. S—— talked good sense in vain of Mr. Simeon’s peculiar temperament, and of his trial and temptation in being too

independent of his fellow-creatures, or as we should say, of his party, to stand in any relation of deference or respect to them. The consequence of this course, we are briefly informed, was a free and unchecked return to all the gaieties, from which she had made a temporary retreat, and with a 'deeper plunge' than ever. This wild career of dissipation must be a little exaggerated for the sake of effect, and is supposed to refer principally to occasional concerts, at which some of Mr. Simeon's adherents were sometimes present, without any affectation of being corrupted by them. When we consider the age of this lady, her cultivated faculties, and the independent part she had so long acted, the weakness here displayed is truly surprising, till we reflect that self-government is a moral power, and one in which she had all along shown herself as deficient as a wayward child, without, we must add, the simplicity and teachableness of childhood to lead her to clearer perceptions, and to that freedom which is to be acquired only in a rightly-directed service. Unhappy and restless, she forms the idea of leaving Cambridge, and one of her old friends, Dr. I—, glad to get her away from the influence of Mr. Simeon, proposes to her to join some friends of his then at Paris, and remain there for a time. She embraces the idea, asks him to make all arrangements for her, and keeps the matter a profound secret from her religious friends, until she believes it too late to retreat. It was not unreasonable in Mrs. S— to feel concern when the news was imparted to her. There does seem a sort of formal worldliness in resolving to escape from religious perplexities by a sojourn at Paris. She therefore quoted her favourite texts from Hosea on the occasion, but did not appear to interfere further at this critical juncture; however, a sermon from Mr. Simeon, which Mr. K— said *might* have been addressed to her, and which possibly really *was* so directed, altered her purpose; she had a conversation with Mr. K— on her plans, which ends in her renouncing them, and asking Dr. I— to undo all that he had done. She traces to his vexation on this account the loss of his friendship; from that time seeing but little of him. But probably she did but little during this period to retain him or any one else. For, as she says, observing amongst her new allies that the scattering of old connexions, and the loss of friends, was esteemed an unavoidable consequence of 'conversion,' she paid the costly price. In fact, at this time, it cost her but little to do so, for the same tendency which we have noted in self-willed characters, to find pleasures, wearisome after a time, applies also to friends. Many an ardent person, who can persuade himself that he obeys the imperative call of duty in sacrificing old friends, and breaking old

ties, is, in truth, weary of them. He has tried them, and must enter upon a new phase of being. In after years, reflection wakes to such thoughts as these:—

‘A costly price have I paid in this way!—*then*, unconsciously;—*now*, I see and mourn the reckless, lavish loss I entailed upon a lot too lonely in itself,—yet made still more so by this fanatical surrender of much that innocently pleased,—and more that kindly and faithfully sought to cheer and ameliorate it.’—P. 218.

But though the Paris scheme was given up, she did not feel more settled. There was an impulse to go somewhere, to form fresh ties, to have new advisers; so she proposed to herself to go to Bath, and to seek an introduction to Hannah More, who lived not far from that place. In furtherance of this new scheme, she called on Mrs. D——, to consult her whether Mr. Simeon could help forward this object; and while with some agitation of spirit she was explaining her view, Mr. Simeon himself was announced, and the case was immediately referred to him by Mrs. D——. ‘Now, my dear, tell Mr. Simeon what you have been saying to me. Dear creature, she is under great exercise of spirit.’ This sudden reference only increased her agitation, and there was danger of a scene, when, at length, Mr. Simeon checked the friendly officiousness of Mrs. D——, by saying,

“Let *me* address myself to the case, ma’am;” a command to which she signified her obedience by quitting the room. What it could possibly have to do with the matter I cannot tell, except that having heard I was a literary lady, he might think I should relish a classical quotation; but his first words to me after Mrs. D—— departed were,—

“Do you understand Latin?”

“No, Sir.”

“If you did, I would remind you of an observation of Horace,” which he repeated in English. I forget now what it was. With the exception of a manner peculiar to himself, of tapping the finger of one hand upon the palm of the other, there was nothing of the grimace which had so much offended me on the evening I first was in his company.’—P. 222.

Her adviser gave her much sensible quieting advice, recommending her to remain where she was, till she should see her way clearer; advice which may have been partly prompted by friendly consideration for Hannah More, whom he denominates ‘a lovely creature,’ being probably willing to spare her the trouble of so strange and unmanageable a disciple.

‘While we were talking, Mrs. K—— was announced. She had been to my lodgings to ask me to dine with them the following day; “and we were just going to send a note to ask the favour of your company, sir, to meet our friend here,” she said, addressing Mr. Simeon.

‘The dear, warm-hearted man! how readily he assented to her request, and how ashamed I felt of my savage criticisms upon him, on the occasion of the Jew meeting! To be sure, I saw some of the same antics displayed again; but they seemed part and parcel of the man; and really, now that

they were manifestly the ebullitions of overflowing delight in doing good, and of kindness of heart, they were not disagreeable.

“Will I come?” he said, as Mrs. K—— asked the question,—“Will I not? Yes,—yes,—yes,—yes,” clapping his hands together at the repetition of every word. We waited only for the presence of Mrs. D——, who soon made her appearance, to render us a very happy party. The earnest interest which my case had excited in the good K——s, and which, even in the midst of preparing for his degree, had induced Mr. K—— to lose the greater part of a day in giving me a dinner, and inviting Mr. Simeon to meet me, for the sole purpose (as was avowed) of seeing what could be done for my good,—was really quite affecting to me; and made me feel so grateful and humbled, that I returned home with my mind considerably relieved, and felt better disposed than I had ever yet been, to stand it out bravely in my appointed place.—Pp. 223, 224.

And here ends what may be considered the most satisfactory period of her religious experience. The story is then resumed after a five years’ interval, and we find her, according to her own report, which is only too true, more violent and uncontrolled than ever in her temper; positive in her opinions, separate from her friends of all parties: Mr. Simeon evidently suspecting her, and only keeping up a formal intercourse; which she attributes to his jealousy of all independence of thought in his followers, but which may be more creditably accounted for; and her older friends only keeping up acquaintance, by occasional morning visits, in which they were edified by expositions of her religious views. Looking back upon this period, she wishes us to believe that her heart was in no way touched, that it was all talk and head-knowledge. It is a fact which we cannot doubt, and it justifies us in forming a similar suspicion, wherever religion is talked of in heat, arrogance, and temper, and does not show its proper fruits. She describes herself as full of ‘harangues’ and declamations to all who would listen.

‘For, as my studies were now, and had been for a long time past, on the doctrinal points of religion, I was a powerful talker thereupon; and I must do myself the justice to say I was a believer also, in so far as the loading of the head with knowledge is likely to generate faith. Most certainly, I laboured with all my heart to repose in, and to extract comfort from, that which was set before me as the proper object of faith and confidence. This was the Scriptures; or, as I always heard it called, “the word of God,” as it stands in the letter, and in the book. That this literal, outward knowledge, was insufficient for the high and holy work of renewing my heart, and linking my soul to its Creator, in sure and certain acquaintance with His nature of love, and beauty, and forgiveness, I had not yet discovered.’—P. 229.

It was, indeed, a blank and miserable state. Looking back upon it, and desiring to show the failure of the Evangelical system, our authoress attributes its want of success in her case to the mind being turned *outward*, when all its powers should have been directed *inwards*. Having abandoned all objective faith, we cannot quarrel with her for the opinion, but we would

ask of all who hold an Object of faith, if the very reverse may not be proved from her case. The great fault of her mind could not be otherwise than encouraged by a system which constitutes men their own judges of their state before God, which ensures salvation to all who can declare themselves moved by certain feelings, sensations, and convictions, and which promises that upon these the fruits of holiness shall follow by a necessary consequence. If instead of these excited strivings after conviction and security, she had been called upon to exercise a practical discipline over herself, giving her at the same time an external immutable test and rule by which to measure herself—even God's commandments—and pointing to those divine aids and channels of grace, which are, it is true, external, as flowing from the divine Object of our faith, but internal also as conveying this grace to the soul in which He vouchsafes to dwell, would not a more salutary training have been offered to this wayward spirit, and one more likely to attain the desired ends of faith and obedience, than the encouragement of mere states of feeling?

The writer had removed from Mrs. S——, and established herself in a house of her own: having taken with her as a companion, and to relieve her from the cares of housekeeping, which were irksome to her, one of that good lady's daughters, called A——, who was imbued with her mother's views, and had been brought up in the understanding that her whole family were of the Elect, and that the world was 'all out' of Calvinism. Towards this young person our authoress adopts at this period language of friendship and attachment, which, we suspect, owes a good deal of its sentiment to distance and absence. A—— was, in fact, a humble companion, and there was no appearance whatever of the tender equal friendship intimated in the following passage. How could there be, we would ask, with such a temper indulged on one hand, and a sense of dependence on the other?—

'I was happy enough, for some few years, in my little dwelling, with loving, kind, devoted A—— for my faithful friend and companion; for the affectionate creature so laid herself out to serve me, that if the surrender of her very life had been asked to do me a service, I believe it would have gone hard with her to refuse it. I wondered sometimes, when I contemplated what she was to me, and how my every wish was anticipated by her watchful care, I wondered, I say, how it could be! "Where was retributive justice?" I asked myself; and, with a latent dread that such a blessing *must* be taken from me to fulfil the unswerving justice of God's dealings, I sometimes added, as I thought of what I was to my poor father,—"It can never last, for I do not deserve it; sooner or later, she *must* be taken from me."

'For a long time, however, she was given to me; for all the time, indeed, that her love and care were needful; and a sharp and most unexpected stroke of sorrow, rendered both essential to me. That these did not follow in the general wreck,—that the patience and constancy of the poor

girl did not quite succumb beneath the trial which my always impetuous temper occasioned her, and which, exasperated by the pressure of feelings excoriated and bleeding at every pore, was now fearful to myself and all connected with me;—that this did not happen, is only to be attributed to the compassion and loving-kindness of the Lord, who would not lay upon His afflicted creature more than she could bear; but who, in the midst of all her sorrows, granted her the solace (and oh how great a one!) of a loving friend and companion.'—Pp. 229—231.

Sorrow then came, in some form not explained, but occupying a year 'of unmitigated, helpless, hopeless woe,' and ill health followed,—hemorrhage from the throat, but supposed to be from the lungs, and therefore to threaten life. The prospect of death in her weak state caused her, as she describes, an overwhelming terror at the first apprehension of it: nor does she express, and does not desire us to suppose, that she felt any of that trust and hope in the Redeemer, which to the Christian removes the sting of death. It was a sensation almost to overpower her reason, had it not been tempered by a fresh form of religious excitement concurrent with these sensations, and to which she had been, for some time previous, devoted. This in some degree diverted the mind from this 'burden almost too heavy to be borne,' and was one in itself eminently suited for such a mind in such a crisis.

Many will remember how, rather more than twenty years ago, Cambridge was disturbed by the pretensions of the Irvingite sect. Before this, the report of what was going on at Glasgow—the professed revival of the gift of miracles—had reached her; and though at the moment this sounded to her a dream of fanaticism, the restlessness of her heart, the little aid which she received from religion as she then held it, soon turned her mind towards the new manifestation, 'to inquire if anything in this direction had a gleam of comfort in it.' It is curious to note here that it was not evidence that really convinced this lady, but this previous intention to believe; the temper of credulity, in fact.

'I was yearning for something that came closer to the wound, and applied to it some more successful balm of healing than I could find in expositions of doctrine. I wanted a living monitor, an ever present rebuker, to still the irritated feelings, which, in their present condition of perpetual pain, the slightest word of opposition would rouse to degrading exhibitions of ungoverned wrath, that added to my other sorrows the anguish of a wounded conscience. Well,—too well, did I know the nature and the power of my soul's disease; and again and again I asked, "Is there no balm in Gilead; is there no physician there?"

'I do not say that there was not much that was good and true in the religious views of those whose ministry I attended;—it was impossible that it should be without great value, imparted as it was, by faithful and sincere servants of God, whose whole life and labours were devoted to the promulgation of what they conceived to be everlasting truth.'—P. 234.

While in this state of feeling, a Mr. M—— arrived at the University, there to spend the time of his furlough from India. He will be recognised as the Mr. Macan who performed afterwards such feats of fanaticism there. Our authoress instantly sought him out, and describes her first interview. He related to her some miracles which he had himself witnessed, which, curiously enough, she thinks it was impossible not to believe, because his testimony was so decidedly and soberly given. ‘Nothing could be further removed from fanaticism or enthusiasm,’ and yet in the course of that same evening,

‘when he read the Scriptures, and, more particularly, when he went to prayer, he became terribly excited; breaking out, in the latter act, into the most awful, unearthly burst of sound I ever listened to, and which actually made me shiver with fear. Both A—— and I, as soon as he was gone, agreed that this could never be of God; and if not, that it must assuredly be of Satan; for, beyond all question, it was not in the power of man, unassisted by some sort of spiritual agency, to send forth such a voice, as, without any exaggeration, shook the room in which we were.’—P. 236.

All sources speak of this astonishing power of noise in the professors of this sect; even delicate women, with ordinarily soft, well-controlled voices, being able, when under the supposed influence, to terrify the listeners by the force of mere sound—one, we must suppose, of the many unexplored mysteries of our nervous system. The writer was probably at this time no very good judge (though she values herself on discernment of character) of a sober and trustworthy deportment; others would not have observed the discrepancy she notices between this Macan’s natural and inspired manner; he being, in fact, on all occasions fanatical; a denunciator and destroyer; an habitual pretender to prophesy, and so ignorant as neither to know, nor to be capable of instruction in, the most obvious and palpable facts. Though professing to have been somewhat repelled by this first manifestation of spiritual influence, which should surely have withheld our authoress from further interest in the man, the intercourse was carried on, and she soon found herself more favourably impressed, and very much struck by his arguments, that the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit in the heart of the believer should manifest itself in some gift. He was already making converts. Mrs. S—— and her daughters were fervent believers; and our authoress and A—— were still divided, when a fresh advocate arrived in the person of Mrs. C——; herself, the alleged example of a great miracle, having been raised to perfect health from a lingering consumption. She and her husband had been sent for from Scotland by ‘a lady of rank residing at B——, eighteen miles from Cambridge,’ a description which at once points out Lady Olivia Sparrow and

her house at Buckden, who had applied to Mr. Irving for a married couple to superintend her school and visit her poor. Here this lady, it has been said, kept a sort of menagerie of nonconformists. Mr. Irving, therefore, might have thought himself a valuable contributor, for in this case he sent an acknowledged prophetess. Our authoress lost no time in making her acquaintance. She, and A——, and a gentleman who had ‘known the gifted persons’ at Glasgow, went over to pay their respects; and though they witnessed no manifestation, she returned home much solemnized in spirit. Mrs. C—— was a tall and handsome woman of six-and-twenty, and her describer’s natural penetration, and the still partially clinging delusion, causes some confusion in her account. In fact her innermost judgment detected imposture in this pretender’s manner; but she warded off the suspicion, and now attributes to self-deception more than the plea will bear. Indeed sometimes she herself speaks as if still a believer to the full. A few weeks after this, she received an invitation from Mrs. C—— to spend a few days with her, which she accepted; and went. But the excitement of highly-raised expectations did not make our friend dead to the discomforts of a long period of waiting for her hosts after her arrival; during which she thought tenderly of her unusual separation from A——, (which probably means from home comforts, on which she was growing daily more dependent,) and wished many times she had not gone. Mr. and Mrs. C—— at length came, their delay having been caused by a manifestation on the part of Mrs. C—— at the great lady’s breakfast-table, which had been disputed by a London divine then present, to the unspeakable disgust of the prophetess. In this frame of mind, Mrs. C—— was disposed to welcome a more docile subject, and at once gave her own account of what had passed:—

‘She was seated by me on the sofa during the narration of this matter; which, having been amply discussed, some remark of mine occasioned her to take my hand, as if in token of sympathy with what I said. She retained it so long, that I began to feel a degree of embarrassment, which was augmented into dread, when I perceived her to cover her eyes with her disengaged hand, and sink into a long and profound silence. Mr. C—— also ceased to converse. It was really an awful contiguity in which I found myself: but being in a measure prepared for a demonstration at any moment, I was not so wholly taken aback as I otherwise should have been, when she at length broke out with a loud and sudden burst of the unknown tongue. Wholly unknown indeed was it to me; but it sounded something like the Greek which I had occasionally heard recited in the Senate House. It lasted but a very little time, and was succeeded by short and frequently repeated sentences in good intelligible English, and all of the most cheerful and encouraging nature. “Ye are his witnesses—ye are his witnesses,” I remember was one of them. After declaiming in this way some time with her eyes closed, she went off into singing a hymn in a voice of triumphant joy, that was inexpressibly delightful.

'It strangely, but profitably affected me. Mr. C—— had long been kneeling in prayer before she ended; and irresistible was the impulse that inclined me to unite with him. I shall never say, nor think otherwise, than that it was a glorious, beautiful outbreak that had come upon us; and impossible was it for me then, and equally impossible is it for me now, to believe, but that whatever spirit might be the original prompter of the act, the mighty power of God overcame all evil in it, and rendered it one full fraught with blessing to the souls of His poor, ignorant, helpless creatures. Never—no never, had my parched spirit so satisfactorily drank of living water, and been refreshed. Tears, but not of bitterness, tears that soothed and benefited me, almost rained from my eyes; and when she ceased, it was an act of instinct for me to go up and kiss, and bless her, for the season of good she had been the means of bringing to my withered heart.'—Pp. 242, 243.

There is something not a little inconsistent in this lady's professed reverence for truth, for which she seems to think she possesses a patent, and her conviction of herself deriving good from falsehood and delusion; but we let this pass. Mrs. C——'s 'very countenance was altered and lighted up by a radiance that had something divine in it;' that is, we must suppose her spirits were relieved and cheered by the presence of a dupe after the morning's suspicions of her professed gift of tongues. They were to dine with Lady ——; and here the comfort of the dinner-table, or rather the dessert, for the servants had left the room, was disturbed by another marvellous outbreak,—a sort of proceeding to which our authoress's love of comfort and order made her singularly alive:—

'I was witness also to another, on the morning I left, and which occurred at the breakfast table of Lady ——. I felt certain that it would not be possible for these abrupt and strange interruptions to domestic comfort to be long tolerated. Much as I believed myself to be edified by the particular exhibition of her gift which had greeted my own arrival, I confess I should have been sorry to have dwelt in any close and constant association with a person invested with such mysterious attributes, and liable to make such a sudden and perplexing manifestation of them. I was not at all surprised, therefore, to receive a letter from Mr. C——, a few weeks after I returned home, informing me that he had received his dismissal from her ladyship; that he was about to quit B—— on such a day, and that he and his wife would pay me a short visit in their way to London, where they were going to be Mr. Irving's guests, till their way was opened elsewhere.'—Pp. 244, 245.

Under every circumstance of life people must eat; and all must have been alive some time or other to the strangeness of the fact and the incongruity of the summons to this duty breaking in upon scenes of high-wrought excitement. But nevertheless, there is something grotesque in this blending of breakfast and dinner and tea with prophecy, and in the natural connexion which there seemed to exist between them. Obedient to this law, when our authoress received the announcement, she felt it an imperative duty to give a tea-party, in order to indulge

the curiosity of all the religious people she knew to get a sight of this very remarkable lion. And (we have been informed) in a very sibylline mode did our lady rebuke all who would not attend her party and exposed the pretence of tongues; 'behold, ye despisers, and perish,' being the favourite text. The party assembled were doomed, as on so many similar occasions, to be disappointed: 'the prophetess was not only silent, but absolutely dull;' 'the whole thing, as far as she was concerned, was a dead failure.' A dead failure was not likely to be patiently endured by so great a lover of excitement and effect as our authoress, nor was she in the habit of concealing any annoyance under which she laboured. It is evident, therefore, that she showed herself in very ill humour with her guests, confessing herself to a degree of 'fretfulness thrown over her spirit' which induced her to sit in a room by herself and leave her guests to their own resources. But Mrs. C—— had weapons of defence and retaliation which were beyond our lady's powers of resistance. Even while sitting in her private room, the sounds of 'a manifestation,' like the ravings of insanity, reached her from the drawing-room. An irresistible force, as she expresses it, drove her into the presence of the prophetess:—

'I perceived that she was sitting with her eyes closed, and giving utterance, not to anything in the unknown tongue, but, as usual, to short and frequently repeated sentences, to which Mr. C——, standing near her, was listening with fixed and reverential attention. I sat down, with feelings much like those of a culprit on whom a heavy sentence of punishment was passing; for, that the message was to me, I felt a deep and solemn conviction. It spoke of tremendous suffering for the flesh, and fleshly will; which "must be purified!" "it *must* be purified!" Again and again these words were uttered; as were those that followed—"It must be by fire!—it must be by fire!" "God's will be done!" I thought, and so I prayed; and overwhelming as was the earthquake (for such it seemed) that shook my soul,—the "still small voice" was not wholly drowned in the convulsion.'—Pp. 247, 248.

We feel it to be disingenuous in our authoress, who records all this, and its influence upon herself, and is forced in fact to own a delusion, never to confess that counsel was given her at this time, to which others as deceived as herself listened, and were preserved from subsequent error; but she denounced all living counsellors, would follow guides of her own choice,—and even now would, we doubt not, be ready to defend her course. In the present exigency she asked advice of Mrs. C——, who probably had no gift at giving it,—for though our author calls it wise, she passes off to the superior wisdom to be found in the works of two writers who began now to exercise influence over her mind,—we believe, solely because they fell in with a rising state of feeling; one, William Law, and the other, Isaac Pennington, one of the primitive Quakers. From the latter book she

quotes largely, and with an evident expectation of impressing the reader. She compares it favourably with the counsel of Mrs. C——, which she calls complicated and external, and which consisted in a string of ‘doctrinal texts.’ Now no doubt an injudicious classification of passages of Scripture often neutralizes their value, but here she seems to expect her readers, who are not under her circumstances, to value her quotations, which are *human* texts to them, coming separate and detached, above the divine texts which she contrasts with them. Whatever is true or valuable in the passages she quotes, she *might* have known all her life from innumerable parts of Scripture, only here diluted, mystified, and sometimes perverted into a dreamy Quietism. To give an example—‘What living direction,’ she exclaims, ‘did I find in such sentences as these!—

“It is good for thy spirit, and greatly to thy advantage, to be much and variously exercised by the Lord And oh, learn daily, more and more, to trust Him, and hope in Him, and not to be affrighted with any amazement; nor to be taken up with the sight of the present thing . . .”

“And though sin overtake, yet, let not that bow down; nor let the eye open in thee, that stands poring at that Only do thou sink into, or at least pant after, the hidden measure of life (he means the Holy Spirit) which is not in that which distresseth, disturbeth, and filleth thee with thoughts, fears, troubles, anguish, darkness, terrors, and the like. No, no! but in that which inclines to the patience, to the stillness, to the hope, to the waiting, to the silence before the Father.”—Pp. 249, 250.

The next evening of Mrs. C——’s visit was spent at Mrs. S——’s, where there was a large assemblage of the religious world. Our authoress cannot trust herself to speak of the dreadful excitement which characterised this meeting. She returned home, thankful that her guest was to leave next day, and yet, as it seems, in no way inclined to renounce the delusion. Her illness soon after assumed an alarming form, and kept her to a sick-couch, to which, for many months, she was more or less confined; and after this, though the Irvingite proceedings were duly reported to her,—she could not, in the same way, be a sharer in them. But the family of S—— were entirely engrossed; as she says, a spirit of emulation had been stirred up in them all, which, acting on their ‘intense pride and limited experience, caused it to possess all the evil and none of the good of Mrs. C——’s case,’ and which, we must infer from her words, led to unquestionable mischief. A—— was as much ensnared as the rest; and this new occupation seems to have had the effect of estranging her from her patroness, who soon detected a change of manner and a less devoted attachment. A——, indeed, seems to have possessed very little patience with her for being ill at all, when faith alone was needed to be well again. Mr. Macan was in the same mind, for to be ill was little less than sin in the eyes of

that 'good man.' So, after a while, she tried their recipe: rose at six o'clock one March morning, and went to a prayer-meeting,—nor, for a little while, took any harm from the effort. Her doctor, in disgust, discontinued his visits; but at length the illness returned much worse than ever, and she had to give in. She announced that she would not leave her house again, nor did she for two years. But though she had no experience of the efficacy of this system, she continued its adherent, and now confesses,—

'I could fill a volume with narrating the many wild, offensive, and preposterous actions into which the influence of a scrupulous conscience has often led me; insomuch, that I am persuaded, that in many instances, the strangeness of my conduct was only pardoned on the score of my being *non compos mentis*. In fact, when the mind is drawn into that position of thought which represents the abolishing of common sense, and the reason of things, as a religious duty, there seems to be no protection for it from a liability to adopt such measures as the generality of persons would be inclined to attribute to insanity.

'I quite well recollect on a particular occasion, when I was considering whether, on the whole, it would not be a proper sacrifice to duty to burn my pianoforte, I was only arrested by the remembrance that it must be done in the open air, and that some one or another, concluding it an act of madness, would rush to prevent its accomplishment. My beautiful collection of music was, under the wild influences of those wild times, when Mr. M—— burnt his books by the dozen, given to the servants to light the fires with; and for many years after, I considered it unlawful to touch my pianoforte; in fact it is only within the last five years that I have fully ventured to renew my music.'—Pp. 254, 255.

We need not pursue the vagaries of this wretched fanaticism: she describes herself as totally embondaged, and terrified by the most contemptible means: she dared not dispute the high spiritual attainments of A—— and others, till, from the dark hints thrown out, we must infer that the wretched results of their course became too evident to be longer resisted: and gradually, as the disturbance, folly, and distraction which all this causes, wears out her energy and spirit, she sinks into the Quietism which it is the object of this volume to set forth.

A—— she was obliged at length to dismiss; though, in spite of very clear indications of the necessity and duty of doing so, she still had fanatical scruples; or, as we rather think, pride made difficult such a practical admission of the error and failure of this wild delusion, which even now she will scarce absolutely abandon. Mr. Simeon, as it is well known, had from the first preached and laboured against it, and a great sorrow and perplexity, no doubt, it was to him, to see so many of his converts and disciples ensnared by so gross a deceit. Her allusions to him at this time are in anything but an amiable spirit, for she cannot forgive his having been all along in the right.

'Mr. Simeon and his allies had long stood aloof from me; for I need not say, that the introduction of the subject of the gifts into any part of his dominions, was high treason, and to be punished with the utmost rigour of the law. I had been totally discarded from his favour about two years previous to this time, for presuming to lend a book of Mr. Erskine's, called "The Freeness of the Gospel," to one of his female disciples, after he had taken the trouble, not only of talking to me for the space of two hours, one evening at the house of Mrs. D——, upon the dangerous and unorthodox tenor of the work,—but also after he had written down on paper, and given me his criticisms upon it.'—P. 265, 266.

* * *
'A few months previous to the period to which I am now alluding, when I was exceedingly ill, and supposed to be fast sinking, I had said to a lady who was making me a morning call, and who was speaking of Mr. Simeon, that I was grieved at his displeasure;—adding (but only as if I were thinking aloud, and without the slightest desire, or supposition, that the words would be repeated to him), "I should like to be at peace with him before I die." Greatly was I surprised, and, truth to say, vexed, when a few days afterwards, he called in his carriage at my door, having been induced to do so by this lady's report of what I had said about him.'—Pp. 266, 267.

He was sent away for this time, but kindly called again.

'The very way in which he entered the room, and the rueful length of his countenance,—a countenance on which I perceived a variety of not the most pleasing emotions, occasioned me involuntarily to draw back as he approached, and in the most mournful of tones, asked me "how I found myself?" He had not sat long by my side, when he expressed a hope "that I was now fully aware of the delusions of those persons with whom I had been associated;" meaning, as I was at no loss to perceive, Mrs. C—— in particular.

'As yet I was not by any means fully aware of it; so I took the liberty to express a doubt upon the subject of the delusions he mentioned. Poor man, the anger that quivered in every feature! as I calmly, but decidedly expressed my sentiments respecting Mrs. C——, of whose pretensions to miraculous endowment, I said, I could not judge; but whose powerful influence upon my own mind, and whose prophetic message to me in my own house, had left impressions of her being a servant of God, which rendered it impossible for me to regard her with any sentiments but those of respect.

'He soon ended his visit, by asking me if I wished him to go to prayer? a suggestion to which I assented, only because I did not very well know how to avoid doing so; but had I been aware of the spirit with which he was about to enter upon the holy act, I should have preferred giving him any degree of offence, rather than have permitted it. Such a prayer as it was! Such an invocation for (as he phrased it) "this thy creature on the borders of eternity,"—or, as his tone and manner said, "*on the borders of perdition*,"—oh, such an address to God, for a poor soul whose every waking moment was at that time a breathing of heart for her heavenly Father's help, to "turn her from darkness unto light,"—it was fearful to think of! That he *intended* it for good, is all that can be said about it; and, that, God be thanked! he was not the final adjudicator of my doom, was the only comfort it afforded me.'—Pp. 267—269.

She describes herself at this period as friendless, which we cannot wonder at. The Professor, indeed, with resolute good

nature, paid her periodical visits to inquire after her health, but only for a few minutes at a time, and hat in hand, on account of his numerous engagements,—or, more likely, from dread of any useless discussion; and all the while she was perplexed whether this intercourse with the world, which no doubt, from the knowledge of his tacit disapproval, rather irritated her, was consistent with her profession. After A——'s unwilling departure, whose high religious pretensions and the neglect more engrossing interests had induced, had alike spoiled for her office, our friend sinks into a not unnatural serenity of mind, and a feeling of repose new to her, which ushers in the last religious aspect of this singular career.

Weak health and an exhausted spirit—a spirit weary of contest and perpetual irritation, and a body enjoying a happy respite from pain and nervous excitability,—may very naturally produce, for a time, a kind of trancelike repose; and this, encouraged, may generate the state of 'passivity,' which is our authoress's present standard of the highest religion. It is better to be calm than violent, and therefore this is an amendment upon the former state; and any attempt at self-regulation is to be preferred to self-abandonment; but beyond this we cannot enter into her view of the spirituality of such a condition of mind: it is neither scriptural nor rational. In her excited description there are indications of the same wilfulness in another development, the same estranged and inimical posture of mind towards others, the same dependence on self; and this self-dependence forming itself into a doctrine so as to shut out by formal barriers those outward aids to faith and practice to which a less conscious indifference had been previously opposed. We may confidently pronounce on the falsehood of that rapture which assists the mind to discard a positive creed, and to be indifferent to the facts of revealed truth. In the following passage she is describing the state she then aimed at:—

'I am labouring to empty my mind of all thoughts, all remembrances, and to become, in every sense of the word, "dead to the world, and alive only unto God."

'And now it is that those parts of Scripture which particularly point to a quiet waiting upon the Lord, come home to me as a message from heaven. I keep a Bible with marginal references always by my side; and, as a particular text is suggested to me, I turn to look for it. I am sufficiently well acquainted with Scripture, to fix immediately upon the place where I am to find it; and when I do find it, it guides me, most likely, to many more of the same refreshing nature. I have thus, for the present, got a little sweet food; the food which an inward want and wish directed me to look for. I then lay my book down, close my eyes, and give myself up to the impression it has left upon my mind. I begin to understand the meaning of such passages as "My soul, wait thou still upon God." I begin also to comprehend more clearly, many of the monitions of a like kind, in the good Quaker's book. I find within me an innate repugnance to everything that

is merely notional, and of the nature of which I have no living and sensible experience. I pass whole days lying upon my sofa with my eyes closed, and many sleepless nights upon my bed, in the constant mental repetition of a few simple words, such as "Lord, meeken me! Lord, quiet me!"

'I speak deliberately, and under a consciousness that what I say is known to the Searcher of hearts, when I state that I have many times at the close of a day thus passed, retired for the night, with my interior nature so denuded of every earthly thought and feeling, that it seemed to me all white and transparent, and as though I were almost unclothed of the body; a condition so beautiful and blessed, that I never felt it for the shortest interval, without trembling at the possibility of its being disturbed by any outward intrusion.'—Pp. 258, 259.

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'It was thus, in suffering, in silence, in solitude, and in unceasing prayer, that a seed of divine truth was developed in the depth of my heart, which has never from that time been wholly lost. I trouble myself nothing with this or the other creed or notion. I hold to that which God himself has taught me.'—Pp. 260, 261.

In the intimate and mysterious connexion that exists between body and mind, the one may be brought to act upon the other, so as to produce similar effects by apparently very different means. The rule just given is merely one of these mesmeric influences: prayer loses its nature, and becomes a mere charm, as here recommended; and we maintain that these perpetually repeated ejaculations with closed eyes, are not at all more rational nor more conducive to a truly religious frame of mind, than that system pursued by the mystic monks of Athos so many hundred years ago, and now branded as ignorant superstition. These men, in compliance we are told with the opinion of ancient doctors, that a celestial light lay concealed in the deepest retirements of the mind, used to sit every day during a certain space of time, in a solitary corner, with their eyes eagerly and immovably fixed upon the middle region of the stomach, and were persuaded that in this posture they found a divine light beaming forth from the soul, which diffused through their hearts inexpressible sensations of pleasure and delight. We believe them to have been mistaken in supposing this state a really spiritual one; it was a *natural* result of certain ill-understood, and, apparently, inadequate causes, and the same we judge to be the case here.

Some estimate may be drawn of the reality and value of this supposed highly spiritual state by the means through which it could at any time be disturbed and broken. A divine influence would surely protect and raise the soul above the power of petty and trifling annoyance, so that it should not succumb at the first breath of outer air; therefore nothing proves more the unreality of our authoress's whole mode of viewing this period of her life, than that she shows no sense of the absurdity of the confession, that the whims and ill-temper of a troublesome housemaid had always the power of dispelling these glorious manifestations. There is

a ludicrous gravity in the description of the sufferings and trials this young woman inflicted upon her; and her temper is still unequal to the task of dispassionately describing them. We have no doubt this Lucy was provoking; having taken her into her service from a Female Penitentiary, she had no right to expect much propriety of deportment, amiability of character, or power of self-government. But the way in which their two minds clashed, the intimate and equal mental relation Lucy contrived to establish between her intellectual mistress and herself, gives us a considerable idea of her cleverness. There is clearly, too, another side to the story, if Lucy could only write a book to give it.

When A—— first left, the ‘crafty creature,’ as Lucy is denominated, was most officious in her attentions, and wished to be allowed to sit in her mistress’s room, so as to be always in attendance; but this, though allowed for a time, became a troublesome restraint.

‘Not choosing to be afflicted with the company of Lucy, I soon gave her her dismissal; an affront upon her pride which the fierce-tempered girl neither forgot nor forgave; and as her situation afforded her the opportunity to tease me, she did not fail to avail herself of it, by indulging in a succession of such spiteful tricks as could scarcely have entered into the imagination of a less wicked person than herself.

‘She soon detected my desire for as much silence as I could obtain. Whenever, therefore, she was out of humour, which was almost every day, (for she detested the dullness of the house since A—— went, though they were always disputing while she stayed,) she had a fine store of artillery to direct against me, in driving chairs and tables about the adjoining room, under pretext of sweeping it. Then, she would be continually coming up with messages respecting things of which the cook could have informed her as well as myself. The most extraordinary things were laid in the way to catch my eye, when by way of exercise, as I grew better, I took a turn out of one room into the other. Bits of old broken combs, cords, sealing wax, and anything that should cause me to speak, and say, “Don’t leave this rubbish here;” and then she would say, “I’m sure I know nothing about it;” and try to get into an argument on the subject. Anything, in short, to stir me up, and set me talking, (a thing I was labouring to avoid,) was delightful to her. But the most trying of all her persecutions, was the determined way in which she *would* tell me all the news of the town that she could pick up, ostensibly for my diversion; though I repeatedly told her that I wished to know nothing of what was going on; especially did I desire to hear of none of the proceedings that were taking place at the house of Mrs. S——. Like it, or not, she would contrive to bring out her intelligence in some way or another.

‘Not a beggar came to the door, or any creature from whom she could extract a message to me, that she did not disturb me by appearing with it. But truly, as in the case of the Israelites under Pharaoh, the more they were vexed, the better they prospered, so, by endeavouring to turn this girl’s persecution into a means of growing in patience and forbearance, it was converted into a rich and overflowing blessing. With one noble lesson, never to be lost, it largely enriched my experience. It showed me the glory and exactness of God’s righteousness, in the retributive justice of

which it was a token; for, most impossible was it for me to contemplate myself thus left with a selfish, ungrateful creature, bringing me perpetually under the harrow of her evil temper, without remembering how many wounds my own besetting sins had occasioned me to make upon the peace of others! I thought of my parents, and of many more; but most of all, I thought of my poor A——, such as she was when first she came to live with me. I remembered her devoted, never-failing, patient love, and how often it was met with unkindness, how often repelled by harshness, when the irritability of my nature, exasperated by its trials, vented itself on whatever crossed its path, and crushed to atoms many a precious thing, even though it were affection as rare and valuable as hers. I beheld all this in the light which Lucy's bitter nature diffused over it, and I "became dumb and opened not my mouth," for I saw it was the Lord's doing. But oh! the hand of mercy which brought healing through the chastisement, and saving health with every drop of anguish it administered! How glorious was my life in those days of outward sorrow! days, which if I forget, "may my right hand forget her cunning!"—Pp. 274—276.

The word 'exactness' here—the 'exactness' of God's retributive justice, betrays a sad want of perception of the magnitude of her own sins of filial disobedience: what parallel can be really drawn between the two cases? Nor do we adopt the word retribution in her sense. She was in the condition she had deliberately, and by choice, brought herself to; as for Lucy, she had a difficult part to play, and one which many a really good and valuable servant might fail in with so eccentric a mistress; and no doubt this ecstatic state, which she looks back upon with such delight, appeared by no means so sublime to lookers-on:—

'The slightest word of common discourse, brought a mist over the clearness and simplicity of my interior, which it required some hours of abstraction to dissipate. But this was a slight loss compared with the worse than bereavement which followed any demonstration of passion, or disturbed temper, that I might be betrayed into. The occasions of such an occurrence were rare; for too greatly did I prize my treasure, not to watch "lest the bands of the wicked should rob me;" but the malice of Lucy sometimes excited my anger; and then, how did she, and the spirits that ruled in her, triumph!'—Pp. 276, 277.

Twice at least in this work there is a recognition of the existence of evil spirits, an acknowledgment so at variance with some of the writer's Gnostic notions of the connexion of evil with matter *only*, that we should be at a loss to account for the inconsistency, did we not observe that in each case the demon is supposed to exist in the person of one with whom she came in contact and collision. In too many instances, the temper maintains a dismal sort of orthodoxy on this point, in spite of, and in opposition to, a generally lax creed. One hold Lucy possessed over her mistress, which may account, more than the other motives adduced, for her not being dismissed sooner: our authoress values herself on her powers of extempore prayer,

and Lucy showed some sense of the worth of these ministrations, while the civil cook down stairs was 'hard as the nether millstone:'—

'I never wanted power to pray in those days; for I had wants enough, both of my own, and those around me, to spread before the Lord; and very precious oftentimes were those seasons of supplication to me; and though lamentably short-lived in their effects upon Lucy, they were not, I believe, wholly profitless in the impression they occasionally made upon her. Bad as she was, I felt far more assured of her coming under the power of my ministrations, than I did of their being beneficial to my other servant.'—P. 278.

Still further to expose the delusion of those mystic transports which furnish the only evidence of spirituality this lady's system affords, we must extract one more fond description of them in connexion with her deliverance from the world's last tie—her old friend the Professor. It is so clear, that her notion of the duty of breaking it was only a pretence. Her patience was tried by his kind visits, which certainly afforded her no pleasure; his five minutes' visits could not interfere with her spirituality, but she did not like the contact of a mind, however silently, differing from her own. It is curious to note the scantiness of her confessions of mistake, even where returning sense *must* force the knowledge of them upon her, and her quick retraction where any such is made. She has no feeling still of a great breach of *duty* towards an old friend, (her own and her father's friend,) nor of the heartless ingratitude in casting off consistent kindness:—

'It was now so well known that I would see nobody (for I dared not,—I lost so much by conversation) that, with the exception of the Professor, who still looked in for a few minutes every two or three days to ask after me, and, as I grew better, to urge upon me the duty of getting out into the air,—nobody came near me. I read no books,—I did no work;—I lay for the whole day upon my sofa with my eyes closed, and most literally, in an inward and spiritual world. I dare not say what gleams of glory, what openings, what an insight into wisdom and truth, were sometimes given to me in this total abstraction from all earthly influences. I should only be scouted as a fanatic in making the attempt; besides, the subject is too sacred. It is enough, that though that condition of mind has long passed away, under the influence of the things of time and sense, to which, in returning to common life, I also again became necessarily subject—the remembrance of it, whilst God graciously grants me the exercise of my mental powers, can never be lost.

'The last link I had to break, was my friendship with the Professor, which I then considered it to be my duty to sacrifice, but which I have lived to see was one that was not required of me. I can now perceive, that, although in his visits, the tone of his remarks were greatly in opposition to the spirituality I was seeking to establish in my habits of thought,—and that it did for a while bring with it a reminiscence of earth and earthly things that clouded and disturbed the atmosphere of my mind, I should have done better to have submitted to this interruption as coming in the course of things, and which, so far as it caused disquietude, I should

have regarded with other sources of vexation, as a means of growing in patience and self-denial. It was under a sense of apprehended duty, that, finding the Professor, though not openly saying so, yet clearly indicating by his manner, that he considered me to be living and acting under the influence of deplorable fanaticism, I wrote to him a full explanation of the sentiments that occupied my mind, and very kindly, but very decidedly, informed him, that I could see him no more.

'All was now gone, and I was wholly left alone; but my loneliness was only that which respected exterior things. I was left alone indeed, but it was in the possession of sublime peace, and occasional happiness, of which the memory is still fresh, and full of joy. And now, that the interval of nearly twenty years has granted me the means which time can afford, of perceiving where I erred in judgment, I still believe, as I confidently at the time believed, that, eccentric as my course of existence must have appeared in the eyes of almost everybody who knew me,—it was the only course by which I could have been liberated from many chains that bound me to mistake and misery. Most assuredly, also, was it the only course by which I could have been conducted to a knowledge of divine truth, which has never since been shaken by a moment's doubt.'—Pp. 279—281.

At length returning strength, and the necessity for exertion, roused her from this state. Lucy was sent away. We are told, with old maidish minuteness, of the disorder in which she left the house: 'Household linen run to rags; tea-cloths and towels used for dusters; some of them, from their appearance, having even been used to clean the fire-irons and candlesticks;' so curiously will the natural disposition peep out, where the mind supposes itself wrapt in the highest speculations. However, the poor possessed Lucy did her mistress this parting good turn by her negligence, that she forced her to exert herself in some useful manual employment. It cost some weeks in putting things into trim order again. She also made frocks and pinafores for the poor, taught her new servant to write, and once more experienced the wholesome pleasures of occupation. The return, too, to air and out-of-door objects, brought their natural charm; in short, she had been ill, and was well again; and with health came a change of feeling. The period of conscious inspiration was over, and weary of the scene of so many vicissitudes of feeling, she quitted Cambridge, which she designates as the sepulchre of her youth, her friends, every earthly joy, and finally established herself in the neighbourhood of London, by degrees returning to her long-neglected music-books and composition—in fact, to the exercise of her faculties and powers; an enjoyment which for some years she had exchanged for the excitements of fanaticism, but which, when these cooled, reasserted their claim.

We have left but little space for the exposition of the Creed that remains to her, for the due advocacy of which these 'Reminiscences' have been written, and on which now she sets up her rest. It is, in fact, the repose of a mind worn out with excite-

ment, and only bent on rejecting every form of truth which in her time she has neglected, abused, or misunderstood. Totally undisciplined, her spiritual pretensions having been always in advance—indeed, having borne no relation to her real religious attainments,—she discards what she never properly understood, and which never influenced her heart. ‘The man,’ we are taught, ‘that wandereth from the way of understanding, shall remain in the congregation of the dead.’ Indifference to truth is the natural consequence of its abuse. Dead indeed must be that system which rests on no Saviour, and finds itself sufficient for itself; and not only spiritually dead, but dead as having no organization or parts; for as the highest and noblest life is fullest of parts, contributing to, and on which depends, the completeness and beauty of the whole, so the lowest vitality is the least complex, and, as being without intricacy, the nearest approaches to inorganic matter. And on this difference must rest, as far as there is truth in the statement, the claim to greater unanimity which she asserts for those who agree with her views, which, of course, she designates, the truth:—

‘And what a remarkable testimony to the uniting power of Truth is it, that, whilst we see no end to the differences of opinion in those sectarians who build their mode of faith on the letter of Scripture;—one finding salvation only in an adhesion to this text,—another in holding fast to the tenets he declares to be propounded in another, clean contrary to it;—adult baptism with one party,—infant baptism with another,—no baptism at all with a third;—sprinkling here,—immersion there,—and nothing but the confusion of Babel everywhere;—those who turn to an inward instructor, and, as much as possible, endeavour to be guided by the voice which says, “My son, give me thy heart, and let thine eye observe my ways,” are universally of one mind, and cannot possibly be otherwise, because they acknowledge only one Lawgiver, and one law, and both of these divine.’—Pp. 133, 134.

As she does not explain who think with her—who *are* of this ‘one mind,’ we do not see that the assertion thus pompously put forth, can mean more than might be said by any of the religionists she despises, as belonging to Babel. Every sect has adherents; and these are, in the nature of things, agreed on the points on which they unite. However, anything like a statement of truth,—of truth put into terms,—is offensive to her; truth, made a thing, put into words, to be touched, looked at, handled, *realized*. It is only as an abstraction and a shadow that she reverences it. It must be noted that in the following passage, to imprison truth can only mean to define it:—

‘Scarcely anything can be more fatal to the diffusion of Truth, than the attempting to imprison it in any way, or to subject it to the government of opinions and majorities. Truth is not the subject of opinion or vote, or

compulsion, and never can be made so. You may just as well prescribe to people how they are to love and hate, as how they are to believe.'—P. 132.

* We can no more believe a vital truth upon the testimony of another person, than we can live and breathe by his life and breath. The mind may, no doubt, have a certain quantity of notions hung upon it, just as clothes are hung upon pegs in a wardrobe; but they will always remain as distinct from, and inoperative upon, its nature, as the contents of the wardrobe are external to the nature and condition of the body. It is the office of religious education to develop, not to add. You speak (or ought to do) to the conscience, which, at once, acknowledges and agrees with what you propose, if it is in unity with the nature of Truth;—if not, it has nothing to say to you.'—P. 133.

Having here asserted that truth is nothing that can be *taught*, nothing to be received or imparted, but that it lies hid in all minds, a germ that needs only to be developed, she elsewhere ventures on one of the definitions she so much deprecates:—

'Now, what is it to be in Him that is true? Is it not to be led by the Spirit of Truth—the great "I AM?" Is it not to feel a certain *sureness*, quite distinct from our natural state of being?'—P. 23.

So that what we are *sure* of—that alone is truth; and on this principle she condemns all outward search or inquiry. We are to keep ourselves in a state of passivity (p. 23). We are not 'to let our minds run out after help in time of trouble.' That man is despised who on a prospect of death for which he is unprepared, 'sets himself to his *prayers* or his *priest*, according to the fashion in which he has been trained,' (p. 135.) No, we must not look out of ourselves even up to God our Saviour, who, lifted up, draws all men unto Him; but must search into our own hearts for the presence of God in the soul, guiding without revealing itself. And this Spirit is not given to us by renewal or by the imparting of a new nature—for while she uses these words she explains them away—but it is something innate—a part of ourselves, which needs only to be developed:—

'And as it is quite certain from the wisdom of God, as well as from the testimony of His dealings, that He gives to every created thing whatever is needful to its allotted condition, He cannot have left us destitute of the divine germ from which this holy nature is to be elicited.'—P. 21.

In the next she gives to *training* the regenerating power. It is where she explains what a man ought to do instead of 'setting himself to his prayers:—

'Now, had this sense of dependence been made the rule of his life, of his affections, and of his prospects, had it been cultivated like any other of his innate good principles, would it not have done its own blessed and natural work, and linked him to his heavenly Father just as a child is linked by nature to its earthly parent? Assuredly it would. There is a natural necessity for the soul to depend upon God; it makes itself felt in that yearning for divine help and pity, and that instinctive turning towards the Almighty, which always accompanies affliction.'—Pp. 135, 136.

And to justify this view she distorts a passage of Scripture, abandoning the word '*received*':—

'Beautiful is that word of the Apostle, "ye have received" (that is, ye have known and cherished in yourselves) "the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father,"'—P. 136.

Again, in expounding Tit. iii. 5, she enlarges on the simplicity of what is set before the soul as the '*means of that redemption* which it wants,' where surely, if anywhere, we should find some mention of the Atonement; but no, this '*means*' is simply the workings of the Spirit on the conscience:—

'It cannot be accomplished by works of righteousness undertaken in the creature's own strength and will, and as such, works which must, necessarily, be defiled by the influence of pride and self-conceit;—but it is done by a process which is figuratively designated as the "washing of regeneration." That is to say, "God our Saviour" in His mercy and love to His fallen and ignorant creature, draws near to him in the secret recesses of his heart and conscience, and there in a still small voice warns him from evil, or prompts him to good, by ever saying to him as occasions for doubt and danger arise, "This is the way, walk ye in it;" and thus, "renewing him unto good works, by the power of the Holy Spirit" measurably bestowed according to his need.'—P. 129.

It is to our own soul, as though it were the only scene or home of God's presence, that we are constantly referred:—

'The chief business of a wise man's life, is to aim at distinguishing this divine inspiration in the depths of his own soul.'—P. 40.

'From that time to the present hour, I can relish no reading, no teaching, no conversation on religious topics, no views of morality, no representations of human life, which do not recognise this view of "turning to God, and cleaving to those good thoughts and motions which proceed from His Holy Spirit dwelling and working in us," as the one work and business of the soul that yearns for deliverance from evil. As Mr. Law suggests, and, as an axiom to which all that is within me yields a ready Amen, I "seek for no other road, I call nothing else the way to God, but solely that which His eternal, all-creating Word and Spirit work within me.'"—P. 105.

We are, then, not to look for truth from a revelation, but from something in ourselves, the one monitor, in which alone, as it would seem, there can be no difficulty, mistake, or falsehood: and which, according to her own showing, exists without revelation, and independent of it. Thus, when she says 'that the '*knowledge and possession of divine truth is all that a rational 'and responsible being has to seek for,*' it has no connexion with anything external, anything out of ourselves. Nor, when she speaks of God's word, does she, as she very distinctly explains, refer in any way to His revealed word; stating, at the same time, what, and what only, she supposes to be the purposes of the written word:—

'No;—I am alluding to that ever-living, ever-speaking Word of God which is not printed upon paper,—not imprisoned in language,—not called the Bible, though I thankfully acknowledge that we have cause to love and

reverence the Bible for informing us of its nature, office, and dwelling-place.'—Pp. 96, 97.

Having thus narrowed the whole of religion to one infinitesimal point, she gives rules by which to concentrate the mind and the thoughts upon this one object;—rules which, along with others, as only a part of self-discipline, might not be open to quarrel, as being congenial to some minds,—but, as the one great act of religion, the *only* one enforced, fanatical and dangerous.

'No lesson indeed of a practical kind (and all lessons ought to be practical) requires to be so often repeated, as that which enjoins upon the mind a state of passivity;—for what an electric thing is it!'—P. 23.

If indeed the mind is constituted to take the 'wings of the morning,' why, we would ask, should the Gnome of Quietism shut it up in his small and narrow phial?—

'Who is there that sets himself to the task of steadily watching his thoughts for the space of one hour, with the view of preserving his mind in a simple, humble, healthful condition, but will speedily discern in the multi-form self-reflecting, self-admiring emotions, which, like locusts, are ready to "eat up every green thing in his land," a state as much opposed to simplicity and humility, as night is to day?'—Pp. 23, 24.

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'We may, I believe, rely upon it, that it is not from reflection or study, or "heaping up to themselves teachers," that persons become the subjects of moral renovation; but from small endeavours, suggested by *small* internal monitions, about the *small* moment just before them.

'I have such strong faith in the power that attends a habit of confining the attention to the present moment, that I should be disposed to make it the ground-work of every system of education. Have a work for every moment, and mind the moment's work.'—P. 37.

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'Wait!—Wait!—Ah, those two words, what salvation is in them! You can never do better than *act them out* at least *once* every hour. Observe, also, how hasty impulses subside of themselves, if not shaken and jarred into sustained vibrations by the furious will; and you will soon perceive, the inestimable value of being still and motionless as death, under their first concussions.'—P. 39.

This sitting and watching our thoughts, as they come out of their holes, as a cat watches for a mouse; or, clerk-like, making an inventory of them, is not the way to mend them. The *I* and the *thou* are too much one, for any good effect. There is a morbid self-examination as well as a healthful one. Healthful self-examination must always lead to action. Thoughts must not live and die in themselves. They must go out into *acts* of prayer, acts of self-renunciation, *acts* of contrition, forgiveness, and charity. If we have bad thoughts, we must not ponder over them, but drive them away by good deeds. The wise mind, needing a remedy for its corruptions, seeks for assistance, and never sits down with itself and by itself, reviewing thought after thought as they arise, and merely reviewing them. It is only engendering new enemies to do so. Rather it is up and

doing, asking, 'What aid can I supplicate?'—'What prayer can I say?'—'What Scripture can I read?'—'What counteracting grace can I ask of Heaven?'

But it is time to bring our remarks to a close. We have traced the career of a nature and temper entirely at variance with those dispositions which it is the Church's office to develop. It is the great contrast of Self-reliance and Humility. The Church admits her members to a company; she chooses solitude. The Church points to a Saviour; she contemplates her heart. The Church presents us with means of grace; she, believing herself in herself to possess all things, despises them. The Church gives us the Bible, and bids us submit to it as God's messenger to man; her fancied knowledge comes all from within. The Church enforces a Creed; with her there is no external truth. The Church admits to a service which makes free; her unchastened freedom ends in bondage. The Church bids even the pure conscience and the single aim to say with the Apostle, 'I know nothing of myself, yet am I not hereby justified;' that 'there are many devices in the heart of man, but the counsel of the Lord it shall stand;' that 'all the ways of a man are clean in his own eyes, but the Lord weigheth the spirits;' pointing to an eternal throne of judgment: she states as 'the great desideratum, the possession of a well-grounded confidence in the dictates of an interior and infallible guide;' vauntingly contrasting the teaching of this guide with the most excellent of truths conveyed to us with the alloy of human transmission, or, indeed, any material intervention whatever.

It is, in fact, the unteachable spirit, the temper that will not learn,—justifying indocility, and setting it up as a doctrine. By our authoress's own showing, she has *learnt* nothing. It is with a sort of boast that she renounces all that others have tried to teach her: she tells us what her first innate conviction was, and what her last matured judgment; and, except for a little more system and a little less faith, we can see no difference. All the vast, eternal truths of revelation, are alike without influence or prominence in both. It is a reproduction in a modern, popular, and illogical form, of an ancient heresy, which has been explained in the following formula—'Desisting from seeking God nature, and what belongs to them, seek thou thyself from thyself, and say, My God is my mind, my thought, my soul, and body,—and thou wilt find thyself in thyself as the one and the whole.' We do not say that it is thus with the inmost heart of our authoress, who may not know the tendency and direction of her crude and sometimes inconsistent opinions; but such must be the ultimate end and conclusion of the teaching of her book.

- ART IV.—1. *The Convocations of the two Provinces, &c.* By GEORGE TREVOR, M.A. Canon of York. London: J. & C. Mozley. 1852.
2. *Hand-book to Convocation.* By H. J. RHODES, M.A. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1852.
3. *The Constitutional Nature of the Convocations of the Church of England.* By the Rev. W. FRASER, B.C.L. London: Masters.
4. *Thoughts on the Revival of Convocation.* By the Rev. E. ELIOT, B.D. London: Seeleys. 1852.
5. *Shall we press for the Assembling of Convocation?* By an EX-PROCTOR. London: Seeleys. 1852.
6. *Morning Chronicle.* Nov. 13—18, 1852.
7. *Guardian.* Nov. 17 and 24, 1852.

THE month of November has hitherto been chiefly celebrated in the annals of the city of London by the prevalence of peculiar fogs, during which all who could remain at home considered it an advantage so to do. It has therefore been a quiet, uneventful month, with little to vary its monotony, but the juvenile Saturnalia of Guy Fawkes' day, and the Lord Mayor's show on the 9th. Country people, high and low, have seen but little, either of these fogs or the show, because the session of parliament has not brought up the one, nor have motives of pleasure included the other within their migratory influence.

Last November was, however, a striking contrast to these accustomed features of the month. By a strange coincidence, there were three important and unusual events concentrated within it, before one of which the ancient 'show' entirely succumbed, while the local fog was absorbed into a deluge of rain, which extended throughout the kingdom, as if the metropolitan Neptune had bid all his tributaries rise up in anger to stem, by the destructive power of their waters, this unorthodox invasion of a London November. In spite, however, of all his anger, and in spite of the sympathetic quakings of the earth itself, London never was so full. The fall of bridges, the slipping of rails, the conversion of dry land into seas, were none of them able to deter the multitudes, who were bent, with a fixed pur-

pose, on presenting themselves in their capital city. By a peculiar turn of political parties, it was necessary to hold a November session of Parliament; by a national visitation of the arm of death it became the country's duty and pleasure to carry its greatest son to an honoured grave, by means of a public funeral, on a scale never exceeded for pomp and grandeur. And in the same month it also was granted by Providence, that the Church should make a wonderful stride towards converting what, for more than a century, has been a barren form, into a substantial and vital element of her constitution.

Of all the multitudes who assembled for these various occasions of business or interest, we purpose confining our present attention to those who composed Convocation, with the various things that have been done, spoken, or written on that subject.

In our last number, while reviewing the recent election of Proctors, we expressed a strong conviction that the interest thereby manifested in the cause of Convocation, made its constitutional revival a matter of certainty. It is now our task, not to be compelled to explain away our previous boldness, but to relate actual proceedings in our Church's legal synod, which are the highest confirmation of all that we anticipated.

It is the reward of those who advocate a true and a right cause, that, if by diligence and care, they keep strictly to their legitimate ground, they find themselves wonderfully protected from the violence of hostile powers, which at a distance appeared irresistible. Some nominal friends talk of the Church as if she could only meet any external dangers by a kind of metamorphosis, for the time being, into a ghost or spirit, against which material substances have no force. This idea seems to be adopted, not from any high notions of the Church's spiritual character, but from the incumbent necessity to find an abstract Church which is able, according to divine promises, to resist dangers, although they are too faithless to believe that the ordinary and visible definition of the Church has that strength. Such, however, is not the sense in which we discern in her a singular ability to meet the violence of enemies. We mean by *the Church*, a real visible institution, which, like any other corporation or interest, has to fight its own way, in its own material substance, against visible difficulties. We do not allege a general profession of the spiritual character of the Church (however deeply we feel that) as any pretext for disregarding the struggles of Christ's body militant on earth. We trust that the example of the *Incarnate Word* has taught us the reality of His Church's visible existence here upon earth, exposed to the same trials and hardships which surround things less divine.

We wish, then, to state an ordinary and practical truth, when we say that the friends of the Church, inasmuch as they have a cause peculiarly true,—and provided they advance that cause in a legitimate and careful manner,—will find themselves more safe than the world anticipates, when they steer their bark on the waves of earthly politics.

We have been led into this reflection, not only by any abstract confidence in our cause, but by marking the singular want of correct aim, or point, in any of the attacks which have been levelled at Convocation. There has been a plain and obvious reason for this, but a reason which gives us an advantage of a perfectly fair kind: we mean, the entire ignorance of our assailants, as to what they are endeavouring to hit, what its work is, or even where its actual existence is to be found. They hit with ferocious intent; they hurl great blundering missiles, or make slashing strokes; they imagine that the extinguisher is being summarily put over the struggling embers, or that, by a giant's tread, the 'little reptile' of Convocation is to be forthwith crushed, to the contempt of all beholders: but these expectations are foiled; the blows aimed, have gone over, or under, on one side or the other; but by some marvellous instinct, the object of attack has actually arrived at its scene of activity, and is doing its work.

Let the facts of the case, however, as a whole, illustrate our views, by reference to the history of the last three months; for we already suppose our readers to be acquainted with the general aspect of affairs up to that time.

The history of Convocation in the province of Canterbury during the last quarter, we shall arbitrarily divide into four parts; viz. a beginning, in the form of a sudden alarm raised by its opponents; a part, No. 2, consisting of various books and pamphlets, expressive of opinions on either side, such as might naturally be expected to usher in a period of interest; a part, No. 3, which is the real scene of action, in the ecclesiastical buildings of S. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey; and lastly, a conclusion, in which we shall refer to some few external comments on what may then be called the '*fait accompli*,' amongst which will be the reflections and annotations of the Government on the nature of what had happened.

The history of Convocation in the province of York must also claim our notice; but here we find so admirable a *simplicity* that we need hardly mark out the divisions of our subject: for in part the history of the two coincide, as having a common cause; and for the rest, the northern province does not afford very large material for a descriptive pen. In its proper place, however, we shall consider what did take place.

The first part of our present narrative, if so we may call it, has therefore to do with a serious alarm raised through the country, that Convocation was actually going to transact business. The world was going on apparently much as usual,—steadily, but only occasionally, had the Church organs, the ‘Chronicle’ and ‘Guardian,’ kept the subject of Convocation before the public, since the election of Proctors in the summer,—when ‘The Times’ newspaper, about the 17th of October, in an article meant to be very startling, announced that Lord Derby and his colleagues had resolved to advise her Majesty to permit the Houses of Convocation to sit for the despatch of business. This was like the sound of a trumpet to several other papers, such as the ‘Globe,’ ‘Daily News,’ &c. We cannot afford space to convert our pages into mere compilation from the daily press, but we cannot refrain from a short review of the article in ‘The Times’ that made this stir. It professes itself unprepared for so rash and abrupt a measure, so perilous to the Church of England, and inimical to the order and tranquillity of society. The attempt for Convocation had proceeded, it says, from the extreme High-Church party, and not from the Church of England at large. The election of Proctors was described as having been conducted with a kind of mock solemnity; while the whole constitution of these ecclesiastical assemblies was such, that to set it in motion would be the wildest freak a modern statesman could commit. This journal then proceeds to describe the extreme parties of the Church; on the one hand, it sees the priestly arrogance of Laud and Atterbury, and on the other, the tendency to lower the standard of doctrine along the declivity of dissent. A ferocious contest between these two parties is presumed to be the desired end of Convocation. It is then conceded that Lord John Russell exercised his ecclesiastical power with great imprudence; but a vivid picture is drawn of the extreme rashness of any premier who could now give opportunity for the incapacity of clerical bodies to deal with the affairs of the world, and even with the interests of their Church, in a spirit of discretion, wisdom, and decorum. The proceedings of Convocation in the beginning of the eighteenth century are described thus:—‘A handful of passionate bigots continued to challenge the rights of Parliament itself; to insult the bishops, because they were prelates of moderation and liberality; to contend for unheard-of privileges; and to exercise their unheard-of violence in the inquisition and condemnation of heterodox publications.’ After alluding to Lord Derby’s ‘accustomed levity,’ and appealing to the great mass of Protestant feeling, it thus concludes:—‘We are still unwilling to believe that Lord Derby is capable of that degree of temerity and infatuation which would superadd

‘to all the secular duties and difficulties of his high position the hiving of a swarm of theological hornets, when, to use the expressive language of Mr. Hallam, “to scatter a little dust over the angry insects” is evidently the duty and the interest of the First Minister of the Crown.’ ‘The Globe’ articles we have not before us; but they kept up an incessant warfare for a whole week, bristling with horror at the imminent danger to which their pet theory, of a well-tamed and manacled State religion, was likely to be exposed to. The line taken by such writers is the surest, in the end, to promote the cause of Convocation; for it identifies—most conveniently for our own side of the question—the opponents of Convocation with the profoundest contempt even for such Church principles as are held by all except the extremest latitudinarian. We can fancy that the intense desire manifested in ‘The Globe’ to degrade the ecclesiastical character of the Church of England, would best proceed from the pen of an insidious Roman Catholic.

And now let us inquire how the cause, which we advocate, survived such stormy convulsions as were excited to overwhelm it. With all this violence of language used, and these stimulating appeals to the mob of English society, ‘The Times’ was singularly infelicitous in this attack. In the first place, there was no foundation whatever for the report, so vividly enunciated, that Lord Derby had recommended Her Majesty that Convocation should proceed to the despatch of business; and in the second place, Convocation was perfectly competent to transact business, without Lord Derby being at all concerned in the matter, or without any further licence from the Crown than the ordinary writs, issued as a matter of routine, have always granted. The perfect ignorance, therefore, under which this attack was made, caused its violence altogether to miss its aim. ‘The Morning Herald,’ for once, had the advantage of its cotemporary, being authorized to deny the assertion; while to those who were ignorant of the real nature of the case, a still further mystery was destined afterwards to encompass the meeting of Convocation, as if to protect it from its enemies. We must finish, however, the romantic history of this rumour. ‘The Daily News’ and ‘Morning Herald’ made strange surmises as to its origin. It was represented as the joint offspring of the Tractarians and the Stock Exchange,—‘The Morning Chronicle’ being its monthly nurse. It would then seem to have been left, delicately cradled, at the door of ‘The Times’ office, where the little foundling was received with open arms, under the false impression that it was the gift of Royalty itself. ‘The Morning Chronicle,’ in a severe but witty leader, modestly disowned its imputed share of the transaction, though admitting

how much it was flattered at the extensive influence and marvellous ingenuity ascribed to it. The public were now satisfied that Convocation was not to meet; and thus the curtain closes upon the first act of our drama.

A lull being now obtained from the outer world, which happily had many other things to occupy its attention, the controversy was for the most part restricted to those immediately interested in it; and therefore we shall here notice some few of the various publications which came out, in anticipation of the actual meeting of the Church's Synod. A single glance at these is enough to convince the most incredulous, that the cause of Convocation possesses at least that reality, of which the labour and research of intelligent men is a sure proof. They necessarily go over much the same ground, though with different degrees of completeness. Mr. Fraser's, republished from the '*Scottish Magazine*,' gives, within the compass of a small pamphlet, a great amount of historical information that is much to the point, as settling the constitutional rights and position of Convocation. The two published by Mr. Seeley, take the other side. The one by Mr. Eliot ventures into the region of history, and betrays such miserable ignorance as can only be accounted for by the existence of that peculiar obstinacy, with which, in low recrimination, assertions are made over and over again, like the words of an automaton, quite irrespective of the most overwhelming confutation they may have received. The *Ex-Proctor* is more reasonable, and on the whole we cannot but conclude that his principal objection against Convocation is, that he happens to be no longer a member of it. Mr. Caswall's *Letter* is a plain and earnest testimony in favour of the cause, and is the result of his observations across the Atlantic. '*Synodalia*' is a valuable monthly record, both of facts and opinions, commenced in November. '*The Hand-book of Convocation*' is a singular testimony to the very great interest that attaches to the whole question, and, therefore, to the sentiments of all who compose these deliberative assemblies. All the names are placed in alphabetical order, and whatever each man has said or done with reference to the subject appended thereto. It is to Convocation what the ever valuable '*Dodd*' is to Parliament. The great work, however, of the quarter, we have now to notice, is Canon Trevor's '*Two Convocations*;' it includes all the smaller ones, and condenses a mass of history, that will make it the standard book of reference, on every question that arises. A lengthened review of these publications singly is not our object, nor would it answer any specific end. We prefer stating generally, what is our own view of the controversial part of the question as represented by them in the mass.

If we could separate ourselves from the mist of local, contemporary, and personal agitation upon this subject; if we were able calmly to survey history, without exaggerating the importance of any one period, and impartially weighing the circumstances that affected each, with the various lights and shades that always checker the course of time, in our pursuit of any one study through a series of ages; the picture would, we feel sure, give much confidence to feeble hearts, and would exhibit the cause of Convocation to be founded not only on a rock of time, but to partake of the everlasting strength of the Church.

We will not endeavour to establish any particular analogies between Christian synods, and any assemblies of former covenants, or of heathen religions, either to add the testimony of revelation or of nature to our cause; for we believe it so essential a part of all religions, to have deliberative meetings concerning them, that any details of comparison would only be to satisfy curiosity; they could not strengthen the firm substance of common sense and divine justice on which this right is founded.

Beginning, then, with the history of Christ's Church, we still have 1850 years to look to as within our present survey. Now it cannot be denied that the Apostles held a synod at Jerusalem. The primitive Church followed this example, as we learn from every Church history. Then come the great period of Ecumenical Councils; and after that, the records of our own Church begin to tell us of the same universal law; of which the following passage from Canon Trevor gives an instance:—

'In this capacity Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, held Councils at Herudford or Hartford, A.D. 673, and at Bishop's Hatfield, A.D. 680. The former of these is described as "a Council of bishops and of many masters of the Church, who loved and knew the canonical statutes of the Fathers;" or, as Johnson says, "probably abbots, priors, and rectors of lesser Churches, that were skilled in the canons." The Acts of this Council begin, "In the name of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, in the perpetual reign and government of our said Lord; it seemed good that we should come together, according to the prescription of the venerable canons, to treat of the necessary affairs of the Church," &c. The 7th canon runs thus: "That a Synod be assembled twice in the year; but because many occasions may hinder this, it was jointly agreed by all, that once in the year it be assembled, viz. on the kalends of August, at the place called Cloves-hoo," (supposed to be Abingdon or Cliff).—*Trevor*, p. 15.

Again, we trace similar assemblies in the year 734, when Canons were published, under the authority of Egbert; in 747 a synod was held at Cloves-hoo, of which the following is the description:—

'A Synod of the southern province held under Archbishop Cuthbert, at Cloves-hoo (A.D. 747), was attended by the King of the Mercians, with his princes and dukes, but the constituent members are described as "the Prelates of the Sacred Order, with many Priests of the Lord, and those of

the ecclesiastical order in lesser Dignities, who met the venerable Archbishop Cuthbert at the place of Synod, and sat down to treat of and settle the unity of the Church and the state of Christianity, and a peaceable agreement."

'It was determined in the 25th Head:

"That Bishops coming from Synods, assembling the Priests, Abbots, and chiefs of monasteries and churches within their parish (diocese), and laying before them the injunctions of the Synod, should give it in charge that they be kept. And if there be anything which a Bishop cannot reform in his own diocese let him lay it before the Archbishop in Synod, and publicly before all, in order to its being reformed."—*Ibid.* p. 16.

In Saxon times we find that the principle of truly national synods was very highly developed. The Church of this island then enjoyed a local independence, which both ensured the respect and also the friendly cooperation of the civil power. Rome was even then jealous of these mutual relations, for she has always been opposed to local synods in their true character. But as the strength of our constitution is much derived from the wisdom of our Saxon forefathers in matters of civil government, so may we presume that there was equal wisdom in that balance of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, which was being gradually brought into practical application during the whole Saxon dynasty. The much boasted British constitution is founded on a Saxon basis, and it was no small part of those Saxon times to hold councils, where the bishops and clergy treated of what was necessary and useful for the Churches.

William the Conqueror, a man '*tumoris immoderati*,' exercised his arbitrary will to check the freedom of our national Synods, and the power of Rome aided him in doing so; but the contests of that age were only concerning a greater or less degree of independence; they did not touch the innate claim of the Church to hold them. During William Rufus, there were, indeed, no Synods, but nothing went right in that reign; and how aggrieved S. Anselm felt at this, we find in the following words:—

'He beheld many evils in England of which the correction pertained to his office, but which he could neither reform nor tolerate without sin in himself, since the king had permitted no council to be celebrated for the thirteen years he had reigned.'—*Ibid.* p. 22.

As soon, however, as he could, he remedied this:—

'Anselm being recalled by Henry I., summoned a council at Lambeth (A.D. 1100), to consider whether Matilda, who had worn the veil of a nun, but not taken the vows, might be lawfully wedded to the King. Here, again, the *personæ* of the Religious Orders were associated with the Bishops and Abbots.

'In another assembly at S. Peter's, Westminster, A.D. 1102, the same Archbishop endeavoured to redress some of the evils which had arisen from the long neglect of Synods. To this end, in addition to the Bishops and Abbots, the Council was attended by the great nobles, summoned by the

King at the Archbishop's request, in order that whatever should be decided might be observed with all the care and solicitude of both orders, lay as well as clerical. Paris and Matthew of Westminster, say that the King himself was also present, but the Archbishop certainly *presided*.—*Ibid.* p. 23.

Within short intervals we have constant records of Church Councils from this time to Edward I. There was a mixture often between Synods and Parliaments, the Clergy even attending the latter; but a jealousy was always maintained by the Clergy against any invasion of their ecclesiastical rights, that well assures us how strictly the claim to hold Synods was adhered to. Then come the much talked of era of Edward I., which some have the imprudence to assert is the commencement of Convocation. The history of it is, however, very obvious. There had, ever since the time of the Conquest, been a strong disposition on the part of the Crown to make ecclesiastical property pay a share towards the national expenses, though, in its origin, it was exempt from tax. It was for this reason that the Conqueror summoned the Bishops to the House of Lords as barons. The Clergy were also at different times summoned to appear in the lower House, in order to contribute toward the revenue. This sitting in the lower House never was allowed to interfere at all with the Church's right of Synod; but still the Clergy felt a strong repugnance at being thus summoned by the Crown, rather than through their Archbishop. The issue of these demands on the part of the Crown, and these jealousies among the Clergy, was the celebrated compromise, beginning with Edward I. The Clergy consented to meet together, and to be taxed regularly by order of the King's writ; but that writ, and all the machinery connected with it, was to be through the Archbishop, and was to be part of their Ecclesiastical system;—the King on his part granting to these Convocations that inalienable right of passing canons which the Church had always enjoyed. Thus it continued till the Reformation, during which time Convocation was the medium through which alterations were made, and questions decided. Henry VIII. did, indeed, bind it down with his accustomed tyranny, but he still recognised it as the Church of England by representation. From the Reformation to the time of William III. no alteration was made in our Prayer-book, or in the constitution of our Church, except by Convocation; and its sessions continued to be held till the reign of George I., when the affair of Bishop Hoadly, in 1717, caused their cessation. This event had been preceded by considerable agitation in the affairs of the Church, in which the High-Church cause, we must remember, was the popular one, and was stoutly defended in Convocation by Atterbury. This popularity of

the High-Church party was annoying to the Hanoverian dynasty, inasmuch as it was somewhat connected in their minds with the pretensions of the Stuart family. The suppression, therefore, of Convocation was undoubtedly a political movement against the Church party, and was a gross act of persecution, seeing that it was at the time engaged in its legitimate work as an active part of the Constitution.

Thus for more than 1700 years we trace the history of our Church as having Ecclesiastical Synods to manage her internal affairs; these may have been held under various circumstances, and with more or less regularity. It is possible that considerable intervals may have passed without any important assembly of this nature, but whatever wholesome adaptations there have been from time to time of the Church's system to the requirements of any age, have all been regulated by Synods in one form or other. The very elements of our national constitution are so mixed up with this balance of rights in the Church's favour, that the formalities of its practical use have remained absolutely untouched through a century and a half of mere form, although, in order to do that, the Crown has had, by a continued exercise of its functions, to act a farce which it would gladly have stopped; and the Archbishop of Canterbury has had to undergo the personal humiliation of carrying out this idle farce. Surely, if it ever could have been managed without the conviction that a strange mysterious alteration would ensue in the balance of our country's law, these forms would have been swept away during last century, while no one would have cared for or noticed the omission; but Providence has kept them for our use, that now they may vindicate their power and develop their meaning.

And now let us contrast 1700 years of one system with 150 of another. The whole question has all along been a constant matter of arrangement, or even dispute, between the civil and ecclesiastical powers; our present work, therefore, is to contemplate the result of that entire victory, on the part of the State, not only in greatly subduing, but in altogether repressing, the action of Synods during the latter period. Life and energy had at any rate been brought out, and both Church and State had thriven, during, and by means of those former mutual adjustments of influence and the mutual cooperation of independent interests. The State had derived from the Church many essential features of its constitution, and many solemn credentials, which had acquired an intrinsic value beyond the reach of faithless politicians all at once to impugn; and the Church on her part, whatever faults she had, had, at any rate, possessed the confidence of the people, and was the religion of the country.

With reference to the former question, we shall not enter upon the discussion of any loss which the State may be supposed to suffer, on the one hand, from a grievous want of reality which must belong to some of its public acts; and, on the other, from a singular incapacity to deal with any religious question; both resulting from the changed position of the Church, as being no longer, in the public mind, the one voice of Christ's religion among them; but shall confine ourselves, and that briefly, to examining the one point that immediately concerns our present subject, which is this. What is the experience of the Church, during the last 150 years, of the entire subjection of its independence to the civil power? Is that experience such as to warrant the supposition, that, after all, the State can manage the Church better than she can manage herself? for that is the real ground on which the opponents of Convocation must take their stand. Is there any excellence or power shown in the Church's history during this latter period, which ought, on motives of common sense and prudence, to make us forget the prior state of things? Canon Trevor concludes his chapter on Convocations since the Reformation as follows:—

‘From that time to the present the Convocations have never received a licence from the Crown, nor been permitted by the Archbishops to hold more than formal meetings. The Church was left to the executive authority of the Bishops in their several dioceses; its subserviency to the Court being secured by Sir Robert Walpole's expedient of a political use of the Crown patronage. Bishops originally nominated upon this system were chained to its continuance by the golden links of successive translations. Power so acquired was naturally devoted to the aggrandisement of themselves and their families. Ecclesiastical discipline was everywhere relaxed. Sloth and luxury increased among the higher clergy; while the parochial ministers, instead of elevating the laity, became themselves contaminated by the gross debauched manners of the day. *The Church* was made a tavern toast, but her Sanctuaries were ill-served and neglected. The Sacraments were degraded into a registration and a test. Piety came to be looked upon as disaffection, and earnestness to be reviled for enthusiasm;—till the great Wesleyan schism closed the dark annals of the eighteenth century, and proclaimed in a voice of thunder the consequences of attempting to rule a large, intelligent Church, without the help of common deliberation and representative institutions.’—*Ibid.* pp. 75, 76.

This picture is very true. For a time, religion seemed to die altogether out of the mass of the people, with the independence of the Church. But without stating only generalities, such as the want of religious feeling in the country at large; what is the use which the civil government has uniformly made of its influence over the Church, since her voice in self-defence has been utterly silenced? Has it been to promote the cause of religion, by proper appointments in the patronage it held? The miserable use made of Church patronage during last century, and even this, has been the scandal of the age and the hindrance

to any religious movement. Again, what attempts were made last century to give practical utility to the ecclesiastical institutions of the country? Those institutions have indeed been much found fault with, and the Church has been pointed at as being the last body to reform itself; but what is the reason of this? The State for generations filled every high office of the Church with political adherents; it secularised, by appointments and legislation, the possession of benefices into mere private property, subject only to the most nominal duties. The State having done this, and having silenced the true Church of England by representation, then turns round upon the fruits of its own work, and says, 'You clerics are not competent to manage your Church; look at the condition you are in.' It is hard indeed thus to be taunted with the results of the very system we condemn, as if they were the inherent evils of the Church herself, and not rather of that particular position of a Church, we are so anxious to throw on one side.

But there is another aspect of State religion alluded to in our last extract, which adds tenfold to the force of what we have already stated. Has the State, since it stopped the Church's own voice, and thereby took on itself the responsibility of acting in its stead,—has it, apart from the question of its conscientious discharge of such direct functions as the exercise of patronage, &c., succeeded in confirming the Church's position as the religion of the country? We might deprecate a State Church, but yet acknowledge its power to unite the inhabitants of a country under the same external forms of religion. We might think so, if facts bore out these conclusions. But as a matter of fact—and it is but too obvious a one—the State has not in the least prevented disunion, while on the other hand it has introduced deadness and indifference, and incapacitated the Church as the recipient of a religious movement, when one arose. That movement rebelled, on principle, not against the spiritual pretensions of a religious body in the abstract, but against a State Church, as their own observations pointed out that phenomenon to them. The rise of Methodism, with its Conference, as well as of many other sects with their various systems of organization, are an overwhelming evidence that the natural tendency of all religious bodies is to possess self-government, and to resist the entire subjugation of their spiritual affairs to the civil power; whilst they are an equally strong proof how feebly was the Church managed during that one century in which her own voice has been sunk in that of the State. In saying this we are not laying ourselves open to any charge of advocating what must ultimately tend to the separation of Church and State; we only say that the last century proves

both that the religious instincts of mankind are alienated from the notion of a Church which has no independent and corporate power, but is the creature of the State; and also that the State cannot be trusted to manage ecclesiastical affairs without detriment to the Church in her religious character.

From a time, however, when the revival of religion was altogether external to the Church, or was totally adverse to the Ecclesiastical system, even though within her nominal bounds, we may turn with pleasure to a period of fresh life in the Church. Yet is this a concession to the beneficial influence of State control? We may answer this by another question. Has the government of the State, by its wise selection of Bishops, and by its general exercise of power, or by its example, been the origin of this improved condition? It may be said, but we are sure with diffidence even by the most rash, that the House of Commons has promoted great reforms in the Church. But the reforms were very late, and evidenced but too clearly the corruptions and abuses which had been allowed to grow. The whole tone of parliamentary legislation, as recently assumed in ecclesiastical matters, we find to have been strangely helpless, confused, and blundering. Mr. Horsman and Sir Benjamin Hall may have said true things, but men of that kind have not been the origin of the improved spirit of our Church; nor will the sympathies of the Church ever go with them. There is a wholesome repugnance in the very elements of a religious body, to being dealt with as these gentlemen wish to deal with the Church. Nor, again, can there be any claim put in, by that form of ecclesiastical administration which we associate with the name of Russell, to have been the fostering nurses of the Church's present activity. The religious life of the Church has sprung up, not by, but in spite of the State; and it is one of the fruits of that revived life that the Church now seeks for synodical action of her own, according, in part, to the same instinctive feelings which formerly set up the Wesleyan Conference, and in part to her love of those ways in which her early life was trained in the primitive ages, and all her after plans were dictated, even up to the last authorized revision of her canons and her formularies. The Church now claims this, not as a movement contrary to our national laws, or not only as one petitioning for some relaxation of strict rule and order; but she has this great advantage in her present desires—that it is only the actual legal forms now in use which she asks to develop. She wishes practically, and not only in theory, to adopt that system of mutual strength, which, as it was the original foundation of the union between the civil power and the Christianity of the English nation, so she would now look to, in order that life, unity, and peace may, under the Divine blessing, be restored.

The Ex-Proctor, though writing against the present action of Convocation, yet allows the following statement, which is much to our own purpose :—

‘ Legislation goes on almost without her; and though a heavy blow and great discouragement be inflicted, she is well-nigh powerless to avert it. Her voice may be raised in vain—her Order may be overborne. The power thus exercised is not wielded, as in former days, by men of her own faith and creed. It is not now a legislature of Churchmen legislating for the Church. The Legislature now consists of all classes. Avowed enemies of the Church ningle amongst her friends, and it might easily happen, in the strife of parties, that her fate should be at the disposal of a few of her bitterest adversaries. It cannot be pleasant to the Church to have her proceedings criticised, her motives impugned, her character defamed, and her very constitution threatened, by men whose only claim to do these things is the accidental possession of a seat in the Legislature.

‘ Church Reformers are invaluable, and deserving of our utmost respect: but how few deserve the name! how few are qualified for the work! Look at the last Parliament, which now fills up a page in history. Amongst its members you may see one who denies all sacraments and repudiates all ceremonies, ready to legislate without the smallest scruple or one single apparent misgiving, for a Church which has decreed the one and received the other. You may see another who will neither believe a Bishop nor yet apologise for his unbelief. With no ecclesiastical knowledge or delicacy of mind, he yet professes himself a reformer, and deals with Church matters, as a juggler with his balls, for the amusement of the people of Marylebone. You may see another, meaning well and beginning well, and as such entitled to respect. But difficulties vex, delay irritates him. He loses his self-command and self-restraint. He goes further than he intends, and says more than he means. He smites with his mouth: and thus it comes to pass at length that, though indeed a friend, he is counted as an enemy.’
—*Shall we press for the Assembling of Convocation?* pp. 8, 9.

How this writer can allow such convictions in one direction to be overborne by fears and apprehensions, we have no concern, and therefore leave this question to his own ruminations, not having much doubt that he will ultimately be converted to our side.

With the mass of writing that lies upon our table, on the history and functions of Convocation, we have preferred giving a statement of the case in our own words, as the general result of our perusal, rather than incurring the risk of fatiguing our readers with too many or too elaborate extracts; but having come to our own conclusions, it is fair that we should let the other side be heard. The writings against Convocation have not, indeed, been so voluminous, under the department of literature with which we are now concerned, as have been those of its advocates, but we must not always measure wisdom by the multitude of words. Again, the amount of historical research appears, at first sight, to lean most undoubtedly toward the rightful claims of Convocation, but common sense and the violence of present facts do occasionally give even the homeliest of personages an advantage over the most abstruse. Let us

then hear some of the reasons. The Rev. E. Eliot has published 'Thoughts on the Revival of Convocation.' He adheres to the assertion, that the ancient right of synod was not jealously guarded in that Convocation which was modelled by Edward I.

'There is something curious in the history of these provincial synods. It is foreign to my present purpose to dwell on it. In passing, I may remark, that when introduced by royal authority in the reign of Edward I. (the main object being a more easy way of making the Church contribute to the necessities of the State) both the Bishops and the inferior clergy were opposed to them. The inferior clergy beheld in them an instrument of taxation, which more directly, and with less possibility of evasion, affected themselves, inasmuch as the payments required from them were sanctioned by their own votes. The lure held out of admission to a share of power in framing ecclesiastical canons and regulations, was not sufficient to compensate for the expected loss of money.

'On the other hand, the Bishops viewed with jealousy the tolerated interference of the lower clergy in matters which had previously been settled by their own sole authority. There was a seeming encroachment on episcopal independence, which they would naturally be disposed to resist. Few passions are so strong as the love of power. The practice of early antiquity was little regarded in this desire to monopolize ecclesiastical rule.'—*Thoughts on the Revival of Convocation*, p. 12.

We have already answered this view of history, and now will leave the discrimination of our readers to employ itself undisturbed with the truth, the practical knowledge of things going on in the world, and the general discretion contained in the following remarks:—

'Nearly a century and a half have passed since the suspension of the powers of Convocation. We look in vain for evils which, in consequence of this withdrawal of the power of self-government, have endangered the safety, or greatly embarrassed the operations of our Church. Whatever has been judged conducive to the well-being of our establishment, in matters of external rule, has received, with some show indeed of irregularity, but yet substantially without any detriment to our spiritual or temporal welfare, the sanction of Parliament. Any measure of purely an ecclesiastical character can be brought, through our Bishops, under the notice of the legislature: and when its merits are fairly and fully ascertained, it passes into a law. It is true that in such a case the interests and wishes of the parochial clergy are not fully represented; but we hear from them no complaint. They rely on their Bishops in the Upper House (knowing at the same time that there is not in all cases an identity of interest between the prelates and their inferiors in rank in the Church); and they suspect not, in the large majority of instances, the sound churchmanship of the representatives of the people.

'It would be inexpedient now to innovate on the practice (certainly no unsafe one) of nearly 150 years. An injudicious attempt to improve on long-established usage has frequently led to far greater evils than any which before existed. That which is specious and perfect in theory is too often found to be ruinous in practice. Let us not, by grasping at the shadow, bring on ourselves an irrecoverable loss of the substance.'—*Ibid.* pp. 17, 18.

It is right, however, to say, in this place, that many sound

and wise Churchmen, in contemplating the approach of this last attempt, did anticipate many difficulties of a practical kind. They could not quite see their way to its ultimate consequences. These men were not the writers against it, nor did they raise the assumed cry of *caution*, but still the thoughts of an active Convocation, as beginning to deliberate on the affairs of the Church, could not but suggest many reflections, not all of which were free from apprehension. It might, in the circumstances of its very commencement, have appeared to the public eye, that this claim was asserted in too much of a party spirit. What, then, if the so-called 'extreme party' had mustered together in small numbers, and found themselves alone? This would have been damaging to that general confidence which is so necessary to a representative or constitutional government, and would therefore have been prejudicial to its future working. This was not seriously apprehended, but there are not means at all times of ascertaining the extent to which the idea of caution may influence people. Again, it was impossible to foresee all the difficulties that might arise, either from the technical ignorance and the wilfulness of some, or the coolness and the arbitrary conduct of others, which yet might give the affair a bad start. There were also graver and more political embarrassments within the range of possibility, arising from the following reflection:—Convocation was originally modelled on the supposition that all subjects of the Crown were Churchpeople; that the temporalities and spiritualities of the nation were coincident. The case now is different; Convocation only represents the spiritual position of one religious communion, while if the same relations as before continued between it and the civil legislature, there might seem to be a violation attempted of those principles of toleration, now so long established, and so agreeable to the interests of all. The point, of course, on which this inconsistency might work itself to the surface would be State interference with Church property. The coincidence between the State and the temporalities of the Church might still be claimed under the pretext of the general interests of religion, while the functions of Convocation not being practically coextensive with these, would only be allowed to receive freedom of action at the cost of some portion of the temporalities to the Church. This view might be taken not only in the proceedings of the legislature, but also by interested persons, who, holding Church property in a secular spirit, would adhere to the letter of the present law, as their tenure, and resist any further condition being imposed on them, for the sake of religion; these claims being the means of inducing the Crown to withhold its sanction from the Canons of the Church.

The former class of minor difficulties alluded to, have already almost disappeared, and, in actual work, we find Convocation free from many obstructions which were contemplated. They were encountered with the strong bond of faith, and melted before the touch of stern reality. With regard to the future political difficulties which might be anticipated, we can only exhort to the same principle of bold confidence in our cause. If there are any who fear that freedom of action would bring down interference with the temporalities of the Church; and there are plenty in the House of Commons who would help on our present wish, from the hope of sharing in the Church's spoil; let them consider that if synodical action be absolutely necessary to the Church's religious usefulness, we must of course persevere in our claims, as being of prior importance even to the preservation of our temporal advantages. Viewing the two on the supposition of having to make the choice between them, we see plainly that the path of true faith, and confidence in the divine guidance of the Church, would teach us to press for our charter of liberty, even though we see not clearly through some temporal dangers. And we frankly confess that we believe no one does see, very far ahead, what is to be the issue of all these things; but as long as we do what, in each crisis, seems just, fair, and right, we must here, as in every other affair of life, be content to trust in that Providence, which gives us certain rules of life and action, and yet hides the future consequences of them from our eyes. One thing, however, is certain, that equal, and *we* think tenfold, dangers await the Church, both in her spiritual and also her temporal privileges, if she allows herself to be swallowed up by such political designs as the civil power, constituted, and justly so, of all or no religions, should gradually put into force with reference to her. The Church, moreover, ought, as a general rule, to expect the protection of Providence, even on her temporalities, exactly in proportion to the proper discharge of her spiritual functions. If the Church sinks these latter considerations from fear of consequences to the former, we can only say, it is bad policy. Whatever may seem to us the immediate results of such and such measures, we yet have firm confidence that the justice of Heaven will allow the world to spoil as it likes a Church whose spirit is congenial with it, while it will protect, and cause to flourish, that Church which thinks first of the kingdom of heaven, and has read that all these things shall be added unto her.

There is, however, a middle course often suggested, that of a Synod after some new design, supposed to be rather more tame than the wild beast of Convocation. Nothing of this kind will

stand one breath of opposition; for, whatever may be the result of certain wholesome reforms, in the houses of our legal Convocation, it is mere vanity to imagine that the Church can ever gain a shadow of advantage, except through that machinery which has wonderfully been preserved within her, though long dead in action, for this very purpose. To yield this strong legal ground, would leave us at the mercy of our enemies, and the very thought of it,—we say *it*, for we really know not what the various schemes may be,—is a treacherous delusion. The Church should feel her way, by little and little, caring more for present wisdom than future speculations, but never forgetting the truth, thus well expressed by Canon Trevor:—

‘Any attempt to create a newfangled Synod by Royal Commission, or by Act of Parliament, would immediately arouse the fears and jealousies of the Revolution, and so render union impossible.’

We now come to the third division of our subject; the Sessions themselves of Convocation. These proceedings have been so fully reported by the public press, that it is unnecessary here to inform our readers, with any methodical precision, of everything that took place. To give all the debates, in their full proportions, would indeed convert our whole volume into an ecclesiastical Hansard. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the more legitimate province of reviewing; and shall look on the newspaper reports as our material and our text, to which we have occasion to append an ‘argument’ and supply ‘annotations.’

On the 5th of November the new ecclesiastical parliament congregated in St. Paul’s churchyard, and at a given hour was admitted into the cathedral. The framework of the galleries, that were erecting for the Duke of Wellington’s funeral, presented a wild scene of huge timbers and loose planks; yet the workmen had ceased from their labour, and all was in gloomy stillness. An imperious necessity alone could have prevailed over the incessant labour that was required in order to conclude these preparations in time. Whether Mr. Cubitt understood the cause or not, he had to suspend his operations, because the writs of the Queen and of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the Bishop of London, the Dean of the Province, and of all the Suffragan Bishops, had with one voice required, according to the laws of the Medes and Persians, which cannot be altered, that the clergy of the province should present themselves in that cathedral at that time. The first glance at the assembled party, when standing under the dome, was enough to show that Convocation had mustered in large force. Deans, archdeacons, and proctors, glided about, full of mutual recognition and inquiries; and this whole group, set off by the picturesque effect of full

canonical costume, presented a curious and suggestive scene. If it is allowable to found any arguments on personal appearance, we confess that our observations on that occasion (for the public had free admission) were most favourable. We saw a highly educated, an ecclesiastical looking collection of men. They looked like what they were, and the sight gave strength and reality to our convictions that Convocation had met for business. From the dome a movement was then made toward the morning chapel at the north-west corner of the cathedral. Here the bishops assembled, in their red chimeres, which are a striking improvement on their ordinary hideous dress. As this was only a meeting of form, there were not many bishops present, but these few were shortly summoned to the west door, together with the dean and chapter, to receive the Archbishop of Canterbury. This was a grand arrival, and the procession which forthwith commenced toward the choir of the cathedral, was a wonderful phenomenon. The only clear passage was under the north gallery; no daylight could gain admission, and the only substitute was the glimmer of a few dim candles, stuck against the wall, much after the fashion that colliers, by means of a lump of clay as their candle-stick, illumine the dark avenues of their toil. Such, then, was the stage scene; and now, who were the actors? A long procession passed along, containing the elements of royal state. Here was the Church of England by representation, in its most stately costume. Bishops and dignified clergy we have already mentioned. There were also between thirty and forty ecclesiastical lawyers, whose appearance really possessed such power, that we almost forgot the humility of the path along which such weight of dignity and such strength of wisdom were marching. Of course they were in full dress, which exhibited many gradations of splendour. As some eastern ladies wear the whole of their fortunes on their persons, so that their wealth can be estimated by the length of their golden necklaces and bracelets, so these lawyers wear about them the whole of their honours, under the visible form of grey wigs and lace ruffles. The junior advocates demonstrated the simplicity of their experience by the shortness of the one and the plainness of the other; while the dress of the Dean of the Arches took care, on the æsthetic principle, to let none of his dignity be unrepresented. The enlargement of his head-dress, both in length, depth, height, and circuit, appeared conscious of no bounds, while the profusion of gorgeous and elaborately-worked lace was enough to enlist the whole female population into the army of the defenders of the Church. But, speaking seriously, it was strikingly illustrative of the constitutional importance of the Church's synod, to find it thus cele-

brated by irreversible custom. But there yet followed in the rear, as the climax of honour, the archbishop himself, with his long scarlet train, borne by an attendant. He was preceded and followed by the proper accompaniments of supreme dignity. His chaplains, his footmen, and vergers, all marked, to a thoughtful eye, the ecclesiastical majesty of Lambeth, which enjoys a longer pedigree, and a more uninterrupted history, than any temporal throne or dynasty in Europe.

With regard to the position of the Archbishop of Canterbury, compared with his brother bishops, there appears to be some little uncertainty; and there may be a real inconsistency between some of his functions and others. In a strict ecclesiastical point of view, he can only be as '*primus inter pares*,' and can possess no arbitrary power. Yet we can well imagine that the necessity of acting in spiritual matters, '*cum consensu fratrum*,' may thus be really binding on him; at the same time that there may be a preeminence, in the eyes of the State, attached to his person, which is superior to the former relationship. He has always been the principal Churchman of the land, and thereby brought into peculiar nearness with the Crown, and made the representative of the Church in the bestowal of court honours,—not to mention some vestiges of his former position often enjoyed as pope's legate. Thus he ranks, in court precedence, as the first subject of the realm, after the blood royal, whereas the suffragans of his province have only the patent of the lowest order of nobility. Consequently, there is a very great gap between them. The palace of Lambeth, again, in close contiguity with Westminster, and not in the cathedral city, portrays the high political rank of its occupant. But there are special reasons in connexion with our present subject, which appear to show that the preeminence of the archbishop in Convocation is even more than the result of court favour, as shown to his general position. Edward I., in his schemes for taxation, designed to have one great parliament, including both cleric and lay members; but the Clergy resisted this as an invasion of their ecclesiastical privileges; and the concession which resulted is thus described in Burn's '*Ecclesiastical Law*':—'The king gratified the archbishops by suffering this new body of Convocation to be formed in the nature of a parliament. The archbishop sat as king; his suffragans sat in the upper house, as his peers; the deans, archdeacons, and the proctor for the chapter, represented the burghers; and the two proctors for the clergy, the knights of the shire.' The archbishop would thus seem to have had a princely eminence in Convocation, with reference to its secular business; though, of course, as this was at the time the result of a concession to the Clergy, it is plain that the suffragan bishops

would give up thereby none of their inherent spiritual equality, as members, with their president, of a Synod composed of the order of bishops. Mr. Fraser brings out, with great historical care, the twofold nature of Convocation implied in this:—

‘The result of this struggle between the Crown and the Church was, even in the time of Edward I., the compromise from which arose our present Convocations. The king sought to bring the Clergy to Parliament, chiefly with a view to raise money: the Clergy pressed for their own synodical meetings, in order to transact their own business. Again, Edward wished to assemble them by his own writ; and they refused to be convoked, except by the canonical authority of their metropolitans. The question was set at rest by the king’s directing his writ to the archbishops of both provinces; and these metropolitans, moved by the king’s writ, summoning their bishops and clergy to Convocation by their own canonical authority. Thus Convocation came into existence—a catholic and ecclesiastical assembly, possessing full spiritual power, and the weight and influence of a provincial Synod, representing to the utmost the definite and express will of the episcopal and sacerdotal orders within the province; and yet being at the same time a legal and constitutional assembly of a parliamentary nature, possessing civil rights and privileges and political powers, not only with regard to the voting of subsidies and the raising of taxes from the body which it represented, but as able to put in force among the laity the canons and decrees it had framed, when sanctioned by the king’s authority.’—*Constitutional Nature of Convocations*, p. 13.

Again, he illustrates this by the very forms which we are now describing:—

‘It would perhaps be considered fanciful to trace out, in corroboration of this point, a traditional symbolism—which yet seems a possible one—of the twofold nature of the Convocation, at once synodical and parliamentary, being “assembled,” as the 139th Canon declares, “in the name of Christ and by the Queen’s authority,” in the custom which prevailed for a long period of our history, of the Convocation of Canterbury meeting the archbishop and joining with him in prayers and Holy Communion at St. Paul’s Cathedral, and afterwards continuing their sessions at Westminster, in the neighbourhood of the king’s palace and of the place of meeting of the other estates of the realm.’—*Ibid.* p. 18.

The remainder of their proceedings can be briefly told, now that we have discussed the persons who were engaged in it. The procession entered the choir. The archbishop occupied, according to precedent, the dean’s seat. The Bishop of Llandaff then read the Latin Litany, and Convocation prayers. This he did with a clear and distinct voice; but still we missed the penetrating force of a musical intonation for which that language is so well adapted. The responses, moreover, were not chanted, which gave a tameness of effect to the whole service, especially as it was not relieved, in the anthems, by the sound of the organ, which, on account of the preparation for the funeral, was not in playing order. No doubt, on future occasions, when the practical working of Convocation gives life and reality to the forms of its opening day, the celebration of the Eucharist will

be restored as directed in Archbishop Parker's formulary. Under the circumstances of the last hundred years, we hardly think it would have been desirable to have included so solemn an act in the apparent emptiness of the affair.

After the Latin sermon by Dr. Jeremie, the prudent exhortations of which were somewhat lost in that peculiar rolling sound that always abides in St. Paul's Cathedral, from the external vehicles that encompass it, and over which no voice can triumph, but that of music, the procession returned to the west door, and thence to the chapter house, which is contained in a house on the north side of the churchyard. It may easily be imagined that such a procession as we have pictured, created a sensation among the passers by. In a chance walk through the north pavement of St. Paul's, it would certainly be startling to meet the Archbishop of Canterbury on foot with his scarlet train and his many followers. By the aid, however, of the police, who manage everything in London, even to ecclesiastical synods, some degree of decorum was preserved, and the vision was past before the crowd had full time to be alive to the precise nature of the exhibition thus rudely injected into a London pavement.

The Chapter House is like a large dining-room, up stairs. At the head of a table sat the Archbishop, on one side of it the other bishops, and on the other the judges and registrars, while the Lower House of Convocation was crowded together at the other end. After the writs were duly read, the names of the Upper House called over, and proxies delivered in, all which forms have already been amply described, the Lower House were dismissed to the Cathedral to choose their Prolocutor. This important work was performed in the north aisle. The Dean of St. Paul's first called over the names of the whole House, and then invited them to proceed forthwith to the election. Dr. Peacock was proposed, seconded, and unanimously elected; and so ended the day, with the appointment of a deputation to present the new Prolocutor to the Archbishop, a ceremony which is very similar to the presentation of the Speaker of the House of Commons to the Queen, for her approval of the House's choice. This was to be done at the commencement of the proceedings that were to take place on the 12th of November in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster, the time and place mentioned in the Archbishop's prorogation.

During the week which intervened between the formal opening in St. Paul's and the proceedings at the Jerusalem Chamber, the friends of Convocation were not inactive. Numerously attended meetings were held on the 9th 10th, and 11th, at Willis's rooms, at which it was discussed what course had best

be adopted in order to promote the cause. It was felt that the Lower House ought to be prepared with some scheme of deliberation, in order that having a definite subject before them, they might at any rate pray for time to discuss it. Drafts of church grievances, 'gravamina et reformanda' were shown to these meetings, and considered one by one. A paper containing these, under the form of an address to the Upper House, praying that an end should not be put to the sitting till the accompanying subjects had been discussed, was in its revised state presented to all members of Convocation on their arrival at the Jerusalem Chamber; and, as it also came publicly before the House, we shall not in this place consider its contents. Of the spirit and temper, however, exhibited at these meetings, we cannot refrain from taking notice, so highly were they commended by all who knew what took place. Archdeacon Hare publicly in the House expressed his pleasure at what he there witnessed; and we have the like testimony of a proctor, who from natural temperament, from the habits of a life long passed in the quietest scene of labour, and also from being at the time an invalid, would have been much pained at any confusion or unpleasant debate. He said with real feeling, that having been present at those meetings was an ample reward in itself for the fatigues of his journey, for he never witnessed such good feeling, such mature judgment, and such well-considered expressions of opinion on any occasion of his life at a deliberative meeting. Every objection raised seemed to him to possess such weight, that the delay, consequent therefrom, would have been a serious impediment to business, if it had not been met by the accomplished tact and gentlemanlike bearing of those who were chiefly responsible for the success of the meetings.

A strange contrast is this picture to the violent declamation and the empty, but morally degrading scene of heated passion and angry feeling enacted at Freemasons' Hall at the same time by Lord Shaftesbury, and a few pitiable remnants of the Low Church party of former days, together with the new importation of a young Irishman, as sole representative of the young blood of the English Church, in opposition to the 'threatened revival of Convocation,' a subject placed by them in immediate and strange alliance with Confession—for no other reason, as we conceive, than that both words began with C.

On Friday, the 12th of November, commenced the actual deliberations of Convocation, which, for the first time since 1717, were continued for three days. Both Houses assembled in great force, presenting, on their arrival, a scene of unusual life and brilliancy to the sombre cloisters of Westminster. There were sixteen bishops, the only absentees being Bangor, Bath

and Wells, Ely, and Litchfield, of whom the three last were supposed to be kept away by illness or family affliction; and of the Lower House, about ninety were present out of one hundred and fifty. After prayers in the Jerusalem Chamber, which again consisted of the litany in Latin, and the petitions which so peculiarly imply the sacred purpose of the Synod, and after the able speech of the Prolocutor on his presentation, the Lower House adjourned to Westminster Abbey, where the names were called over. The Jerusalem Chamber was, however, given up to them, and thither they returned; the Upper House having retired to the library of the Deanry. A time, we hope, will come, when all these expedients will be rendered unnecessary by the erection of a new building for the Lower House. The design of such a building in harmony with its use, with the circumstances of its requirement at this era of the Church, and also with the venerable walls around it, would be a striking opportunity for the development of architectural taste.

The proceedings of the Upper House this day are so ably drawn up, with such attention to details and legal accuracy, in the 'Morning Chronicle' of the next day, that we have great pleasure in putting the article on record, as descriptive of an important scene in the history of our Church:—

'Sixteen bishops attended. A considerable time was occupied in receiving petitions, mostly praying the House not to separate without exercising its powers as the representative Synod of the Church. One important petition was presented from a body of curates, who complained that, having attended, in obedience to a formal summons, to vote in the election of diocesan proctors, their votes had been refused. The Bishop of the diocese (Exeter), who presented the petition, said that he had made it his business to ascertain the accuracy of the allegations, and that he found that, while the citation—passing through its several stages of mandate to the dean of the province, the bishop, the archdeacon, and the rural dean, who served it individually on the curates—required the presence of "the whole clergy," the official had refused the curates' votes. The same prelate observed that the assembly of the clergy was twofold in its character—first, as an Estate of the Realm, meeting the other Estates in Parliament, and secondly, as a Synod of all the clergy, obeying the Archbishop's writ to meet in consultation on Church affairs; and he showed that this distinction was borne out by the circumstance that Convocation did not meet on the same day as Parliament, and that its sessions had been held during the prorogation or dissolution of the Legislature. The Bishop of Oxford remarked that the clergy did not attend in obedience to the Royal writ, but on the Archbishop's citation, which proved a distinct synodical and ecclesiastical character to be inherent in Convocation. Thereupon the Archbishop, in deference to the serious character of this petition, observed that it could not be decided upon without sufficient time for deliberation; and consequently, in adjourning any action upon it, he undertook that the subject should be considered at a future opportunity.

'Among the other petitions presented, was one signed by 1,360 of the clergy and laity, praying the assistance of Convocation to provide that, in any future applications for Government aid from the Educational Com-

mittee of Privy Council, a free choice might be given to promoters of Church schools among all the management clauses A, B, C, D. A petition was also presented from the Bishop of Capetown, complaining that he, although a suffragan of Canterbury, had not been summoned to Convocation.

But the chief business of the Upper House was concentrated in the admirable speech of the Bishop of Oxford, who, on the Archbishop proposing the address to the Crown, moved an amendment. It was a speech at once able and comprehensive, and having higher claims on the Church's gratitude than those arising from its eloquence—a speech not only dictated by a personal sense of the duties and responsibilities of his high office, but most important as a forcible appeal to the sense of duty in others; and it had the obvious effect, if not of satisfying, at least of silencing, the ablest opponents of synodical action who were present. The Bishop availed himself of the elegant speech of the Prolocutor of the Lower House, and enlarged with great force on the duties especially incumbent on the bishops and clergy at this particular juncture. The Prolocutor had urged, and the Bishop enforced the weighty consideration, that if—at a time when every class of society proved itself sensitively alive to its responsibilities in every institution to which it belonged or which it represented—the clergy alone were determined to sit still or to lie asleep, they must expect that such sleep would not long be permitted to remain undisturbed, for the activity and honesty of this practical age would consider it akin to the sleep of death. The Bishop then dwelt on the special nature of the Church as a Divine institution, entrusted with a Divine mission and with corporate privileges; and he observed that, if the heads of the Church of England continued ignorant or careless of their responsibilities, a severe reckoning was at hand. He further remarked—in terms too reverent to be scornful, but in language of much weight and severity—that if the Church did not carry out her own principles, and work in the way of her own constitution, other substitutes for synodical action, such as a recent meeting presided over by a noble lord, would attempt to supersede her legitimate and authorized action. These were days, he added, in which discussion could not be stopped; and it was better, therefore, to do that regularly which would else be done irregularly—it was better to call up the proper conciliar action of the Church than to permit mere popular agitation on religious matters to take its place.

‘After having powerfully dwelt on these preliminary topics as illustrating the necessity of synodical action, the Bishop came to a matter of great practical moment and interest. It will be in the recollection of our readers that, at the last session of Convocation, the Archbishop was advised by his then official, Sir John Dodson, that Convocation was precluded by the Act of Submission from entering into any kind of business beyond the formal preparation of an address to the Crown. It was, however, urged on that occasion, against the dictum in question—and the fact was finally admitted by the authority which had propounded it—that the Act of Henry VIII. had no such effect, and that it only restrained the clergy from making Canons, and from deliberating in order to frame and promulge Canons. With reference to this point, the Bishop of Oxford stated that, during the recess, his attention had been particularly drawn to the matter, and that he had taken the highest legal opinions on the extent of the restraint imposed by the Act of Submission on the clergy. He had submitted a case to Drs. Addams and Phillimore, and Her Majesty's Attorney-General, in order to ascertain whether there was any law in existence which precluded Convocation from considering any matters connected with the well ordering and advancement of the Church, and from taking any steps in respect to such matters, short of actually making or debating

Canons; and their opinions were unanimous and decisive in favour of the entire freedom and liberty of discussion already possessed by Convocation. In consequence of these legal opinions, the Bishop observed that though, under present circumstances, he did not think it advisable to petition the Crown for licence to make Canons, yet, as Convocation was not otherwise legally disqualified from transacting business, he should move the insertion in the address to the Crown, of a clause stating that Convocation was about to appoint committees for the purpose of considering a proper scheme for the correction of offences committed by the clergy against the ecclesiastical laws. In that scheme the constitution of a Trial Court of Appeal must of course be included; and when such committees should have completed their labours, Convocation would again address the Crown, stating the result of its own deliberate judgment on this vast and important question, and praying Her Majesty to give directions to her Ministers to introduce a Bill into Parliament founded upon the report and representation of Convocation. After the Bishop of Oxford's speech, the Archbishop remarked on the very serious nature of the motion just proposed; and, in consideration of its importance, he adjourned the further discussion of the subject to Tuesday next.

'Such, we believe, is a tolerable sketch of the proceedings of the Upper House yesterday. Should it not be so, the fault lies only with those who excluded and imposed impossible conditions on the Press.'

There were great and just complaints that the President on this day would only admit the reporter of a single journal, and limited even his report to a few words. We have great confidence, however, in the accuracy of the paper from which we have quoted the above article, and have the personal testimony, moreover, of one who was present, that the report of the Bishop of Oxford's speech was faithful and correct, as far as it went; though no really adequate idea was conveyed of the powerful and overwhelming force of its language; not, as our informant (no mean judge of such things) stated, that it was *eloquent*, but that it was marked by a peculiar *fitness* in style and argument for the occasion. In the Lower House, the Prolocutor commenced his duties with a tact and readiness, as well as a courtesy of manner, that justified the discretion of those individuals who, though attached to opposite parties, yet were understood to have mutually agreed that the Dean of Ely should be elected without opposition. Whether, in his weak state of health, he anticipated three days' work, or calculated on the accustomed unity of session, we cannot tell; but, if he had been assured of the latter by any of the adverse party, he showed a ready mind to learn otherwise, and a determination to perform the duties of his high office in an honourable and impartial spirit. He at once proposed for the acceptance of the House the standing rules used in its old sessions, and explained the relation in which they stood with the Upper House, viz. that without its consent, the suggestions which they could discuss must be confined to '*gravamina et reformanda*.' Many petitions were then presented, both favourable

to Convocation and otherwise. The former had, however, the decided majority of seventy-four over four, of which last, two were from the Diocese of Winchester, that from the archdeaconry being signed by 169 clergy; one from Sion College, carried at a meeting on the previous Monday by a small majority; and one from the Diocese of Gloucester. Dr. Spry, after the preliminary business, then submitted to the House the paper we have before alluded to. It was a representation of 'gravamina et reformanda,' drawn up, he said, with a view to show the world the just and practical objects which the advocates of Convocation had before them. He thought it an erroneous idea that the clergy of the Church were alone, of all public bodies, incapable of discussing their own affairs without unseemly contests.

The heads of the 'representation,' which was read at full length, will convey its general purport. Addressing the Upper House, it wished for the Church's Synod 'for the removal of abuses;' it lamented 'many defections' from our Church, and spoke of remedies for these evils, under the various topics of 'Church extension at home;' 'education of the people;' 'education and training of the clergy;' 'clergy discipline;' 'Court of Appeal;' 'supremacy of the Crown, and confirmation of bishops;' 'cathedral chapters;' 'relief of the consciences of the clergy' (referring to the burial of the dead, &c.); 'colonial Churches;' and 'aggression of the See of Rome.' Dr. Spry, in conclusion, repeated his conviction that this paper was calculated to remove many apprehensions as to the motives of those who encouraged synodal action: he did not propose that so long a paper should be accepted in a day; but that the Upper House be requested not to end the sitting till there had been sufficient time for its consideration.

Archdeacon Hare seconded this motion in an address of great force, coming from one whose sentiments are so well known as certainly having no High-Church bias. He himself said, it was an erroneous idea that the desire for the revival of Convocation had proceeded from this quarter. The last few years had indeed given the public this idea; but he quoted, in opposition to this partial knowledge of the case, the words of Dr. Johnson, Coleridge, the Archbishop of Dublin, and even of addresses to the Crown from such small meetings of Convocation itself as he had taken part in, in 1841 and 1847. He thus concluded:—

'With respect to the present motion, it will be impossible on the present occasion to enter into a discussion of this paper. The motion confines itself merely to the expression of a wish that we may obtain from the Upper House permission to sit, and that our sittings may be continued in the same manner as seemed fit to them, so that the House may, at the appropriate

time, take into consideration these matters, and to express its own judgment upon them—may determine in favour of the petition here submitted, if the House so think fit, or, if not, may reject it altogether. I do trust that, when it is seen what are the real designs of the chief promoters of Convocation, it will be felt that there is no reason why any member of the Church should sever or separate himself from us and oppose the motion. There is, I trust, nothing in the matters here laid before you that can give offence to the most sensitive member of any party. It has been our careful design, during six days of long sittings, in constructing this paper, to avoid whatever could give reasonable offence to any party in the Church, and to express merely that which should meet with assent and concurrence in the heart of every one who desired the good of our Church. And here let me be allowed to express the cordial delight which I have derived from sitting upon the committee who were assembled for the purpose—a stranger to almost all, and feeling myself in opposition to the great body on various Church and ecclesiastical questions—the cordial delight, I say, which it has given me to find a ready disposition to accept every reasonable suggestion. I entered it with much fear of the success of my own attempts to modify the petition in such a manner as to avoid every difficulty, and to make the paper represent the whole body of the Church. But I can assure this House that a large body, members of Convocation, who were joined in framing this, have conducted the whole discussion in a spirit of friendliness and tolerance, calmness and moderation, which has been to me a great blessing; and I feel convinced that the result of our deliberations will be an event in our ecclesiastical history.

A long conversation then followed, in which Archdeacon Garbett, after expressing his alarm at the voluminous nature of the 'representation,' rather curiously illustrated his fear by rushing at once into the discussion of all those topics, and a great many more also, though the question before the House was not their discussion at all. He talked of the 'majestic character of a national Synod;' but with a like inconsistency he opposed the present attempt to revive it. With some difficulty he was at length called to order, and his imagination kept more within bounds. Many others joined in this discussion, especially those who were unfavourable to Convocation, as Archdeacon Sinclair, Mr. Vincent, the Dean of Llandaff, and Dr. M'Caul. The Dean of Bristol then, in a speech of some length, objected to the paper being submitted to the House otherwise than as Dr. Spry's individual 'gravamina,' to be laid before a committee; alleging this course to be more according to precedent, and more favourable to free discussion. He therefore moved that a committee be appointed. Canon Wordsworth followed, with somewhat the same complaint, that a private committee wished the House to endorse their own scheme: adopting himself the other course, he presented 'gravamina' of his own. Archdeacon Grant recalled the House to its original motion, and deprecated the delay implied by referring the matter to a committee, when it was desirable that the House should assume its own deliberative functions. Archdeacon Hale then rose, and expressed his serious

apprehensions at this epoch of the Church. After some general remarks, the application of which might be various, about a reproach to the Church, and after the expression of a nervous alarm about furious and bigoted Churchmen, and an acknowledgment of differences of temper, he proceeded to the avowal of a decided disagreement with the mover and seconder of the motion. The six days' deliberations in which Dr. Spry and Archdeacon Denison had taken part, were painful to his sensitive mind, and suggested to him the necessity of suspicion and caution rather than of confidence with regard to any result they had come to. He objected to involving Convocation in precipitate measures for which neither the Church, nor the laity, nor the Sovereign were prepared. A committee had been proposed, (by the Dean of Bristol,) and he should cordially support it, as its resolutions would meet with respect; and even if Convocation were still in abeyance, he could imagine, with a sanguine and hopeful mind, their joyful adoption by all the powers of the law and the State, while society at large would hail their propositions with delight. He was *therefore* for delay (why this sequence, we know not, unless the archdeacon is afraid of being altogether overwhelmed with popularity). He wanted time (though for the enjoyment of what particular advantages he did not further detail).

Archdeacon Denison then remonstrated in earnest language against the shelving of these considerations by transferring them to a committee. He explained the motives of those who drew them up. They wished not to dictate to others, but were anxious that when the House met together, there should be some definite proposition before it. Any attempt to make the House endorse the statement of a private meeting, he thus disowned:—

‘Although I have well considered it, I am not pledged to everything contained in this paper; and therefore I am not going to ask Convocation to pledge itself to everything contained in that paper. But what we say is this, that everybody in England has a right to make statements of grievances to the governing power of the country. Now what every private body has a right to do, that the greatest corporation of this country—aye, the greatest corporation in the world—the Church of England, has a right to do. Now the only way in which she can speak in her collective capacity is through the voice of her Convocation, and therefore all we ask is this, that without one single person being supposed to be pledged to one thing in this paper, that we shall have time to consider first, whether the Convocation of the province of Canterbury of the Church of England shall, in its collective capacity, put before the Upper House of that province, and through them before the whole Anglican communion and the whole world, the great reasons why it considers it should be allowed to meet and deliberate for the good of the church. Now it seems to be implied, that by putting this particular representation on paper we meant to ask Convocation to endorse it. We meant no such thing—nothing of the kind ever

crossed our minds. All that we meant was to have something on which to found our prayer. We are asking his Grace and his surrogant brethren of the province of Canterbury, with whom it rests to adjourn or prorogue Convocation for the consideration of such matters as are contained in this paper, simply to allow us to sit for deliberation; and, in order to have something whereon to ground our prayer, we put this paper into their hands, without asking them to express any opinion. We simply seek to have some ground for the petition, that the Convocation for the province of Canterbury, being assembled in virtue of the royal summons to consider divers weighty matters in the Church, may be allowed, at least, to take time to put before the world the reasons why they think they should be allowed to consider these matters.'

The House having now before it Dr. Spry's motion, the Dean of Bristol's amendment, besides the burden of Dr. Wordsworth's private 'gravamina,' the risk of confusion was prudently avoided by a further motion of Archdeacon Harrison, which Dr. Spry seconded, after withdrawing his own. The object of this motion was to adopt a middle course; to appoint, indeed, a committee, but to petition the Upper House that the prorogation should be so arranged as that the House might be able to receive the report of that committee. Archdeacon Hare agreed to this, and excused his share in the drawing up of the paper, he having acted by precedent; for eleven years ago he joined in something of the same kind under the sheltering wing of Archdeacon Hale. The Dean of Bristol declined, however, to agree with this concession; and as his former amendment fell to the ground with the motion on which it was founded, he moved a similar amendment to Archdeacon Harrison's motion. After another touching appeal from Dr. Wordsworth, in behalf of his 'gravamina;' the motion and the amendment, then before the House, were both passed with but little opposition; the Dean of Bristol's being, in fact, contained in the other; that of Archdeacon Harrison having the important addition which saved the swamping character implied by the simple election of a committee. The following is an authentic statement of the day's work:—

' RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENTS.

' Lower House of Convocation, Jerusalem Chamber, Friday, Nov. 12, 1852.

' 1. Dr. Spry moved, and Archdeacon of Lewes seconded, the original Resolution, as the title-page of representation.

' 2. Archdeacon of Ely moved, and Archdeacon of Chichester seconded, the direct negative.

' 3. The Dean of Bristol moved, and Archdeacon of London seconded, an Amendment for a "Committee of Grievances," to which to refer the representation; *without any message to the Upper House adverting to that representation.*

' 4. Archdeacon of Maidstone moved, and Dr. Spry seconded, a Resolution, *stating to the Upper House that an important representation had been introduced into*

the Lower House, and referred to a Committee of Grievances, and praying that the sitting of Convocation might be so ordered that the Lower House might be enabled in due time to receive and consider the report of such committee. Dr. Spry withdrawing the original Resolution, with the consent of the Archdeacon of Lewes, the Amendments of the Archdeacon of Ely and of the Dean of Bristol fell to the ground.

'5. The Dean of Bristol then suggested that it would be necessary, before passing the Archdeacon of Maidstone's Resolution, which stated that a "Committee of Grievances" had been appointed, to pass a Resolution appointing such committee, and referring the representation to it—he accordingly moved a resolution to that effect, which was seconded, and passed.

'6. Archdeacon of Maidstone's Resolution, as seconded by Dr. Spry, was then passed.'

From the Friday to the Tuesday, therefore, Convocation stood prorogued. This gave a reality to the affair, which nothing else had yet done. One Bishop, we know, and perhaps more, introduced into the bidding prayer, before his sermon on the intervening Sunday, a clause referring to the sacred Synod of the Church then assembled. The business of the Upper House on Tuesday was occupied with the Address, and, as we shall consider this in its final state, when describing the third day, we now confine ourselves to the substance of some speeches that were made upon it. The Upper House of Convocation, it cannot be denied, has come out before the world with far greater dignity and power than has been the lot of the bench of Bishops under any other form. The report of their sessions has done much to establish Convocation as the legitimate centre for such united action as our Episcopacy can aim at.

The Bishop of Winchester spoke openly before the world his real sentiments; and so far we respect, though we cannot agree with them. He thought, with many others, that there was extreme danger in the revival of synodical action. He considered that Wake's testimony proved they had no right to deliberate at all, without further licence from the Crown; and doubted whether an opinion, obtained by a one-sided party, even from the Attorney-general, was of much value, as sanctioning the counter statement. Having once passed the Rubicon, he knew not where they might be carried. He recounted the progress of the Church under existing circumstances, and feared Convocation would impede this, rather than aid it. This was the fullest speech made on that side.

The next to address the house was the Bishop of Salisbury. This speech we must give in his own words. Our own impression in reading it was that every line added an untold weight to the cause of Convocation, and confirmed it as with an iron grasp. It may not be every one's duty to take the same line of

no previous intercourse with any one on the subject; but, looking on men as they are, we concede to the Bishop of Salisbury, not only the perfect right to remain uncommitted to the very last, but the wisdom, in his own case, of doing so. Under the circumstances of the cautious, yet impartial and judicious qualities attached to his name, we felt, on the perusal of his words, that the cause we advocate was developing its influence far and wide over men and parties, and must soon be coextensive with all wise and faithful members of our Church; or the Bishop of Salisbury is forfeiting his character for good sense. His own practical course and his own sentiments he thus expresses:—

‘ The Bishop of Salisbury said that, considering the great importance and difficulty of the subject, he had carefully avoided expressing any opinion upon it, and had abstained altogether from any communication upon it with those who had been engaged in forwarding and promoting the views of this Convocation, to which his very reverend friend the Bishop of Winchester was opposed. He had desired to meet the subject with a mind unbiassed, as far as possible, at the meeting of the Synod, in order that he might then form a fair and impartial opinion of the propositions to be laid before it. He wished briefly to state the reasons which induced him to express his dissent to the address proposed by his Grace the President, and to give his assent to the amendment proposed by his Right Reverend friend the Bishop of Oxford. They were summoned, in obedience to her Majesty’s orders, by his Grace, to give their advice upon all such matters as might tend to the well-being of the Church. Now, there could be no doubt that the matters referred to in the address were of grave importance. But in what manner were they dealt with in the address proposed for adoption by his Grace? Her Majesty was informed that on the subject of the revival of Convocation, some persons thought one thing, and some persons thought another; but this Synod, assembled here to offer its opinions upon matters affecting the Church, expressed nothing at all. That was really the proposition which was put before them that day. It appeared to him a very unconstitutional proposition. If the function of Convocation were to be in any manner referred to, he apprehended that her Majesty, or any one else, taking up the newspapers of the day, could not do so without knowing that one person thought one thing, and another another; but what her Majesty had a right to ask was, what they, the assembled Convocation, thought upon the subject? He need not refer to the royal declaration prefixed to the articles providing for the consideration of all matters under the Queen’s licence. Her Majesty was not asked to initiate the proceedings of Convocation, but it was clearly the duty of the House to express its opinion whether or not that initiation should take effect or not. It was either desirable, or it was not, that it should proceed to the consideration of these matters; if it were desirable, they were surely the persons who ought to tender their humble desire to that effect, to her Majesty. If, on the other hand, it were not desirable, no reference ought to be made to the subject in the address, or, if referring to the subject, they should point out in what manner her Majesty might deal with the subject. The course proposed to be adopted was the one of all others the most likely to bring the Convocation into just contempt. They would appear as the Bishops of the Church assembled together in Synod, and who were unable to say anything at all upon a subject which had naturally excited many minds. In reply to what fell from his right reverend friend the Bishop of

Winchester, it appeared to him that the whole of his argument was addressed to the immediate revival of the active functions of Convocation, against attempting to proceed immediately to action. He was not aware that any contrary opinion had been expressed on that part of the subject. If he understood the amendment, it first endeavoured, in very grave and well-considered language, to allay apprehensions which had been sedulously fostered in the minds of many, that it would immediately proceed to the discussion of doctrinal questions. He had ventured to express in his charge to his clergy, that the desire which appeared to exist in the minds of men for new doctrinal opinions, appeared to him one of the most grave objections to the revival of synodical action in the Church. He was glad to believe that the consideration given to the subject since that period had greatly dispelled the grounds for fear on that head. But if they were not to adopt this amendment, what were they to do? Every one who had paid any attention to the subject appeared to be of opinion that something must be done. What, then, were they to do? His right reverend friend the Bishop of Winchester had argued that they were not in a position to do anything effectually. But if anything at all were to be done, they must make the best of the position which they occupied. All improvements must start from this one point. Therefore, while without desiring to see any hasty or immediate attempts at legislating through Convocation, he could not at the same time acquiesce in language which seemed to throw contempt upon that institution, and to brand it with impotence; and least of all could he do so at the present time, when it was so important not to use such language. But if Convocation, as it then existed, was not the most satisfactory power of legislation which could be devised for the Church, it could hardly be contended that all legislation for the Church—not only in matters of discipline, but also, should the occasion arise, in matters of doctrine—should be solely effected by civil legislation. If this and the Lower House were not the best constituted for the government of the Church, was the House of Commons a satisfactory legislature for the Church? The House of Commons was composed in no inconsiderable degree of those who were not members of the Church. He made no complaint of this. It was the natural consequence of the present unhappy divided state of the nation; and they could not surely be considered as forming the most fitting tribunal to deal with matters affecting the best interests of the Church. It appeared, therefore, important to him that their existence as a body should be preserved intact, and in due time, by all safe and cautious means be matured and improved. Upon these grounds it was that he felt himself unable to agree to the Address, as proposed by his Grace. The amendment proposed did not call upon them to apply for any present licence to go to business. He did not believe it could be the wish of his right reverend brother that any such licence should now be obtained; it was certainly not his own wish. The amendment proposed merely that the advice and assistance of the two Houses of Convocation should be obtained upon one point of immediate concern, to which the attention of the civil legislature had been again and again directed. It was not proposed that Convocation should proceed to legislation without the concurrence of the civil legislature. They were perfectly aware, even if the Royal licence were at any future time asked for and obtained, that any measures of legislation which were prepared and adopted in Convocation could only take a binding effect when they had received the concurrence of the legislature. Such an argument against the active power of Convocation ought, therefore, to be dismissed at once as a calumny too absurd to receive attention in this place. If they were of opinion that the Church should renounce all right of legislating on these matters, they might adopt the Address as proposed. If, on the other hand, they were desirous of main-

taining the Church as a spiritual corporation, happily in this country united with the State, it appeared to him that they were in no way transgressing the rights and legal position of that Church, in adopting the amendment of his right reverend friend, the Lord Bishop of Oxford.*

The Bishop of S. David's dissented both from the address proposed and the amendment, thinking it would be more advisable to insert into it a wish for the remodelling of Convocation, and to nominate a committee for a like purpose.

Then followed the Bishop of Exeter, the whole of whose powerful and beautiful speech we would gladly insert if possible, but as we cannot do that, we shall endeavour by a few extracts to convey its substance. He commended the Bishop of S. David's wish for reform in Convocation, but aptly adduced the reform of the civil parliament twenty years back, as a proof that a body like themselves need not suspend their functions, till that reform came to them, but rather help its accomplishment by their own energy. From this speaker he passed on to another.

* The right reverend prelate near him, the Bishop of Winchester, had said that the question of to-day was one of vital importance; he rejoiced to hear him say so: but how did he follow out his statement? Did he show them in what manner they ought to act in a case of this great importance? No; he said they ought to do nothing; the vital importance, then, of this Convocation was to be confined to simply doing nothing. But the right reverend prelate had said there was danger in adopting an amendment. What was the danger? He had listened in vain to hear anything definitely pointed out. All his right reverend friend recommended, ended in the advice that they were to do nothing. His right reverend friend had also alluded to the legal opinion referred to by his right reverend friend the Bishop of Oxford, and intimated, though not in direct terms, that the Attorney-General had deserted his duty to the Crown, in answering the case that had been brought before him by the Bishop of Oxford. He (the Bishop of Exeter,) did not know what might be the exact duties of an Attorney-General; but this he knew, that there were duties on the part of every advocate, whether of the highest or lowest rank, which he owed to the public, and a duty also which he owed to his profession. He (the Bishop of Exeter) never heard it stated that the present Attorney-General had a particular leaning to one side or the other. He was pledged to give his opinion on cases that might be submitted to him; and in this case, the Attorney-General no doubt considered that he was not restrained from giving such an opinion, by his duty to the Crown. But the opinion of the Attorney-General was not one of which they had heard for the first time. As he (the Bishop of Exeter) was recently sitting in the House of Lords, a noble lord was kind enough to speak to him on this subject. He said (alluding to what they were doing), "So long as you keep from either framing canons, or consulting to frame canons, there is nothing which can restrain you from doing so in law; it was mere folly to think differently; no lawyer would dare to give you such an opinion." He was not at liberty to mention the name of that noble and learned lord, though he had no doubt he might have obtained his permission to do so, had he asked; but if he were to tell them his name, they would at once admit that he was the highest legal authority in the land. But his right reverend brother had

referred to Archbishop Wake as an authority, and he (the Bishop of Exeter) too, happened to read Archbishop Wake, and he found that he was decidedly of opinion that Convocation may, notwithstanding the 25th Henry VIII., c. 19, debate and consult of other matters, and in order to other ends, but may not make provincial canons or constitutions. He said, "To deliberate of what might usefully be considered by them, and to petition the king thereupon for leave so to do. This, as it is not attempting to make a canon, &c., so does it not, I conceive, come within the design of that prohibition, which this act has laid upon them." But they were told that this was not a time for Convocation—that was the standing objection, the old stereotyped phrase, on all matters of reform. The proper time never arrived. If they did not do these things in troubled times, they were asked, in times of peace, would they disturb the peace and quiet of those times, by doing that which would be sounding the tocsin of confusion? If he were told that was not the time for violent measures, he would entirely concur with such an opinion. There were rights innate, inherent, and inalienable in the Church, which they had not been able to exercise since the time of Henry VIII., and it was not proposed, as far as he understood, that they should now go to the Crown for the purpose of obtaining power to exercise these rights. It was not proposed in the amendments to take strong measures, or act with a high hand.'

After quoting the Convocation Prayer, he concluded with a warmth of eloquence that, coming from so great a member of our Church, assumes an historic importance:—

'Dare they address themselves to the Throne of Grace with such language as that, and say that they would do nothing? He dare not, for one, be a party to such a proceeding. They had been called together, and were they to be told that they could do nothing? Were they to do nothing, though they prayed to God to enable them to do everything? After offering such a prayer to God, were they to say, We will do nothing? He was not in the hearts and minds of others of his right reverend brethren present. He knew not what thoughts might strike them. He was quite sure of knowing who they are, and what they are. He knew they did not desire them to pray to God day after day, unless they had some good reason for turning these words into words of mere idle form, and, as it appeared to him, a solemn mockery. Let it not be supposed that he thought their lordships would incur that guilt, which he felt they would be incurring if they were to adopt this do-nothing proposition. They were specially called upon to consider the history of the last thirty years, the present circumstance in the history of the Church of England and of the Church of Christ. He was rejoiced to think how very much good had been achieved during the last thirty years. In saying that, let him not be supposed to look without dismay (that was a strong word, but strong words were alone suitable to the occasion) at much that had passed in the course of this period, and more especially in the course of the last ten years. He had seen large defections from the Church, of men, not all of whom had been induced lightly to take the step they had done. He was bound in charity to think that they had not lightly ventured upon such a step. Some of them he had known—some of them he was wont to look upon as endowed with the highest intellect, and blessed with a spirit of thankfulness to God, which he revered, and would have been glad to emulate. Some of these had fallen. Fallen, he said, because he could not think of their dejection from the Church of England to that of Rome, without feeling that it was a most grievous, most dangerous, most hideous fall. The God of them all would

know best what allowance to make for those feelings which led those men to their fall. There were some things that were open to human ken, and among these cases they could see some of the causes which had led to it. Be it that there had been an eagerness amongst some of the lowest classes of the hierarchy of Rome which may have misled them; others thought they might have been misled by the desire to imitate the excessive rituals of that Church; be it that there were some who longed for more power in the presbyters than the Church gave them; but he knew it of more than one—he knew it of those whom he most honoured—that they had gone because of what they felt to be the miserable thralldom of the Church to the State of this land. One, perhaps, of the most distinguished of those men—distinguished for qualities not only of intellect, in which he might have had his equals, but for other high qualities, in which he was not surpassed—had said, a year before he left them, how bitterly he felt the condition in which he was placed—how unwilling he would be to yield to his feelings—how painful at last it would be to him if he should be compelled to take that step which would be imposed upon him if he were once convinced that the Church was without the means of carrying on the functions of a Church. He (the Bishop of Exeter) knew that, at that time, one act of the episcopate, of the particulars of which he would not speak—aye, the announcement of an intent in that direction—would have stopped him in his fall, and, with him, the fall of many more. How many more would fall unless they were able, by God's grace, to satisfy them that they are a Church? They knew that they were an establishment; it was said also that they had all the advantages of an establishment. He believed that many of them were not satisfied to leave the benefits of that establishment—he had a strong feeling upon it—he would deplore as the greatest calamity that could befall the country, and certainly not the least that could befall the Church, if ever the Church and State were separated. But he knew that there were men in that Church, who, if the time should ever come that that Church should declare itself incompetent for the discharge of its essential duties and its vital actions, would leave it. He for one would leave that Church if ever that time should come. He would not go to Rome—nothing would induce him to go to that corrupt Church—but never, never, never would he act as a bishop of the Church of England, if the Church of England was placed in hopeless impotence under the feet of the temporal power of the State. He would conclude with the expression of an earnest hope that the excellent speech of the Bishop of S. David's might have the effect of drawing them all together in such a manner as might best promote the true interests of the Church.'

After some remarks from the Bishop of Lincoln, to the effect that they might be embarking on a stormy sea, he yet expressed a general consent to the Bishop of S. David's proposition, that the reforms necessary in Convocation should be referred to a committee.

The commencement of the Bishop of London's speech is of peculiar interest:—

'Thé Bishop of London commenced his remarks by reading a portion of the address presented by Convocation in 1841 and in 1847. The address of 1847, he stated, went further than that of 1841, and he concurred in the opinion of his right reverend brother the Bishop Oxford, that, if they were to agree to the clause of the Address now proposed, they would be making a step backward. It was quite true that the late Archbishop had felt considerable reluctance to adopt the words, because he felt, as did many others,

that there was great risk in any proposal for resuming, as they considered, the legislative functions, and not the deliberative functions, of Convocation, as now proposed. The late Archbishop had stated to him (the Bishop of London), "the time must come; our course is to act moderately—to say nothing to our brethren of the clergy as to when it will be safe for them to be entrusted with the power of initiating legislation in Church matters." Those were the late Archbishop's feelings, and he felt them strongly; and not long before his lamented decease, he said, "The time must come when some decisive measure must be taken with respect to Convocation." He felt that Convocation, as now constituted, was not an adequate representation of the Church of England; the laity would not long remain content to be altogether excluded from a share in the deliberations—direct or indirect—in the deliberations of the body, and he trusted that among the first questions to be submitted would be that of the constitution of Convocation itself. But it had been said that there had been increased agitation since the period when the last address was presented. It should not be forgotten that there existed a great deal of agitation on this subject previous to 1847. He wished his right reverend friend the Bishop of Winchester to consider whether many of the results to which he had alluded in connexion with the present state of the Church might not probably, under God's blessing, have been avoided, if, before that time, the Church had been permitted to resume its synodical functions; whether many of the evils, real or apparent, which disturbed the minds of many, and led some of them to the fatal extreme of desertion; whether, if some of the anomalies had been removed by the advice of rightly constituted synods, these evils might not have been averted.

After these eloquent and powerful addresses in favour of an active Convocation, it is remarkable to observe the extreme poverty of several which now followed on the other side. The Bishop of Llandaff conceived that nothing could be more disastrous than controversial discussion in Synod. In the public mind, it would seem like a wish to narrow the terms of communion in the Church. How this follows we cannot see, except by a process that would lead to the advocacy of total ignorance on religious truth, which could fix no bounds, for it knows none.

The Bishop of Worcester's address is so brief and compact, that we give it in its sublime wholeness:—

'The Bishop of Worcester said that he apprehended great danger from taking the first step, as when the first step was taken, it would be impossible to state what other steps would follow. Upon the whole, he thought, there was less danger and difficulty in going on as they had hitherto done, than in encountering all those dangers to the Church, which it appeared to him must be the result of Convocation meeting permanently for the despatch of business.'

The remarks of the Bishop of Norwich were still more brief, though, we regret to say, not so harmless, for they contain statements which are very incorrect. His Lordship has published a Charge against Convocation, and therefore we anticipated both greater fulness in the discussion of the subject with his brethren, and also greater accuracy in his knowledge of facts connected with it. The oration was as follows:—

'The Bishop of Norwich thought that the public was quite unprepared for the action of Convocation, and stated that the Proctors to the Lower House were elected by the clergy without the least idea that their duties would be more than formal, as in previous elections.'

With regard to the former of these two statements, the Bishop of Oxford gives a sufficient answer:—

'The Bishop of Oxford then resumed, and replied to the statement of the Bishop of Norwich, that the public were taken unawares by the proceedings of the Convocation. He contended that every one who was in the habit of reading the public journals, and of obtaining access to other means of information, must have been perfectly well aware of "the coming storm."'

But it may be thought that this Bishop is so occupied with the management of a remote and rural diocese, that he does not see the public journals. Referring, however, to the election of Proctors, as reported last August in the newspapers, we have an opportunity of ascertaining what he really did see, in the discharge of his official duties. He saw a very large assembly of his clergy filling the consistory court of his cathedral, propose and elect a Proctor for Convocation, from whom an open avowal was first required before the whole meeting, with himself in the chair, that he would do his part toward making Convocation a reality; a reality, as opposed to the formal duties hitherto performed. And that Proctor, we know, has fulfilled his word heartily and honestly.

After some further conversation on the Address, and the appointment of a Committee on Church Discipline, the House was prorogued to the following day.

The proceedings of Tuesday, in the Lower House, consisted of some conversation with regard to petitions. A discussion on the Prolocutor's nomination of the Committee, Dr. Wordsworth's 'gravamina,' Mr. Caswall's motion on 'Intercommunication with other Churches,' and Mr. Massingberd's resolution on the 'Aggression of the See of Rome.' During the first of these, a most unseemly attack was made on Dr. Mill, by Mr. Hayward Cox, which we can only describe, with justice to the facts of the case, by extracting the scene as reported in the 'Morning Chronicle':—

'Mr. Hayward Cox complained that the different dioceses in the Church were not sufficiently represented; but still more, he complained that on the list of the committee he found the name of a gentleman who, however distinguished for piety, amiability, and learning, had his name associated with very extreme views in the Church. He referred to a paper published more than twelve months ago, to which were attached the names of Archdeacon Wilberforce, Archdeacon Manning, and Dr. Mill, and which impugned the supremacy of the Crown. He hoped the house would support him in repudiating those extreme views, which were almost of a treasonable character.'

'After some discussion,—

'Dr. Mill rose and said that the paper which had been referred to the committee, part of which indeed had been drawn up by himself, contained his views on the Royal supremacy, and on that subject he had no further explanation to give. But he admitted that his views were by some parties considered to be extreme, and therefore, as he wished to consult the peace of the Church, he must request the Prolocutor to withdraw his name.

'The Prolocutor said he felt that this was a somewhat ungenerous attack. Whatever might be the differences among members of the Church—and he differed on many points from Dr. Mill—still he was sure there was not in the Church of England a more faithful and attached member than Dr. Mill. Under other circumstances he would not have objected to any change in the committee; yet after the attack which had been made on the character of Dr. Mill, he felt that it would be a great imputation upon himself if the House did not confirm Dr. Mill's nomination.

'Mr. Cox defended himself from the charge of want of generosity. He admitted that his objection was personal, but, entertaining the objection, he felt bound to state the grounds of it.'

As there are here three persons, so do we perceive the differences of character which Archdeacon Hale had attributed to the members of the House. We regret the great violation of good manners on Mr. Cox's part, as discreditable to the House; but still it was not an unmixed evil, as it gave an opportunity for the House to witness a peculiar manifestation of dignity and Christian humility on the part of Dr. Mill, and of calm but resolute authority on the part of the Prolocutor.

Archdeacon Garbett hesitated a good deal about serving on the Committee. He became generally discursive, but having been several times called to order, and at length brought to the point, he was evidently more disposed to accept so important an office than to decline it. Convocation enjoys a singular power of bringing its opponents round from motives of a secondary nature. There are members who seem to have commenced with the strongest prejudice against Convocation, because it gave High Churchmen an opportunity of speaking, but whose opinion was undoubtedly more favourable, when they enjoyed the pleasurable sensation of having the same opportunity themselves. Archdeacon Garbett seemed quite to like Convocation after the sound of his own voice had become identified with it.

We cannot but regret the omission of Archdeacon Denison from the committee, as the zeal he has shown in the cause, together with the indefatigable exertions he has made in its behalf, would seem, we think, to require that he should have been on the committee appointed to discuss a paper which he himself had been so instrumental in drawing up. If his own special request had not induced Mr. Massingberd to withdraw

his motion that it should be added, we doubt not that it would have been so. The committee stands thus:—

‘COMMITTEE OF GRIEVANCES.

The Dean of St. Paul's.	Dr. Mill.
The Dean of Norwich.	Dr. Jelf.
The Dean of Wells.	Dr. Wordsworth.
Archdeacon of London.	Dr. M'Caul.
Archdeacon of Middlesex.	Dr. Jeremie.
Archdeacon of Lewes.	Rev. G. B. Blomfield.
Archdeacon of St. Alban's.	Rev. Frederick Vincent.
Archdeacon of Winchester.	Hon. and Rev. Montague Villiers.
Archdeacon of Chichester.	Rev. Francis Massingberd.
Dr. Spry.	

Ten to be a quorum.’

The other proceedings of this session we must pass over, and now commence the third day, Wednesday, the 17th.

This day's session only commenced in the Upper House at two o'clock, after the Lower House had time to consider the Address and send it back. As finally adopted, the Address stands thus; the last two paragraphs of which contain the matter about which debates had arisen:—

‘Madam,—We, your Majesty's faithful subjects, the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of the province of Canterbury, assembled in Convocation, most humbly approach your Majesty, with respectful assurances of loyal affection to your Majesty's throne and person.

‘And we desire to add our sincere congratulations that since the last occasion when we enjoyed a similar privilege, it has pleased Almighty God to bless both your Majesty's royal family and the country at large with a measure of prosperity which demands our warmest thankfulness.

‘Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to state to your assembled Parliament, that your Majesty has received assurances of a disposition on the part of foreign powers to maintain those friendly relations with this country which have already been prolonged beyond all former example. And never, perhaps, was there a time when the inhabitants of this land were more generally prosperous, more willingly obedient to the laws, or more loyally affected towards the Throne. It is our earnest prayer to Almighty God that he will continue to ourselves, and extend to all nations, the blessings of peace and unity.

‘Here we earnestly desire to assure your Majesty of our deep sympathy with the sorrow which your Majesty has so graciously expressed, a sorrow which is even shared by foreign nations, for the loss which the empire is now mourning, in the death of that great warrior and statesman, to whom, above all, it has been owing, under God's all-ruling providence, that we have enjoyed this long and unprecedented peace and prosperity. We assure your Majesty that we prize, above the splendour of his greatest exploits, that high sense of duty which led him to devote all his faculties to the service of his Sovereign and his country, and to value his most glorious victories chiefly as they secured a lasting peace.

‘The subject, however, on which your Majesty will expect us to feel the deepest interest is the state of religion in this land. And here there is much to encourage, whilst there is also much to lament, and much that we hope gradually to amend. Great exertions have been made during the last

thirty years, with the desire of providing the means of spiritual instruction for a population increasing beyond all former experience. Much has been done by the awakened liberality of individuals, assisted by recent legislative measures, towards enabling the Church to fulfil the ends of her Divine mission. Much, however, still remains to be done; and we assure your Majesty that our heartiest endeavours shall be used to relieve, wherever they exist, the spiritual wants of the population. We feel a confident persuasion that these our endeavours will be seconded by the pious and ready cooperation of our lay brethren in the Church. In connexion with this subject we cannot but observe, that although the population of England and Wales has been doubled in the last half century, the number of English and Welsh bishops remains nearly the same as it was three centuries ago—a state of things to which we beg respectfully to invite your Majesty's consideration.

‘ We trust, however, that if the Church has been unable to accomplish all that might be desired, it has yet given no slight proof of activity and power. Fewer churches were built during the whole of the last century than are now consecrated to the service of God in every successive year. Inadequate as are still the means of providing Christian education for the increasing numbers who require it, we thankfully acknowledge that great efforts have been made for its extension and improvement.

‘ And great and painful as are the privations of many of your Majesty's poorer subjects, in our crowded cities, it must be a peculiar source of satisfaction to your Majesty that, under the continuous and active encouragement of your Majesty's illustrious Consort, institutions have been formed, and are daily forming, to increase the comforts of the labouring classes, and to improve their moral and social condition; and, as all true charity has its origin in religious principle, we trust that in this instance also proof has been given of the influence of that faith which it is the duty of the Clergy to inculcate and maintain amongst the people entrusted to their charge. For whatever has been done or intended, of good, we desire to give God the glory, through our Lord Jesus Christ, being deeply conscious of the imperfection of all our endeavours.

‘ In thus referring to the subjects which appear to us especially to concern the well-being of the Church, we cannot omit to speak of those deliberative functions of this Convocation which many members of our Church desire to see again called into active exercise.

‘ We do not indeed deem it advisable, at the present moment, to petition your Majesty for your royal licence to transact such business as we may not enter upon without it; but we think it our duty respectfully to express our conviction, both that its legislative assemblies are an essential and most important part of the constitution of our Reformed Church, and that the circumstances of the present day make it alike more imperative to preserve, and, as far as possible, to improve them, and more particularly that the resumption of their active functions, in such manner as your Majesty, by your royal licence, may permit, may at no distant date be productive of much advantage. We know, indeed, that apprehensions have been entertained that in such case Convocation might address itself to the discussion of controverted questions of doctrine, and a spirit of strife and bitterness be thereby engendered, fatal to Christian charity, and dangerous alike to existing institutions and to our visible unity, and we, therefore, feel it to be our duty humbly to pray your Majesty to receive this our most solemn declaration of our hearty acceptance of the doctrinal formularies and liturgical offices of the Reformed Church, and our assurance that we regard them as inestimable blessings, and are resolved, by the help of God, to transmit them unimpaired to posterity. And further, that we not only recognise,

but highly prize, your Majesty's undoubted supremacy in all causes, ecclesiastical and civil, over all persons and in every part of your Majesty's dominions, as it was maintained in ancient times against the usurpations of the See of Rome, and was recovered and re-asserted at our Reformation. In connexion with this grave subject, we feel that your Majesty may expect from us the expression of our solemn protest against that fresh aggression of the Bishop of Rome, by which he has arrogated to himself the spiritual charge of this nation, thereby denying the existence of that branch of the Church Catholic which was planted in Britain in the primitive ages of Christianity, and has been preserved by a merciful Providence to this day, as well as against many which have preceded it; and we desire on this, our first occasion of addressing your Majesty since its occurrence, solemnly to protest in the face of Christendom, and to lay this our protest before your most gracious Majesty.'

After some conversation introduced by the Bishop of Oxford, with reference to the claim of Colonial Bishops to sit in Convocation, and also on the resolution of the Lower House with regard to the election of Proctors, it was agreed that these subjects should be considered.

Before prorogation the question naturally arose about the Archbishop's right to prorogue without '*consensu fratrum*.' We have already alluded to the position of the Metropolitan in Convocation, and marked out the very great preeminence he enjoys over his brother bishops, in the parliamentary character of Convocation; but to stretch this to an arbitrary control over the synodical deliberation of the House on those ecclesiastical subjects which now come before it, would be a distinct violation of those inherent rights of our Church's Synod, which are found in all the ancient precedents, and were most carefully protected in the concession of Edward I. What passed on the subject we lay before our readers, with the conclusion of the session:—

'His Grace was proceeding to the prorogation, when some communication passed between him and the Bishop of London. The Archbishop then requested the Prolocutor to withdraw for a moment, whilst the House conferred.

'The Bishop of Oxford said he was not aware his Grace was about to proceed to the adjournment. He did not wish to enter into any discussion at that time as to the right, to which his Grace had laid claim, of adjourning the house, without the consent of his brethren; but he protested against it, and he would enter his solemn protest against his Grace having any right to adjourn this sacred synod without *consensu fratrum*.

'The Archbishop, whilst the protest was being prepared, said a convenient time of meeting again would be soon after the meeting of Parliament in February.

'The Bishop of Salisbury said he should wish also to add his name to the protest.

'The Bishop of Oxford said the matter stood thus:—Her Majesty's Attorney-General had given his opinion that his Grace had not that power; and he (the Bishop) based on that a claim that his Grace should consult his suffragans upon it. If, after that, he should allow a contrary act to be done, without protesting, it would go in prejudice of the right so claimed.

'The Bishop of Chichester respectfully announced to his Grace that his name would be appended to the protest.

'The Bishop of S. David's made a similar announcement.

'The Prolocutor was again called in, and the proclamation read of the adjournment of Convocation to Wednesday, the 16th of February, at twelve o'clock, in the Jerusalem Chamber.

'Upon his withdrawing, their lordships knelt while the Archbishop pronounced the benediction, and the proceedings terminated, at twenty minutes to six o'clock.'

In the Lower House this day there was some conversation about the admission of the Press during the debate on the Address. Archdeacon Grant thought, that as they were about to discuss the proceedings of the Upper House, and might be brought into collision even with the grammatical expressions used in the Address, it would be advisable to exclude reporters.

Archdeacon Denison, the uniform advocate throughout the whole time for open door and free discussion, opposed this, and Archdeacon Garbett, in the following spirited address, taking the same line, demonstrated most warmly his growing interest in the subject:—

'Archdeacon Garbett said, all the world knew that this House had a constitutional right in this matter to sit in judgment on their superiors; and if the world knew that the only charge they could bring against their bishops, in a document of great length, and drawn up under circumstances of considerable difficulty, was, that the bishops had occasionally violated the rules of Priscian, he thought nothing could be more favourable for the chances of their avoiding a collision. But he would put the matter on a broader ground. They had already determined, after grave deliberation, that their proceedings should be made public, and he objected to that determination being now altered. He considered this meeting of Convocation as a vast experiment, which, as far as it could be legally carried out, he and his friends were willing to further to the utmost of their power. But still it must be remembered that they were on their trial, and the future meetings of this House would materially depend upon the manner in which their debates were conducted. Therefore, because the country—because the Houses of Parliament—because the 10,000 clergy of the province, who could hardly be said to be represented there—had a right to know their proceedings, he was strongly of opinion that reporters should remain.'

The motion was then withdrawn, and the Address considered. A few alterations were made, as the clauses came one by one under debate, but none were of any great importance. Archdeacon Hare proposed an amendment to that part of it in which allusion was made to the revival of synodical action, and put forward a suggestion in favour of a lay element of Convocation. The Prolocutor checked any general discussion on points thus brought before the House: confining the speakers to little more than the recital of their amendment.

Some complaints were made of this, but we think on the

whole, that he acted wisely, for a question of such importance as the admission of the laity could not possibly have been discussed at that time with any satisfaction or advantage. This amendment was withdrawn, and then followed some objections to the whole clause, as being the expression of a wish for synodical action. Dr. M'Caul strongly condemned the whole movement as an effort to acquire 'spiritual domination.' Archdeacon Sinclair stated his view in the following words:—

'Archdeacon Sinclair believed that a large majority of the clergy, and an overwhelming majority of the laity, were opposed to the restoration of synodical action; and that an appeal to the laity would end in a very different result from what most members of that House anticipated.'

Archdeacon Garbett appeared, by these arguments, recalled in some degree to his original views, which, conflicting sadly with dawning impressions in another direction, produced an intellectual clash, which, in its turn, caused the whole scene before him to become wild and terrible, as when a thunder storm disturbs the serenity of a summer's evening. This state of mind was thus expressed:—

'Archdeacon Garbett had read all the articles, speeches, and pamphlets that had been published on this subject, and he was firmly convinced that the steps they had taken were the beginning of a spiritual and ecclesiastical revolution, which, if unarrested, must end in the ultimate ruin of the Church, and also of the nation.'

After this followed the only real occasion on which the opinion of the House, on the expediency of its own revival, was declared by a division. Mr. Hayward Cox was bold enough to propose an amendment to this effect. He founded his peculiar claim to do this, on the fact that he represented 700 clergy, though, if we remember right, only five of these were instrumental in the choice of him as their Proctor. He was seconded, not by any more populous choice than himself, but by his co-proctor, Mr. Squire, elected by the same large meeting of the Clergy of the diocese of S. David's.

The Prolocutor put the amendment to the House, and it was negatived by a very large majority.

The last communication of the Prolocutor was the following:—

'The Prolocutor further stated that no answer had been given by his Grace with respect to his approval or disapproval of the appointment of the committee on *gravamina*, and that the meetings of that committee must be dependent on the sanction of his Grace.'

The House was then prorogued to the 16th of February, and thus ended the November Sessions of Convocation, in the province of Canterbury.

With regard to the province of York, we stated that there

was a simplicity of detail, which would not render our task very laborious.

This Convocation was opened by Commission on the 5th of November, in the Chapter-house of York Cathedral. The Bishops of Ripon and Chester had arrived in the city, but as the Archbishop did not preside in person, they did not appear. Of the rest, all were present, but the Deans (Dean Erskine excepted), Mr. Headlam, and Mr. Goodenough, two octogenarians, Dr. Hook, who was preaching before the University of Oxford on that day, and the Clergy of the Isle of Man, who might well be excused by the stormy weather. The attendance, we believe, was more numerous than was reported in any newspaper, the names of several Archdeacons having been omitted in them.

The introductory forms are thus described in the *Guardian*—

‘The gallery and part of the floor of the chapter-house were filled with a large number of clergy and laity, who seemed to take an anxious interest in the proceedings.

‘The commissioners having taken their seats at a table at the east side of the chapter-house, and the very reverend the Deans, the venerable the Archdeacons, the reverend the Proctors for the clergy, having formed themselves into a semicircle in front of the table, the writ of her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, and the mandate of his Grace the Archbishop of the province, were read aloud by the official. The præconizations of the Bishops and dignitaries and clergy of the province followed, in the course of which the usual protests from the diocese of Durham were handed in, and *more solito* rejected.’

Canon Trevor presented petitions and protests addressed to the Archbishop, on the subject of irregular elections; and also a petition addressed to Convocation, urging the discharge of its active functions. He was allowed to read the heads of it, but not to enter upon any discussion. Other petitions and protests followed, and proceedings terminated by the presiding commissioners pronouncing absentees contumacious, and declaring this Convocation to be prorogued and continued until May 18, 1853, or such other and intervening day as occasion may require. The following encouraging notice of the *Guardian*, sums up the account of this day :—

‘The chapter-house was speedily deserted, the proceedings having lasted little more than an hour. Upon the whole, however, there can be no doubt that the cause of the Church’s synodal rights and duties has made rapid strides in the northern as well as the southern province. The attendance of proctors this day was thrice as numerous as on the last similar occasion. Numerous petitions, and many of them numerously signed, were presented in favour of a revival of Convocation, in some fair and efficient form, and not one was introduced against it. The feeling of the laity present was, as far as it could be ascertained, decidedly at one with that of the petitioners and the vast majority of members of Convocation. A meeting of proctors was afterwards held in the great room belonging to the Architectural Society, and a memorial to the Archbishop was there prepared and signed,

which will be presented to his Grace in person by the Ven. Archdeacon Thorpe, to whom, and to the Rev. Canon Trevor, the thanks of Churchmen are due for their temperate and active exertions on this occasion.'

Being more anxious to convey to our readers the impression which this meeting left on the clergy themselves of the northern province, than to hazard any remarks of our own, we consulted a member of that Convocation, in whose active zeal and sound discretion we have the greatest confidence, while his high position in the Church commands respect for his opinion; the result is the following letter, which, with many thanks to the writer, we here give as the expression also of our own views:—

'I do not feel myself very well able or authorized to speak for others; but it would be very easy to express my own feelings about our late meeting of Convocation at York; and, as far as I have learnt, they are not very different from those entertained by others. I do not think there is any feeling of grievance or refusal of rights remaining from that meeting. The most that could have been desired, in the absence of a licence to proceed to business, was that we should have the liberty to address the Crown. This was not conceded, simply on the ground of precedent, that York never had before sent up such an address. The Archbishop also declined to attend in person, because the precedents were in favour of his opening the assembly by a commission. Nothing was done, or left undone, that in any way compromised any principle; and I should rather say that much anxiety was shown to prevent any suspicion of slight or disregard of the importance of the occasion.

'I think that what was done at York was in due proportion to what was done in the Jerusalem Chamber. The meeting was held with great decorum, and nothing was omitted, as to due form and order. The Sub-Registrar, who is an old man, made a good many mistakes in calling over the names of the Proctors; but I believe this was in some degree owing to the formation of new dioceses; and similar blunders were reported in the other Province. After this there was opportunity given for the reading and presenting of petitions, and for any remarks which those who presented them might make, short of raising a debate on their contents. Any question about disputed elections was declined, as unprecedented, unless the Convocation were licensed to proceed to business. It was evident that the question had gained progress, by the number of petitions and the full attendance of Proctors, but that which most marks progress, in this Province as well as in the other, is the remarkable selection of Proctors, many of them men of first-rate talent and character; and all, whether old or young, scarcely with an exception, the best that could be furnished from this Province. I think we ought not to desire any independent liberty for York without Canterbury, and therefore any petty stir for a few forms, more or less, is not worth thinking of. The great fact is, that the thinking portion of the Clergy, and to some extent the laity also, are alive to the importance of the question; and where a right is involved, justice must be done at last.'

We have now, as the concluding part of our task, to notice some few remarks and authoritative announcements which these proceedings called forth. We have seen Convocation actually at work, in both Houses, for three days, and leaving behind it acting committees of both Houses, and yet there was

no other licence except that which called them together. Surely this is the best proof that none other is wanted until Convocation feels itself in a position to pass canons for the general benefit of the Church. The accomplishment of this fact forced a very different tone of argument from 'The Times' newspaper to that it had formerly adopted. It had now to confess that, by some strange mystery, which they had been altogether ignorant of, Convocation was able to do a great deal without any unusual assent from the Crown. It had imagined all safe, as long as an agitation were kept up which prevented ministers from granting the royal assent; its suspicions had been as to whether Government did not really mean to do this.

But now let our readers consider some passages from the article of Monday the 15th, and contrast them with the line previously taken:—

'In spite of the formal and reiterated contradiction which was given in the name of the Government to the report that Convocation would be allowed to meet for the despatch of business, we have now the strongest possible argument in favour of our statement that this report was not unfounded. Convocation has met; it has proceeded to consider several important questions, some of which have been referred to a standing committee of the Lower House; it has received petitions in large numbers; debates of some hours' duration have taken place; and an amendment has been moved to the Address to the Crown, which is still under discussion, and seems likely to give rise to more serious and protracted proceedings. In short, whether these remarkable occurrences have taken place with or without the privity or design of Her Majesty's Government, it is undeniable that Convocation has recovered a greater degree of activity than it had enjoyed for nearly a century and a half; and that, for good or for evil, this assembly of the Church of England asserts claims to constitutional powers and rights of great antiquity, which it may be equally dangerous to admit or to deny.

'The proceedings of Convocation have for many years past begun and ended with the formality of an Address to the Crown, proposed by the Archbishop and agreed to by his suffragans and by the clergy. This Address has been used on the present occasion as the means or the pretext for opening a debate, which now stands adjourned till to-morrow, and which may be indefinitely extended to a great variety of subjects and a considerable period of time. The Bishop of Oxford, in a speech of an hour's length, intimated his intention of moving an amendment, which will have the effect of raising the question of the expediency of reviving the active powers of Convocation, and consequently of the nature of those powers; and should this amendment be carried by the prelates, it will necessarily be sent down to the Lower House, where it cannot fail to be discussed with the utmost animation. The Archbishop appears to have thought it invidious to oppose the proceedings at this stage, and we fear it will turn out that he has shown symptoms of hesitation, of which use will be made in the very first instance against his own Metropolitan prerogatives and power. For, among the propositions contended for by the Bishop of Oxford, the contumacious doctrine of the Lower House of Convocation in 1701 is revived in the Upper House in 1852, to the effect that the Archbishop has not the right to prorogue Convocation by his own free will and pleasure, but only *de consensu fratrum*—with the assent of the suffragan Bishops; and, to the

astonishment of those who have examined these questions, this assertion was found to be fortified by no less an opinion than that of Sir Frederick Thesiger, her Majesty's Attorney-General. It was further contended, and by the same Authority, that, although Convocation is debarred, by the Act of Submission of the reign of Henry VIII., from doing all the things therein set forth, without the royal licence, such as framing canons, &c., yet, for all purposes not included in that act, its powers of discussion are unimpaired. If these two propositions could be established, it is clear that the powers of Convocation would instantly assume a very important character; for the prorogation of its proceedings would no longer depend on the will of the Metropolitan, and the range of subjects open to its debates would be sufficiently wide to admit all the most exciting topics of ecclesiastical controversy.

'It is certainly a surprising, and perhaps a significant fact, that Lord Derby's Attorney-General should be quoted as the counsel by whose opinion these proceedings are supported; and that the pretensions of the High Church party are so far countenanced by the law officer who expressly represents the prerogatives of the Crown. But, with Parliament sitting, no ambiguity will much longer be allowed to prevail on this subject; and, indeed, the proceedings of Convocation itself will remove it. The House of Commons will learn with astonishment the resuscitation (if such it can be called) of a body claiming to exercise in the Church powers so nearly approaching to those of supreme legislative authority; and if this conflicting course of action were pursued by the Church to the extreme point at which some of its hot-headed leaders are driving, we should probably witness either a strong interposition of civil and parliamentary authority in Church affairs, or a disruption of the tie which unites the Church to the State.'

We shall now examine what attention the subject has yet attracted in the Houses of Parliament. On the same Monday upon which the above article appeared, Mr. Walpole was asked by Mr. J. A. Smith, whether there had been any communication between the Government and the Archbishop of Canterbury, with reference to the sitting of Convocation. His reply was as follows:—

'Mr. Walpole said that no communication such as the hon. gentleman had referred to had been made to any member of the Government—certainly none had been made to himself. As to the question whether the Convocation would be allowed to sit, he had to state that the usual course would be observed, and that was the intention of the Government from the beginning.'

On Friday the 19th another question was asked, and answered. We think the Home Secretary was unnecessarily officious, not to say indiscreet, in the statement of his own views and intentions; but this good result there is from his candour, that the cause of Convocation, with the success it has achieved, stands before the world on its own strength, and not upheld by the support of any Government, as some had imagined. Our readers, however, shall judge for themselves:—

'Sir John Shelley: I wish to put a question to the right honourable gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference

to an observation which fell from him on a former occasion as to the sitting of Convocation not being continued with the sanction of the Government. The question I have to ask is, whether, as we perceive the Convocation is postponed to February next, the sitting is then to be resumed, or whether it is adjourned in the usual way?

Mr. Secretary Walpole: I am much obliged to the hon. gentleman for asking the question, because I think a misunderstanding has prevailed with reference to the conduct of the Government as regards the Convocation and its prerogatives. Allow me to say that the usual course observed with reference to the Convocation is to leave it, according to law, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, either with or without the consent of his brethren—that is a question that is not determined—to prorogue Convocation when the Address is presented. That course the Government has not interfered with, nor could the Government be required to interfere at all unless the licence of the Crown was required, permitting them to meet to make canons or ordinances, or continue their sittings for such a purpose as that. What I said the other night was that the Archbishop of Canterbury had never made application to me or the members of the Government, and, as far as I am aware, that statement is perfectly correct. Until to-day I never saw the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject. I stated, what was perfectly true, that I was determined never, on the part of the Government, to allow any deviation from the usual course relative to the sittings or powers of Convocation. The Government has strictly and steadily adhered to that determination. I have taken no part whatever in the matter, nor was I ever called upon to do so unless the Convocation required the licence of the Crown, or unless I had reason to believe that a different course of conduct was to be pursued from that which was pursued on previous occasions. The only deviation that has taken place on the present occasion is this—that the Address has been debated upon three days, instead of upon one, and that a committee has been appointed. The Government had nothing to do with the appointment of that committee. The Government could not interfere—my hon. friend shakes his head. If I am wrong it is from a misconception of the power of the Government on the point, but I believe the Government has no power to interfere at all until it comes to a question of prorogation. That question could not arise until the Address was answered, and the Address is not answered. I have formed a deliberate opinion with reference to the subject, and can assure the House that so long as I have the honour to hold the office I now hold, nothing will induce me to advise the Crown to grant a licence to Convocation to make canons. I have never made that declaration until I was called upon to make it; but I do make that declaration and entertain that opinion in the strongest manner, because I firmly believe that nothing would be so detrimental to the Church of England, or so likely to create divisions in that Church, as to revive Convocation for such a purpose.'

On Monday, the 22d, the same question was asked of Lord Derby in the House of Lords. He prudently abstained from looking further or deeper into the state of the case than was necessary for his immediate object. He confined himself chiefly to the rehearsal of facts, with a tendency to calm any public apprehension that a great step had been made, beyond former times, in the action of Convocation. He did not anticipate, either, that the next session would be different from others. Reviewing his speech as a whole, we should say that he succeeded in altogether clearing the government of any suspicions that they

would promote Convocation, yet that he was anxious not to say anything irritating or offensive; and also, that he exhibited a disposition to ward off all necessity of taking any steps in the matter. The remarks he made on the committee were modestly given, with the profession that he was open to legal correction; therefore, we cannot be severe on them; still we must say explicitly that he spoke in ignorance. He was evidently not aware of the distinction which exists between the sessions of the civil parliament and of Convocation. Every sitting of Convocation is a session, and the end of it a prorogation, and Convocation has the same existence in the interval between the 17th of November and the 16th of February, that it had between Friday the 12th and Tuesday the 16th of November. Convocation is *continued* up to a certain date; and, therefore, it exists during that time. Consequently, Lord Derby's objection to the committee falls to the ground. All precedents again are unanimous in favour of committees. But it is no wonder that with the business on the hands of government last November, they should not have been able thoroughly to master the details of Convocation.

We lay his own words, however, before our readers, and shall consider them the last scene of that synodical drama which we have been representing on these pages under the heading of 'Convocation in November, 1852':—

'The Earl of Shaftesbury: I wish to know from the noble earl what are the intentions of her Majesty's Government with respect to Convocation. I believe it is adjourned now until the 16th of February, and I wish to know, will it, when it meets again, be allowed to continue its sittings? I wish also to know if the committee that has been appointed by Convocation will be allowed to continue its sittings?

The Earl of Derby: As far as her Majesty's Government are concerned there is no intention to make any deviation from the customary and ordinary course that for many years has been pursued with respect to Convocation, nor do I understand that there has been any deviation from the ordinary practice, although undoubtedly the meeting of Convocation in the course of the present year has been accompanied with considerable excitement, and has led to longer discussion; but the proceedings of Convocation have gone this year no further than they have gone in all the preceding years. They moved the Address to the Crown at the commencement of the session. It is true that the discussion upon that Address to the Crown—previous to which it would not have been decorous or proper that any power should be exercised by any party—has lasted for a period of three days; but although it has lasted for three days, this is not the first occasion on which it has led to discussion, or on which an amendment was discussed in Convocation. In the year 1847 the discussion lasted through the whole of one day, and an amendment was moved praying the Crown to re-establish the active powers of Convocation. The power of proroguing Convocation undoubtedly in the last resort rests with the Crown, but I believe there has been no instance in which that power was exercised by the Crown, at least for many years, the power being usually exercised

by his Grace the Archbishop, either acting (for that is a doubtful point) upon his own authority or with the advice of the other bishops. On the present occasion I understand that the usual and ordinary course has been adopted, and that the noble earl is mistaken in speaking of the adjournment of Convocation, for I am informed that the usual course has been pursued, not of adjourning, but of proroguing Convocation in the usual form. The Address having been voted to the Crown, the Convocation has been prorogued by the Archbishop to a period not far from being coincident with the time of the meeting of both Houses of Parliament after the recess. There is nothing unusual in the adjournment to a distant day to receive the answer of the Crown; it is not usual to receive an immediate answer; there is always a prorogation for the purpose of receiving the answer. I have not had the opportunity, since my noble friend gave notice of asking the question, of communicating with his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, but I have no reason to suppose that when Convocation meet again he will depart from the practice that has hitherto universally prevailed, nor do I apprehend that he will do more than lay before Convocation the answer to the Address, and then in the usual form prorogue the sitting of Convocation. I will not anticipate that the Archbishop will depart from the usual course, or that the intervention of the Crown will be in any respect necessary; but this I have no hesitation in saying—that the Ministers of the Crown have no intention to advise her Majesty to depart from the ordinary course, or to sanction the revival of the active powers of Convocation. One word as to the committee. Officially, I know nothing of the committee. I know, officially, no more than this—that Convocation is prorogued, and that it has appointed a committee to investigate certain matters. It is a question of law on which it is not fit that I should pronounce an opinion, but I confess I don't understand myself how a body that is itself prorogued can give any official powers to any other body during its prorogation. I would venture to give an opinion on the point with great diffidence, but if I did, my opinion of the committee is that the powers of that committee are null and void; and, on the other hand, there is no power on the part of the Crown, or of any other body, to prevent a number of gentlemen meeting together in a private body to consider what will be for the advantage of the Church. That is a question of a legal nature, on which I don't think I ought to pronounce an opinion. It will be seen that from the body of gentlemen meeting, no official communication has been made to the Crown, and no interference can be made on the part of the Crown to interrupt their sittings.'

Thus much for the past. To predicate of the future formed no part of our first intentions. We know not what course will be taken by the chief advocates of Convocation; but we know from the evidence which we have been laying before our readers, that the principal Churchmen of the day, the most conspicuous among the bishops, for zeal, for earnestness, for talent, for experience in theological questions of the day, for the natural powers of eloquence, and also for personal influence with the rising statesmen of the day, are now heart and soul committed to the cause. The same may also be said of the clergy generally. We see that there is much to identify the cause with that judicious progress in political affairs, that desire to make good use of our institutions in Church and State by reforming them on the basis of their original theory, to which the common

sense and the energies of our leading politicians are now devoted. We doubt not, therefore, but that Convocation will soon be a popular cause even with the mass of the people. Difficulties vanish in a marvellous way as we approach them; even Mr. Secretary Walpole's 'deliberate opinion' as to the advice he would give to the Crown is now of individual and not of public interest. Since our own words have been in type, the Derby ministry thus committed to resist the cause, has vanished into thin air. Nor can we regret this, for however well disposed some members of it may have been to the Church, we feel convinced that they were not the men, whose political or even ecclesiastical association could advance the cause of Convocation. We have more hope of their successors, though at the time we write we can say but little of them, only just knowing how some of the different offices of the administration are filled. We yet have a good faith that our cause will prosper most with the uniform advocates of religious toleration, and non-interference on the part of the State with the proceedings of religious bodies. Mr. Gladstone, moreover, stands committed by his own writings on the subject to help the development of Convocation. We trust his wisdom and discretion to know what is practicable for the Government to do, and what is the best manner by which the abstract cause can be advanced, and also we feel sure that his firmness of character and the strength of his convictions will not allow any injustice to be done towards the Church by any cabinet of which he is a member.

We also have good hope that the present amalgamation of parties is a great security against any repetition of objectionable acts hitherto perpetrated by individual members even of the present cabinet. All Church questions must necessarily be softened down, for nothing would bring such a cabinet sooner to a dissolution of its several parts than any ill-judged expression of religious prejudice and personal pique which might be offensive to others. We also think that the fact of the amalgamation having taken place proves that even Lord John Russell perceives at length that the government of the country had better be carried on with a greater respect shown towards the Church than has unfortunately been sometimes the case in times past. The Church wishes for no precipitate measures or partial favours manifested to her. She desires fair play and justice, and in the general balance of interests by which, if well maintained, a free country keeps everything to its level, we see our best chance to obtain for the Church her inalienable right of synodical action.

ART. V.—*Report of her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State, Discipline, Studies, and Revenues of the University and Colleges of Oxford. Together with the Evidence and Appendix. 1852.*

THE history of our Universities—though it is with especial reference to Oxford that we must be understood to speak—resolves itself into three distinct periods. The first of these may be characterised as that of the University *par excellence*, before the rise of any of the collegiate foundations: these again, during their subordination to the University, constitute the second; followed, lastly, by the practical absorption at present exhibited of the University by the several colleges.

The following pages will be found to be exclusively occupied with the second and third of these periods, and their transition one into the other. The first may be at once dismissed with the brief statement, necessary only to the introduction of our subject, that the students who in early times resorted to Oxford for the sake of the instruction there imparted by its body of associated teachers, finding, as they did, no means of accommodation provided for them by the University, were obliged either to lodge in the houses of the townspeople, or else joined together in taking a house, under the superintendence of a Master of Arts. The extreme poverty of many of these students led, naturally, to the adoption of various provisions for their assistance; of which the most important for us to notice was the deposition of sums, in trust for their benefit, with the different monastic bodies scattered about the kingdom, who in some cases, in order to carry out their object more efficiently, gained possession of houses in Oxford. And here we find ourselves upon the edge of the second period of our history. Partly following and partly improving upon these means for the support of students, Walter de Merton, after at first settling a society upon his estates in Surrey, for the purpose of maintaining scholars in Oxford, subsequently removed it to Oxford, leaving the superintendence of the property to bailiffs. This residence of the governing body in Oxford, joined with its exemption, the first on record, from monastic vows, as also from the necessity on the part of the scholars of taking holy orders, entitles Merton to the claim of being the first college foundation in Oxford. Following the example of its foundation, the date of which is assigned to 1270, two years before the death of Henry III., University and Balliol Colleges, from being originally mere endowments lodged in external parties, realized, in 1280 and 1340 respectively, the same conception of a college. These again were

followed, at no great interval, and on much the same model, by Exeter, Oriel, and Queen's; the date of which last is 1340, the thirteenth year of King Edward III. Forty-six years afterwards, in the ninth year of Richard II., William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England, introduced a new feature into the collegiate system by his foundation of New College, the aim of which appears to have been the combination of all that was desirable in a monastic body with the benefits of a literary education. Accordingly, in the statutes of this college, (an example which was followed more or less closely by all succeeding ones,) we find the minutest prescriptions as to conversation, dress, and attendance upon the religious services of the society. New College was succeeded in order by Lincoln, All Souls, Magdalen (a college which set the first example of supplying gratuitous instruction to the University through its Prælectors), Brasenose and Corpus Christi Colleges, the latter of which again followed the example set by Magdalen. Christ Church, which summed up all that previous foundations had aimed at, followed in 1532; whilst Trinity and St. John's, founded in 1555, close the series of ante-Reformation foundations, Jesus, Wadham, Pembroke, and Worcester being the production of later times. As might be supposed in the case of bodies whose foundations are scattered over centuries, it would be hopeless to look for any very minute agreement, either in respect of the objects aimed at or of the means prescribed for attaining them. And yet their general resemblance of character, consequent upon the imitation by each of those preceding it, together with the closeness of their intercommunion, warrant us in endeavouring to draw such a general sketch of the early collegiate system as may serve to contrast with that of our own day.

And here we must just call attention to the fact, which otherwise present circumstances might lead us to overlook, that (with one or two slight exceptions) the benefit of these institutions was strictly confined to the members on their respective foundations, the whole of which together formed but a small item in the sum total of university students, who, for the most part, as we have already observed, lived in lodgings or houses in the town. And next we must remark that all of these foundation members within their several colleges were maintained, and barely maintained, and that upon the distinct understanding that they were unprovided with means for self-support, under constant subjection to a strict rule of life and discipline, for the sole purposes of devotion and pursuit of a course of studies within the college and in the University, which, commencing at an age at which we now send our boys to school (the demies of Magdalen are eligible at twelve), terminated only with the

highest degrees which the University had to confer. Such an early age of admission, we may here remark, joined with the scanty means then at command for ascertaining the comparative abilities and attainments of different candidates, led the founders of colleges to insist on somewhat different points as constituting the grounds for preference, from what we should now be inclined to insist on. It is *aptitude for study* rather than any actual display of superior power, which, in conjunction with a good moral character, and a state of indigence such as would prevent the charity from being wasted, was to direct the electors in their choice.

Introduced into his college on such conditions, and for such purposes, the scholar or fellow (for the original distinction between them was but trifling) could not have regarded his office as any sinecure. Subjected to the minutest prescriptions as to his conversation and dress, and even his walks, from the day when he first set foot within its walls, till the time when he attained the highest university degrees, he had to go through a series of studies and public exercises, the nonfulfilment of which, in many colleges, constituted an *ipso facto* forfeiture of his position. And when he had at last reached the termination of his own university career, he was still bound to see it duly performed by others, besides being engaged still, as heretofore, in the performance of the religious services and other various minutiae imposed upon him by his college statutes. It may be further added, that any addition to the scanty means of subsistence provided for him within his college, as well as a prospect of succession to any emoluments outside its walls, were almost entirely denied him. Devotion and study within its precincts were to continue to be, as they had been at the commencement, the object of his existence.

Such is a brief picture of collegiate life down to the times shortly preceding the Reformation, when the various troubles which arose had the effect of diminishing the number of students in the University to such an extent as to enable the colleges to buy up all the houses for students at a cheap rate, and to connect them with their own bodies. Thus enlarged, the colleges were enabled to provide means of accommodation for all the students in the University, who thereupon ceased to lodge in the town—a change which was found so beneficial as to result in an order, passed, it would seem, in the reign of Elizabeth, that henceforth no student should be allowed to reside at Oxford except as an inmate of one of the colleges or connected halls; a measure, we may take this opportunity of saying, we should be most sorry to see again relaxed, as it is proposed to be by the Oxford Commissioners.

The connexion thus brought about between the commoners, or members of the University not on any college foundations, and the several collegiate bodies, was soon productive of vast changes in the character of these institutions themselves. It is indeed to the demand thereby occasioned for additional superintendence and instruction on the part of the colleges, duties hitherto mainly provided for by the University,—together with the degeneracy, from various causes, of the University exercises into empty forms; thus setting free their members at an early age from their prescribed course of studies,—that we must, for the most part, attribute our collegiate system under its present form. Each college, in short, became converted into a little University of its own. The fellows thus early set free from their studies, were raised from their original position of learners into that of teachers and professors,—they assumed the administration of the discipline for which they had been originally intended themselves; whilst many of those not so engaged began to ask, what was the use of residence in a University whose prescribed studies had fallen into desuetude, or within colleges whose religious services had been in a great measure discontinued, and where there was little now left to employ them. Then came the greater facility of indulging their wishes on these heads, by the increased college revenues, which they were unable to resist the temptation to divide; and lastly, the addition, partly by gift, partly by purchase, to the number of college livings, raised them one step higher into the rank of holders of provisional incomes, on the road to more substantial preferment. And so at last was brought about that change which, except we contemplate it in its successive stages of transition, makes it hard for us to believe that we see, in a fellow of our own days, the successor of those whose duties and mode of life we find detailed in the statutes of a Waynflete or a Wykeham.

And now, what is the conclusion to which we find ourselves driven? It must be plainly to the acceptance of one of these three alternatives; either the duty of returning to the original state of things, as prescribed by our college statutes,—a supposition which we may be pardoned for at once dismissing as simply impossible, as much so as to go back twenty years in our own lives; or, secondly, to take our stand upon the position in which we find ourselves, as defensible on the plea of change of circumstances,—a plea which we confess we cannot see how to urge without at the same time admitting its validity for our still further adaptation to the same circumstances, which accordingly presents itself to us as the last and, in our opinion, only alternative left open to us,—that of recognising to the full

all the wants of our day, and putting into full use all the means at our disposal for meeting them.

It may save us some trouble if, before proceeding to inquire what particular changes we most need, we first ascertain the instrument by which we may hope to see them effected; whether it is from the colleges,—either by themselves, or in conjunction with their visitors, or by some power external to both, that the necessary movement is to be expected.

A bare inspection of the college statute books will, we think, at once satisfy our readers of the hopelessness of looking for any work of extensive reform from the colleges themselves. even in concurrence with or by the direction of their visitors. Take, for instance, the injunctions of the founder of Magdalen. (Statutes, translated by Ward, p. 161.)

‘We enact, ordain, and will, that by no means and at no time shall it be lawful for the president or fellows of our college, now being or who hereafter shall be, collegiately, conjointly, or severally, nor for any other person of whatsoever dignity, state, degree, or condition he be, to publish, frame, ordain, enact, or dictate any other new statutes or ordinances, rules, constitutions, interpretations, variations, declarations, or expositions, repugnant to, derogating from, in discordance with, counter to, or different from our present statutes and ordinances.’

‘Also, we will that the intention or words of such our statutes and ordinances be nowise derogated from through any usage, custom, or abuse, or other act whatsoever; and, besides, we forbid that any interpretation of or about them be made, saving after the plain sense, common understanding, and grammatical and literal exposition, which is, in the highest degree and with the greatest aptitude, answerable to the case or doubt started whereon the question is grounded and in dispute.’—P. 163.

Thus much touching the power of the college; now for that of the visitor:—

‘We enact, ordain, and will, that it shall not be lawful for any successor of ours, being Bishop of Winchester,’ (the visitor,) ‘to publish, frame, or ordain new statutes in and for our college; but we will that the president, fellows, and scholars, do exercise and keep our statutes, by us published, and none else; and if any new statutes be published by any Bishop of Winchester, our successor, or by any other person, we will that the president, fellows, or scholars, be nowise bound thereto, but by virtue of our authority to us entrusted, we have freed the president and all other persons of our said college from the observance of any such.’—P. 162.

Language such as this must make it perfectly obvious that the power of self-adjustment, to any considerable extent, is denied alike to the colleges and to their visitors; which latter, indeed, are to be regarded rather as an integral part of the college system, than as an external and independent influence. And, indeed, if we greatly mistake not, it is a feeling that this is the case which has produced the state of things which we are now called upon to criticise. Between the letter of the statutes, on the one hand, and the compelling force of circum-

stances on the other, these bodies have been obliged to take refuge in a position which, selected with a view to be within call of either, stands apart alike from both. We are driven, then, to look about for the help of a power, if such may anywhere be found, which, whilst warranted in its interference in the task by a legitimate connexion with the object of its assistance, may yet be left free to act independently of those restrictions with which the other is clogged and fettered. The need of some such power is too obvious to be insisted on; and some such power, we venture to state, there has till lately always been found. Witness the case of Balliol College, whose present statutes are the fourth in succession since its foundation. And a passage in them well expresses the need there must always be for such occasional interference and adjustment:—

⁴ We do not issue these statutes because none previous have been issued, but because those statutes framed up to this time, have, by change of times and men after the fashion of human affairs, reached that point, that what in the beginning brought the framers profit and use, afterward, in the course of time, brought loss and the greatest mischief.'—(*Ball. Coll. Stat. c. 2.*)

And now, in the absence of all other possible helps, our readers must not be surprised if we proceed to argue for the legitimacy and need of interference in this work by the supreme Legislature—which, so long as it is confined within proper limits, is, we think, fully warranted on every sound principle of order and equity. Let us cast our eye over the vast and complicated organization of our social system—over all the local institutions which, of various kinds, and with different ends, still work together in one harmonious whole, and under the superintendence of one controlling energy. And, granting, as we are most anxious to do, to the fullest possible extent, that any interference on the part of the superior power, with those subordinate to it, is in itself most earnestly to be deprecated, as tending to impair the vital energy which each draws straight from its native soil, and for which any transfused force must prove but a wretched substitute, still there must be cases, especially after long periods of inaction, or great change of circumstances, when there is a still greater danger to be apprehended in the absence of all such interference, lest the whole system itself should be broken up by the cessation on the part of some of the subordinate powers from their proper work, or by the necessary modification of some of them, which calls for a corresponding readjustment of the rest. Such, then, to base it on its most abstract grounds, is an argument for the interference of the Legislature, as the only power capable of legitimately interfering with our collegiate bodies. We are prepared to be met

immediately with the plea, that the private character of these foundations exempts them from such a place amongst subordinate systems as we have just assigned them. And conceding to a great extent the force of this argument, we must yet submit that societies of this kind, however founded, yet do not cease to be integral parts of the whole community, from which, in their corporate no less than their individual capacity, they derive various kinds of benefits, and owe in return a variety of responsibilities. Especially, the fact of being put in possession of part of the sum total of a nation's wealth, must entitle that power which most nearly represents the nation to a general superintendence over the uses to which it is applied. And this argument acquires still additional force from the consideration, that the maintained possession of the property is owing to what may be looked upon as a constant interference on its behalf, by this same supreme power. Further, the right of superintendence is still strengthened when, by the sanction again of the highest power, the property has been permanently diverted from all ordinary uses, and appropriated to some particular ends, especially if the body invested with its possession has been further chartered with a grant of privileges and immunities. Surely it is not too much to say that all these provisions and concessions which have been made by the supreme power afford a most constitutional ground for the claim on its own behalf, to see that the ends for which the property was bestowed, though it be by private hands, are duly realized, and in default of such being the case, whether through fault or want of means in the bodies themselves, to step in and readjust them to their duties. It may be added, that the interference of the supreme Legislature with the statutes has been actually exercised—at least in one important instance, in the prohibition of certain religious services, in the face of the most positive injunctions of the founders; and the colleges, by obeying this prohibition at the cost of the statutes, have so far acknowledged this right of the Legislature's interference.

Again, the fact which we have above pointed out, of the assumption by the colleges of great part of the duties originally performed by the University, must have the effect of so far bringing the colleges under the same authority with the University. If the colleges have constituted themselves the University, they must not complain if the University, or the powers which represent it, come forward and claim to see that they do the University's work efficiently. And whatever degree of subordination may be shown to have existed in the case of the University towards the supreme power in the State, so as to invest the latter with a claim to direct interference in its affairs,

—a claim which we believe our ablest lawyers are unanimous in affirming as constitutional,—the same degree of subordination must be allowed to have been voluntarily entered into by the colleges themselves, so as in fact to bring them so far into the very relation from which their original character at first in part exempted them.

We repeat, then, that we can see no reasonable grounds for objection, under the circumstance of the admitted wide departure of the colleges from their statutes, against the State's interference with these bodies. Nay, we think it is a duty which it is urgently called upon to perform, supposing it, of course, to undertake the task with the intention of conforming them as far as possible to the main ends of their several founders. Let us now turn to the inquiry, in what particular ways this may be best effected.

We have seen how the colleges, from the simple foundations which they at first were, for the support of a limited number of indigent students in the University, have gradually become places of accommodation and means of instruction for all, whilst the fellows on the foundation have been raised from the rank of students which they originally occupied into that of superiors and teachers, thus leaving little to the University to perform beyond the examinations which it imposes for the B.A. degree, and the offer of a certain number of public lectures in addition to those given in the colleges by their respective tutors. Now, without in the least wishing to find fault with this change, which we believe to have been the natural and necessary result of circumstances which we are only desirous of conforming ourselves to as fully as possible, it is yet right that we should ask the question, whether in this transfer of machinery from one purpose to another, the whole of it has been brought into play under the present as it was under the former arrangement. Did all the fellows begin to teach and to administer discipline, to apply themselves to some collegiate or University duties, in proportion as they found themselves relieved from their original work? And here, we are afraid, we must confess that in the case of those colleges, at any rate, which are possessed of any large number of fellows, it is impossible to reply that they have done so. There are colleges in which not a tithe of their fellows are so employed. There is a college numbering forty fellows, in which not one, we believe, is so employed. And granting that out of the numbers thus left free to act as they pleased, some have been always found to devote themselves to a life of study within their colleges, and have so practically realized their founder's intentions, still we cannot assert that this has been otherwise than the exception to the general rule; and we think that there is therefore ample reason for the readjustment of these societies,

whether it be by a fuller application of their machinery as it at present exists to the work before it, or by its adaptation to some fresh purposes in as near as possible conformity with its original or self-assumed aims. And here we may venture to suggest as a very practicable instance of the former of these two alternatives, the distribution amongst several of the fellows of every college of the subjects which at present are heaped in the most indiscriminate manner upon the persons of two or three tutors, who are expected to acquit themselves as at once deep theologians, accurate critics, expert in composition, adepts in the mysteries and intricacies of science and logic, well read in all the departments of ancient, and we must now add modern history, not to mention mathematics, chemistry, and geology. There cannot, we think, be the slightest doubt that the increase of college lectureships on these separate heads would prove of inestimable service to the student, who would thus be brought into contact with his tutors in their strongest points, whilst the tutor would find himself possessed of sufficient leisure to pursue his one subject to its end, as well as to bestow an amount of individual attention upon his pupils, which more than anything else would obviate the necessity of private tuition. We must, however, confess our suspicion that some few subjects, such as those last named in the above list, might be found to command so small a class in their respective colleges, as to make it desirable for several colleges at least to combine in the work, if not for the University itself, to provide a staff somewhat corresponding to the University Lectures recommended by the Commissioners. There is, indeed, something almost approaching to an absurdity in the notion of twenty large establishments, all engaged at once upon an amount of material which was barely sufficient to employ one of them. Still, after all, the vast majority of subjects would, we are convinced, for the reasons we have above given, be best worked by separate lecturers in the several colleges. Such a distribution, then, of the sum total of tutorial instruction, would, along with the other practical departments of the collegiate system, furnish scope, we may venture to say, for a majority of fellows in a large majority of the colleges. We may further suggest the necessity of leaving a certain margin of fellowships not so directly employed, as a stock to draw upon, as occasion requires. Not, however, that we wish to extend this so as to cover the thirty or forty fellowships which are to be found in several colleges. And so the question again comes round to us, though under a somewhat modified form, What is to be done with the surplus number of our unemployed fellowships? And here we find ourselves surrounded by a variety of claims, each in itself perfectly admissible,

only we shall do well to bear in mind, that with a limited amount of material we must not be content to do good, we must endeavour to do the best. We may, perhaps, venture to reduce these claims under the three following heads:—

1. The proposal to remove all restrictions which these fellowships at present labour under as regards locality or kindred, and to throw them open to all candidates as rewards for distinction in the university career; 2. The conversion of particular fellowships unto university professorships, as proposed by the Oxford Commissioners in the case of Magdalen, Corpus and All Souls; and, 3. Their conversion into terminable scholarships. Let us weigh briefly these several proposals in themselves, and against one another. The first, then, has the advantage of looking like the least alteration upon our present system, as it would leave the number of fellows in each college undiminished. But, reserving for the present the question of the propriety of removing the restrictions imposed upon the college fellowships, we must confess that we entertain considerable doubts as to the preferableness of this proposal to either of the other alternatives. In the first place, we have no particular affection for places without any definite duties attached to them, especially when bestowed at an age which is too early to be rewarded by a pension. And we cannot but think that ample means for all due incitement to study may be found in the prospect of advancement to the tutorial and professorial departments (especially if increased) within the University, as well as in all the avenues to fame and emolument without, which the class list and other distinctions lay open. The proposal, in short, seems to us to call for an expenditure which, however justifiable in itself, is not so under present circumstances, which call louder for its application elsewhere. Nor indeed has it the advantage which at first sight it may appear to have, of being in conformity with the founder's object in founding the fellowships. He intended them for maintenances during study, whereas this converts them, as we have before said, into pensions after it.

We have nothing to urge against the second proposal, that, namely, for converting a certain number of fellowships into university professorships; if, indeed, this be preferable to the measure proposed at Cambridge, of laying a tax upon all the fellowships for the same purpose. We have already admitted the fact of the general responsibility assumed by the several colleges towards the University; beside which, the University seems to have especial claims on Magdalen and Corpus at least, on the grounds of their own statutes. There are two points, however, in the recommendation of the Oxford Commissioners on this head, in which we cannot feel ourselves called on to

concur. The first of these is, that the professors thus reposing on a substratum of two or three college fellowships each, should nevertheless be in the nomination, not of the body which elects to these fellowships, but of the Crown. It is worth remarking, that the Cambridge Commissioners, in recommending the creation of a somewhat similar class at the sister University, have yet proposed to reserve the right of nomination within the University: and we must confess we see no justifiable ground for transferring the nomination elsewhere,—least of all to the Crown, a term which, properly translated, means nothing more than the prime minister of the day. However justifiable the occasional interference of the higher powers may be in the affairs of the colleges, we are not prepared to convert that right into a permanent influence, and that, one in which, as a general rule, we cannot expect to find any great degree of sympathy with these institutions. The second point on which we wish to express a difference of opinion from that of the Commissioners, is the ambiguous kind of position, partly that of fellow, partly of professor, which they propose to assign them. As professors, they are to be allowed to marry; as fellows, to retain the right of administering the college property; whereas we should prefer to see this amphibious kind of creation be made to assume a more definite form,—in short, to detach him from his connexion with the college, with whose system he would but ill accord, and assign him a position similar to that of the other professors, still deriving his nomination from the same source from which he derived his income.

We come now to the third suggested alternative,—that of converting the surplus fellowships into scholarships terminable with the university career,—one which we are disposed most of all to favour, as the one most in conformity with the founders' intentions, and most satisfying the demands of the present day. We have already noticed the originally identical purpose, of both fellowships and scholarships, that, namely, of maintenance during the pursuit of university studies. And in tracing the deviation which the former of these two classes have made from their original track, we must not forget that (with one exception shortly to be noticed) the latter have kept throughout to theirs. Scholarships are still as they were in the beginning, provisions, or in part provisions, for maintenance during the university career. The question then at once suggests itself, why, if scholarships now answer the end which was originally answered by fellowships, should not those fellowships which are not required for other purposes be reduced to their original purpose by being converted into scholarships, a process which would at once supply the means for carrying out all the

founders' intentions, whilst in the remaining fellowships means would be continued to be provided for carrying on the work of tuition and superintendence, and every other department of collegiate life, in conformity with modern requirements.

In urging the propriety of such a step, we must, however, invite attention to one point in the present working of the scholarship system which seems to us very capable of improvement. We have just said that, with one exception, the scholars of the present day answer to those of the founders' time,—but this one exception is an important one. At the present day it is notorious that a large proportion of the scholarships are sought after, not so much for the money payment which is attached to them, as for the distinction which they confer. Consequently, in very many instances, where the scholarship is gained by students well provided with the means of supporting themselves, the founder's object is entirely disregarded, and the money is thrown away. Surely it is possible to remedy this,—to maintain all the ends that are gained by the present system, but at a cheaper rate. There is no reason why the emolument should, as a matter of course, accompany a distinction which is sought for its own sake. Let the scholarships, if necessary for the purpose of competition, be maintained just as they are, only, in order to the reception of the income, or beyond a certain sum,—say, to go in the purchase of books,—let the scholar be obliged to prove an amount of poverty which justifies his reception of it. The sums thus saved might go to form a fund for exhibitions, to be bestowed on real objects of the founder's charity, such, in fact, as the founder himself contemplated its bestowal on. Such a course, we submit, would go far towards supplying that daily increasing demand for cheap education, which exists side by side with the most lavish expenditure of college funds upon objects which do not in the least require it.

But before quitting this subject, we have one remark to make upon a word which we have had occasion to make use of during the course of it—*poverty*. What do we mean by it? If we can trust its general acceptation, it is a term of such indefinitely expansive powers, as to have become practically of no meaning at all. A country gentleman of thousands a-year, if he happen only to have a large family, and to be living up to his income, thinks himself entitled to call himself poor. And so, indeed, he may, when he compares himself with his neighbour who, with an equal income, has a smaller family, or spends less. But to assume to himself this epithet, when it is a question whether he is entitled to the charity of a college founder, is a simple abuse of the word. Without ourselves attempting to reduce it within its proper dimensions,—a task, however well

worthy of those who have a founder's charity to dispense,—we must be content to suggest one practical method of dealing with the question: let all applications on the score of poverty be only required to be made with a full statement in writing of the circumstances which constitute the claim, when, not to speak of the many who will thus be at once shamed out of offering themselves, there will be a comparative standard gained by which to measure those who do.

Having said thus much as to the most desirable purposes to which the surplus revenues of the colleges can be applied, let us next turn to the proposed modifications respecting the eligibility to, and tenure of, the fellowships which remain. Some, indeed, of these are so plainly called for, as to need no discussion of ours, such as the doing away with the eligibility of under-graduates to college fellowships, (which the altered position of fellows of a college obviously demands,) and again, the removal of limitations to those of M.A. standing, where such exist. The same may be said of the proposal to cut off the succession, where it at present exists, of scholars to fellowships on the same foundation, a measure which both the altered character of the fellowships, interposing as it does as a wide chasm, where originally it was but a single step, between them and the scholarships, as well as the experience of centuries, have demonstrated to be necessary. We can see no objection, further, to the limitation of the value of fellowships to 300*l.* a-year, as proposed by the Commissioners, nor to the removal of the necessity to proceed to higher degrees than that of M.A., where such injunctions are found, since the grounds for the injunctions have long ceased to exist. It will not be expected that we should say much on the question of celibacy as a necessary condition of tenure of a fellowship, since it is one which the Commissioners themselves propose to retain, with the exception of the case of the professor fellows (whom we have already expressed a wish to see cease to be fellows) and that of University lecturers, whom they would allow to retain their fellowships (where they had them) upon marriage. We must confess that we should be sorry to mar the consistency of the college system merely for the sake of these possible cases, especially as the lectureships ought in themselves to be made quite capable of maintaining married men.

The question of residence as a necessary condition of tenure of a fellowship, has been already practically disposed of by the recommendation that means of employment within the colleges should be provided for the majority of fellows, upon whom residence would thus be entailed as a matter of course. Beyond that we should not wish to see a condition imposed, which

might prove vexatious, and could produce but little advantage. In itself residence does not necessarily superinduce study, whilst want of liberty of action is a positive and weighty evil.

We cannot entirely pass over the recommendation of the Commissioners to abolish all oaths imposed by the college statutes and declarations against change in them. Although after the changes we have allowed to have taken place in the collegiate system, and the still further changes which we admit to be called for, it is of course impossible to contend for the continuance of the present practice of taking the oaths verbatim as they occur in the statutes, still it does seem to us most necessary that these should not be discontinued without something positive, whether it be in the way of oath or declaration, being substituted for them; nor should we wish to see any great facility given for future changes. Of course, the concurrence of the visitor, if not of still higher powers, would be deemed requisite.

In the proposed additions to the visitatorial powers, as contained in sections 39 and 45 of the conclusion to the Report, we see nothing material to object to, though in the recommendation with which the last of these concludes, that the visitor should be called upon to lay a copy before the sovereign of the Report which it is proposed that each college under his jurisdiction should yearly forward him, on their state, discipline, studies, and revenues, we see another instance of an attempt to bring the colleges more and more under a permanent external influence, or rather, to insinuate that influence into the heart of the college system, against which we have already protested, in the case of the proposed professor fellowships.

We come now to a point which we have reserved last, in order to be most explicit upon it,—the proposal to remove from fellowships and scholarships all restrictions in respect of family or birth-place, and to throw them open alike to all comers. And here we shall perhaps acquit ourselves best of the task, if we endeavour, in the first place, to state what appear to us the weightiest arguments on either side of this very important question; and we will begin by stating the case as well as we can, for the defence of the continuance of the limitations as at present imposed. The first, then, and, as it would seem, main argument, is to be found in the strict injunctions to show, at least, a decided preference, in the election of fellows and scholars, either for the founder's own kindred, or for natives of particular localities, such as the place of the founder's birth, or the counties in which the college property was situated, or such as they believed to lie under peculiar disadvantages of some kind or other, which they thus attempted

to alleviate. Correlative, of course, to these injunctions is the established claim of these particular localities or families upon the several colleges, and the consequent injustice done them by the removal of the connexion. Again, if we may trust the assertions of some of our ablest lawyers, any modification of the founder's injunctions on these points would necessarily lead to a wider extension of the same principle, and raise questions of which it is impossible to see the termination, both as regards the observance of testamentary bequests, and the tenure of property generally. Again, there is what we may call the historical and traditionary argument for their maintenance. The character of our Universities is impressed almost wholly by our colleges, and the colleges themselves owe very much of their effect to the unbroken continuity of their history up to the period of their foundation, which invests them with an almost sacred air, productive again of a sense of reverence towards them, which is a very main element in the purposes which they subserve of university education. But, once begin to disturb this historical basis on which they rest, or mar the original proportions of the structure, and you impair their usefulness in the very respect in which you seek to improve them. And further, in committing this error, if such it be, you commit one which is totally irrevocable; once snap the thread which binds us to the past, and it is hopeless to seek to recover it.

Another practical argument may be urged in the same behalf, in the fact of the unequal value of the fellowships, as well as the unequal amount of incidental advantages attached to them in the several colleges; which, if it were not for the restrictions of various kinds imposed upon each, which often confine the ablest men within inferior colleges, would lead to a concentration of all the ablest men in some few of the best colleges, to the great disadvantage of all the rest. Though, at present, the best men may not always get provided with the best positions, still that is a fault not peculiar to Oxford, and the University is much better served by them at present, than it would be if they did.

Again, it may be questioned whether, amongst those who eventually raise themselves to the highest eminence of ability and attainments, there are not often many who have done so only by a slow development of intellect, and continued application, which, at the period of their election to a fellowship, would have ill fitted them to compete with the more showy and superficial powers of their opponents; a class of men, it may be argued, who are especially favoured by the present system of restrictions, and who, in the event of their removal, would be

quite debarred from election to college fellowships. And even granting that, for the purpose of securing men of this stamp, we must calculate upon the admission, along with them, of a vast number of others of inferior abilities, still it may be questioned whether a certain amount of men even of ordinary attainments, so long as combined—as precautions may always be taken that it shall be—with high moral character, and the degree of power necessary for the ordinary routine of college life,—whether such a class might not be found very advantageous in tempering the otherwise too excessive tendency to mere intellectualism, in which a society composed exclusively of men of the highest powers is apt to exhibit itself. Granting, that at present the vessel wants lightening for her voyage, let us at least take care to ensure a sufficiency of ballast. Lastly, we may mention the argument that any such alteration as that proposed in the founders' bequests, must have the effect of diminishing the number of benefactions hereafter for similar purposes. Let us now endeavour to do such justice as we may to the opposite side of the case.

And first, there is the answer, that the localities themselves which were the subjects of the founders' benefactions are no longer what they were, or at least stand no longer in the same relation to the college as they originally did. Some that were selected because they lay under peculiar disadvantages, have since had those disadvantages removed; as in the case of Queen's College, some of whose fellowships are ordered to be assigned in preference to natives of Cumberland or Westmoreland, 'on account of the devastation of the founder's country, 'the indigence of persons in it, and the unusual scarcity of 'education in it;' reasons, of which the first has wholly ceased, and the others are at least much modified. Other districts, again, have had benefactions bestowed upon them, simply to raise them to the same level with their neighbours. Thus the second founder of Lincoln College, in limiting the foundations of his predecessor, declares that he does so 'not from being blinded 'by a carnal affection for natives of Lincoln, but, because they 'had been hitherto excluded by the carnal affection of other 'founders.' Such ends would of course be equally provided for by a general removal of all restrictions. In many cases, again, the ground of limitation is stated to be the possession of property by the colleges in particular districts, whereas the college properties have in some cases since shifted their ground, or at least acquired footing in fresh localities, which therefore ought, by the same argument, to be placed upon the same level. Nor ought we to pass entirely unnoticed the vast additions made to our dominions since the founders' life-time; which it is fair to

suppose might, had they existed in their times, come in for their share of recognition.

We have also to take into account the change which these several localities have undergone since the founders' time, in respect of their inhabitants. Professor Brown states in his evidence to the Commission, (p. 158,) 'that the founder of Magdalen directs that certain fellows and demies should be elected 'from persons born in the city of London, meaning thereby, to 'benefit the families of tradesmen and merchants, &c. residing 'therein; now in the present day, scarcely any of this class of persons which he intended to benefit reside in the city.' To this we must add the vast change of residence now brought about by the immense increase of facility in travelling, as compared with that of the founders' times. Mr. Senior goes so far as to state in his evidence, that few persons have any real connexion with the place where they happen to be born, and if by connexion is meant one which reaches back to the time when the benefit was first conferred, this is perhaps not very far from the truth. The same facility in travelling must be also allowed often to result in the birth of persons away from those districts with which they are really connected, and their consequent exclusion from their due privileges.

Perhaps a still stronger plea in favour of doing away with the present system of limitations, may be grounded on the difference of persons who now are elected to the college fellowships, from those intended by the founder. Not to speak of the different rank of society from which our present fellows are generally drawn, from that which he intended to benefit,—a difference so great, that if he were to make his appearance in his college at the present day, he would probably dismiss all that he found, as too wealthy to be the objects of his benefactions,—we must further take into consideration the total change of character and object which has since come over the college fellowships, so as to demand a corresponding change in the persons selected to fill them. As we have already stated, the fellowships are no longer maintenances during the expense of education, but positions for administering this education to others; a change which requires greater precautions now than formerly in the selection of persons to fill them. In short, the fellowship system, as at present constituted, must be viewed in the light of a modern superstructure to the original foundation, and consequently not subject to its limitations, especially as all the ends of the original foundation may be still realized by the extension of the scholarship department,—answering, as this continues to do, almost all the ends of the original fellowships,—and by its continuance, if necessary, in connexion with particular localities.

In answer to the argument as above drawn from the supposed centralization of the ablest men, which a removal of restrictions would produce, it must on the other hand be taken into account that the present system, besides that it does not reward men according to their respective deserts, also has the effect of depriving the University of the services of some of its ablest sons, who, from the want of vacancies in their particular counties at the time when they require them, are often forced to quit the University altogether. Moreover, a partial remedy to the inequalities as they at present exist would be found in the proposed limitation of the value of fellowships to sums not exceeding 300*l.* nor falling short of 150*l.* a-year.

The legal argument on the other side of the case may be partly met by the acknowledged fact of the tendency which the law has shown in modern times to modify the power of entail, which may be construed into a reasonable presumption that it would look with a more lenient eye now than formerly upon attempts, where shown to be desirable, to cut off the succession to college fellowships at present restricted to particular districts or families; besides that, in regard to the latter, a power of this kind has actually been exercised by some of the colleges in the refusal to elect beyond a certain number of founder's kin, a measure which they themselves have adopted with a view to prevent their founder's injunctions taking full effect—thereby, it must be allowed, affording a precedent for further steps in the same direction. And generally it may be said, that even supposing a measure of this kind to open a wide question of law, which hitherto has been left untouched, still this is only what is being constantly done in other departments of it; nor is the difficulty of a duty any argument against its execution.

And in reply to the argument drawn from the necessity of preserving the colleges upon their historical and traditional basis, it may be said that their identity, like that of our own bodies, is fully compatible with change in both; a process which, indeed, must necessarily, to a certain extent, be always going on, and the absence of which betrays only an unhealthy state, which, the longer it is persisted in, will demand the more violent remedies. There is nothing, it will be urged, in the proposed changes which will alter the pervading tone and spirit of these institutions, but only impart fresh vigour to them; not one single stone will be touched of their time-hallowed structures, nor the splendour of their religious services (where such are performed) diminished; in fact, no alteration effected in any one of those points in which they operate with most effect in their great work of education.

And, lastly, it must be conceded that the main ends which

the college founders all had in view, are preferable to the particular and subordinate means by which they sought in different ways to realize them; so that if it can be really demonstrated that 'to the greater exaltation of the Christian faith, the advancement of the Church and the liberal arts and sciences, and 'the behoof and honour of the college,' (words with which the founder of Magdalen prefaces and concludes his statutes,) some of the provisions contained in the body of the work are found to have become, in the course of centuries, rather obstructions than the helps which they originally were, so that the two are no longer compatible, we can have no doubt which we ought to sacrifice to the other.

Between these two sets of arguments, and the conclusions they lead to, we cannot but think something of a balance may be struck, and a mean be drawn. The close system has, perhaps, borne more than its natural and legitimate share of blame from the accumulation of other confining causes upon it; the practice of nomination, the influence of family and rank. In colleges where it has been allowed to act, without this additional confinement, it has not prevented efficiency, or stopped the growth of an intelligent and serviceable body of fellows in them. At the same time, it must be admitted that the close system exists to an extreme and indefensible degree in Oxford: nor can any candid person, we think, face the fact, that out of 542 fellowships only 20 are open, without admitting an imperative call for some change on this head. We do not see, therefore, why the question should not be met by a moderate and constitutional measure of relaxation. The total subversion, at one fell swoop, of a whole system of ancient restrictions, imposed by the wills of founders, and enjoyed for centuries by particular counties and dioceses, which the Commissioners propose, does not appear desirable. When a system is seen obviously carried to an excess, as the close system is in Oxford, a violent reaction is, indeed, not unnatural; and this is the great *fulcrum* on which the Commissioners' proposal rests. They have the advantage of a strong case; and a strong case suggests bold and wholesale remedies. But though such cases suggest such remedies, it does not follow, either in the physical frame, or in the body political or academical, that they should have them. A large measure of relaxation is certainly wanted, but it should be such a one as would not abolish in each college all traces of its original foundation, and sever it wholly from the past. A large interference with the founders' wills is undoubtedly implied even in such a modified measure, but a change which takes a founder's will into account, differs from one which does not, and has a different effect with respect to other prospective founders and benefactors.

No founder can reasonably expect his institution to go on for all time without alteration; if his intentions modify alterations, it is all he has a right to expect. No prospective founder of a college, or a fellowship, or an exhibition, if a reasonable person, would therefore be deterred by modified changes in the institutions around him, from fulfilling his purpose. But sweeping changes introduce a general uncertainty into his mind, as to whether his bequest will be allowed to stand or not. It is the difference between an impression which a violent and that which a natural fact produces. Nor do we think the retention of local restrictions to a certain extent, would, after all, make any substantial difference in the intellectual standard. When the first-rate men have got fellowships, there are only the second-rate men left to get other fellowships. The most open and unrestricted system then obliges you to give fellowships to second-rate men. But counties can furnish second-rate men: it is extraordinary if a large territorial surface, like that of Lincolnshire or Yorkshire, abounding with grammar-schools, cannot send up good second-rate candidates; and as a fact, counties do now send up, in many instances, good candidates. It may be answered that the greater stimulus of an unrestricted system will produce greater talent in the academical body, and increase the class of first-rate men indefinitely: but we rather doubt this result. Certainly, the stimulus of honour has been tried now for forty years in the University, and has not produced such an enlargement of this class; and if the stimulus of honour has not, it may be questioned whether the stimulus of profit will; for the former—we trust, with truth—has been generally held to be the greater stimulus of the two to the generous youthful mind. We see, then, no reason why the close and the open system should not go on successfully together, in such proportions as the Legislature after proper advice may think fit, in the different colleges, without leading to any strong lines of demarcation between one set of fellows and another. Differences of talent there always will be in these bodies: no system can prevent them. The evil of a broad and invidious line need only be guarded against; and that need not, we think, occur, if the retained restrictions are such as offer a tolerably wide field of selection. In Oriel College six close fellowships do not prevent the intellectual eminence of that society; nor have they, we believe, introduced any strong line of intellectual division into the college, keeping the open and close fellows apart, as different sets, or at all interfering with the wholeness, unity, and harmony of the society.

We give our opinion, then, in favour of a liberal, but still modified, measure of relaxation, and so take leave, for the

present, of our subject. To go into details is beyond our purpose. If a principle and an aim are decided on, in a measure of reform, some fair mode of carrying them out will be discovered, when the question is practically entered into. We only beg to express a hope, that when the Legislature does (as it will infallibly do before long) take up the question, it will feel its responsibility, and not its omnipotence only, and settle it with a proper deference to all the claims, old and new, involved in it.

ART. VI.—*Hippolytus and his Age; or, the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus: and Ancient and Modern Christianity and Divinity compared.* By CHRISTIAN CHARLES JOSIAS BUNSEN, D.C.L. In Four Volumes. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans. 1852.

THE work before us is one of the fruits of the Great Exhibition. It was not, indeed, published at the time, but it is plain that it was intended that the letters to Archdeacon Hare and the Apology of Hippolytus should appear at that time. The former were advertised in the 'Times,' early in July, 1851. The topic of the Exhibition is prominent in the opening of the letters; and Hippolytus is supposed, in the fiction of the Apology, to have visited England at that time. The book and its author, the editor and the printers, being of so many various nations, were to have formed a part in that many-coloured gathering. The writer himself states circumstances which show the wonderfully short time in which so large a work, bearing on so many subjects, and on such 'difficult points of complicated research,' was composed. 'The first two volumes, and part of the fourth, were written and printed in the last six months of 1851; the last two in the first six months of 1852.' (Vol. iv. Pref. p. i.)

But more than this: in the early part of June, 1851, Dr. Tregelles informed M. Bunsen of the publication of the *Philosophumena*. In the course of the next week, on the 13th of June, M. Bunsen dates his first letter to Archdeacon Hare; it is 18 pages long. The second needed time for preparation; it is dated June 20, a week after the first, and occupies 104 pages. The third follows in two days; being dated June 23, but is only 16 pages long. In two days more, on June 25, the fourth letter (54 pages) is dated. After another two days, on June 27, the fifth is written; it extends to 128 pages. On the 26th of July, the letters were so far carried through the press that the author was able to submit the printed sheets of the whole to his friend; and it would seem as if the Apology of Hippolytus, occupying 117 pages of the fourth volume, was written within that space of time. This is very wonderful, even if considered only in reference to the physical exertion and manual labour required for its execution—for the mere writing of the letters, besides any previous reading necessary, and the authorities which had to be sought out and referred to—to say nothing

of the wonderful variety and multiplicity of the knowledge which is introduced in connexion with it. It was written in a fortnight, and printed in a month.

But this is not all. Consider when and where these letters were written; not in the calm seclusion of the cloister, or the freshness of green fields and the retirement of the country, but in a house in Carlton Gardens, in the month of June; in the midst of the heat and bustle of a London season, intensified a thousandfold by the Great Exhibition; and that by one whose official duties, we presume, are enough for one man's time, and who then, we should have thought, must have been obliged to devote his whole leisure to the extra duties of courtesies to the foreigners who had resorted to the World's Fair. But M. Bunsen did write these letters in this wonderfully short time, and the volumes he has produced will remain on record as a remarkable fact in literary history; not only, we conceive, as an evidence that a volume of a given size can be written in a given time, and amid a thousand distracting occupations; but also, we must add, as an abiding monument of the egregious folly of attempting to perform such feats.

When we first read the title, and saw that, beside the question of authorship, and the immediate subject of the work, the chief argument of the volumes was the doctrine and practice of the early Church; we entered on the perusal of them with great interest. We undertook to review them with the special object of investigating the one subject of Ante-Nicene Theology. We said, in some surprise, 'And so it seems that, after all, the battles of the Faith must again be fought on the old ground, the doctrine and practice of the primitive Church. M. Bunsen, the great prophet of the Church of the Future, has entered an appeal to the Church of the Fathers;—for doctrines, for liturgies, for the canon of Scripture and the constitution of the Church, he would go back to the testimony of antiquity, and with all due allowance for altered circumstances and modern improvements, would claim the sanction of saints and doctors for the views which he has himself promulgated.' How far he commits himself to this appeal we do not inquire; but he puts forth a picture of the faith and practice of the Ante-Nicene period which professes to be matter of historical fact; and as a question of historical fact we were prepared to go into the subject. There is no need in such cases to mix up matters of personal and party warfare; deep as is our concern in the question, we trust that we could engage in it in a truly historical and critical spirit. We are not afraid of the subject; the divines of the Church of England have ever courted the inquiry, and engaged in it fairly, according to the measure of

knowledge which existed at their time. And those who in these last days have been the means, under God, of lighting up the flame of primitive piety, as well as of recalling us to primitive doctrine, have devoted all their energies, and all their means, to bring home to the knowledge of *all* the genuine records of the Primitive Church. Insinuations and assertions to the contrary, pervade M. Bunsen's work; he says, we are 'bent more than ever on stopping and suppressing, or, at least, discrediting, all inquiry;' yet among the earliest efforts of our revival was the setting forth in English the 'Records of the Church;' and the suggestion made,—as the means of meeting the jealousy which the Laity might feel, that in deferring to the voice of antiquity they were transferring the ultimate appeal from the Bible, which they could all read, to writings accessible only to the learned—was that the principal works of the Fathers should be put forth in English translations; and the endeavours of that School have notoriously been devoted, amid discouragement and want of adequate support, to the publishing *critical* editions of the patristic writings, as well as cheap and accessible reprints of former editions. All that we can desire is that these should be *read*; read entire, not in extracts, and judged of by the principles of true common sense, and not by preconceived theories.

Our intention was, at this time, to have gone fully into the points raised by M. Bunsen, with reference to the doctrines of the early Ante-Nicene Church. The question of the authorship of the treatise, which has given occasion to this publication, we consider to be settled; to be as fairly and as completely settled as any literary question can be. We conceive that it has been proved incontrovertibly, that the so-called *Philosophumena* of Origen, is a work of S. Hippolytus, Bishop of 'Portus Romanus,' 'The Harbour of Rome;' and that a variety of questions respecting the personal history of the writer, his position and influence in the Church, and the authorship of other writings which before was matter of doubt, are now definitely concluded. Those who have written on the subject, both in Germany and England, generally concur in these points. The arguments have been put out vigorously and skilfully by M. Bunsen; and by him, and others who had written on the subject, it has been well nigh exhausted.

But when we came to read the dashing pages of the *Age of Hippolytus*—when we found the bold and broad assertions which it contained—when we failed to recognise the doctrines which we knew to be held by the primitive Fathers, and saw also with how rude a hand the critical pruning-knife was applied to some writings, and new authors and new authority attributed

to others,—the free and uncautious spirit in which we were disposed to read a book written apparently with all the freedom and candour of a genuine lover of truth, and by one who appeared, at first sight, to be familiar with all learning, critically acquainted with the theological language of the Fathers, and at home with their opinions, as if he had lived in their society;—the free and hearty surrender of ourselves to our author's statements—was checked: we began to hesitate; we referred to original works; we looked at the Greek of the *Philosophumena*, and the text of Photius; we recalled the very words of ancient writers; we came across cases of questionable scholarship, and we felt that we could no longer read M. Bunsen's book without the utmost caution. Our next step was to go into an investigation of the correctness of some of his statements; and then, when our suspicions were further excited, into a comparison of his English with the Greek of his citations. The result of our inquiries we shall simply lay before our readers: they shall judge for themselves.

The writer of these words desires to put aside the fictitious tone with which custom invests the writer of a review, and to affirm in the plain and simple language which involves a personal responsibility, that the above statements are strictly true. The feelings with which he commenced reading the *Age of Hippolytus* were those of great interest in the literary questions involved in it; with a kindly disposition towards the writer personally—with entire confidence in his candour and truthfulness—and without the least suspicion of his want of scholarship or of acquaintance with the subjects on which he was writing.

Such probably is the case with very many, with almost all the English readers of these volumes. They remember Bunsen, the friend of Arnold: they remember his testimony—‘I could not express my sense of what Bunsen is without seeming to be exaggerating. . . . He is a man in whom God's graces and gifts are more united than in any other person whom I ever saw. I have seen men as holy, as amiable, as able; but I never knew one who was all these in so extraordinary a degree, and combined with a knowledge of things new and old, sacred and profane, so rich, so accurate, so profound, that I never knew it equalled or approached by any man.’¹ And again, ‘You met Bunsen, and can now sympathise with the all but idolatry with which I regard him.’² And indeed the religious and, to all appearance, the candid spirit which appears in some of the early writings of M. Bunsen, which form part of the second volume of this work, and a certain ardent way of speaking

¹ Arnold's *Life and Correspondence*, ii. 137.

² *Ib.* i. 327.

of the love of truth, and freedom from prejudice, and a spirit of love, and in general a sort of religious tone, which show at least what the writer once was, go far to explain this admiration.

Many readers, of course, receive implicitly the statements of such a man. For the most part they have no critical acquaintance with the subjects on which he is writing; neither have they the leisure, nor the opportunity, nor the learning requisite for testing their correctness. The insinuations and assertions that the opinions of early Christian writers have been misrepresented by theologians, to serve their own purposes, and that M. Bunsen belongs to a country, the scholars of which have brought a new light to bear on ancient records, and that he gives, as he professes to do, the results of the most recent investigations,—all this throws an air of plausibility over his assertions; and the natural consequence is, that the ordinary English reader accepts his representations as correct. ‘The distinguished place which he occupies in all those inquiries which are most interesting in the development of the world’s mind and civilization,’ his having ‘long sat at the feet of the illustrious Niebuhr—the first to sweep away the cobwebs of history, and find out the method of distinguishing the true from the false,—and the subject-matter of the volumes having for more than a quarter of a century formed the cherished occupation of his life and the object of his most serious research and meditations;’¹—these are the thoughts which press on the reader’s mind, and, in consequence, we are not surprised that even educated and intelligent men should, at the first appearance of the work, suppose that ‘M. Bunsen has undertaken his work with great sincerity and good faith, and has encountered the critical difficulties in the restoration of the “Patristic relic,” which was the motive of his book, with the power of a profound scholar and an accomplished linguist.’²

Now we assert, and we are prepared to prove, that the ordinary readers of M. Bunsen’s work are misled on subjects of the last importance, by representations boldly and unhesitatingly made,—made by one who, whilst he professes to possess the utmost critical sagacity and the most familiar acquaintance with patristic literature, and the most devoted love of truth, not only puts forth vague and sceptical speculations on the nature of Revelation and the truths revealed by the Gospel, but draws an unreal picture of the belief of the Age of Hippolytus, which he supports by mistranslations, conjectural emendations, groundless assertions, and an exhibition of what looks like theological learning, and is not; and that the pictures which he thus draws of the

¹ See the *Athenæum*, Oct. 16, 1852.

² *Ibid.*

theology of Hippolytus and of his Age are one series of misrepresentations.

It is with deep and sincere sorrow that we publish these statements; but the cause of truth requires it: not the cause of theological truth—of that we speak not—but the cause of that common truth and honesty which should prevail everywhere, and among all men: that cause of truth which justifies and obliges us to expose an imposture when we have discovered it. Measured language of criticism, indeed, M. Bunsen would not ask; he approves and justifies vituperation. His affection for Hippolytus, and, we apprehend, his own view of duty, not only lead him to applaud his author's vehement language against Callistus, but to imitate it: and few writers of any respectability in the present day have abounded more largely in charges of insincerity, dishonesty, and conscious misrepresentation against those who differ from him; few have shown more readiness to discover the supposed faults of others, or more superciliousness in the tone in which they criticise them. We had no wish to follow his example. We had hoped that a better spirit had come over theological controversy: that calmness, considerateness, sympathy with involuntary error, and an endeavour to remove the causes of mutual misunderstanding, had taken the place of that bitterness and persevering cross-purposing, which the world lays to the charge of theological controversialists. That M. Bunsen can indeed treat an individual writer, who is essentially opposed to his views, with candour and courtesy, is evident from his kind notice of some articles on the authorship of the *Philosophumena* in the *Ecclesiastic*. It is possible to hate a class without sacrificing charity towards individuals. And in this spirit we may say once for all, that our observations apply to the author as he appears in the pages of the *Age of Hippolytus*; with pain indeed to see how much theological acrimony can poison an amiable, and distort the vision of a fair-minded man.

With respect, indeed, to much of what we have to criticise, it may be said, it was written in haste. We reply, first, that though much of the work was *written* in haste, it was not *published* in haste; there was ample time for revision, suppression, retractation. Secondly, that it will appear that the defects of M. Bunsen, as a theologian and a critic, are such as are exposed, not caused, by hasty composition.

Our object at present is simply this; to examine M. Bunsen's qualifications for pronouncing a trustworthy opinion, not only on matters of criticism, but on the views and statements of primitive writers, and on the history of theological doctrine. Whether the faults which these volumes exhibit arise from the haste of composition, or precipitancy of judgment, or an over-

earnest desire to impress his views on others, or, we are sorry to add, from a real unfairness of view, and want of theological learning and sound scholarship, we leave others to determine.

The work before us, logically considered, divides itself into two portions,—1. a philosophical system of religion expressed in the form of aphorisms and fragments, called ‘The Philosophical Research,’ and left very much to the evidence of its own inherent probability; 2. an attempt to show that the views expressed in it are conformable to those which were received in the primitive Church (or, in M. Bunsen’s words, ‘to the general consciousness’ of the ancient Church), as evidenced in its *genuine* and *unadulterated* monuments. These are exhibited in a sort of fancy picture of the faith and practice of the ancient Church, professedly derived, (a) from the newly discovered treatise of S. Hippolytus, and other writings recognised as his; (b) from incidental representations of the opinions of other primitive writers; and (c) lastly, from a variety of documents,—creeds, hymns, canons, liturgies, &c.—restored, as the writer professes, to their genuine primitive state. The question of the authorship of the so-called ‘Origenis Philosophumena,’ though it has given occasion to the publication of this work, is altogether subordinate to the general argument of the volumes, as are also a variety of other matters here brought somewhat incongruously together.

Almost the whole force of the argument depends on M. Bunsen’s ‘critical restorations,’ and on the correctness of his judgment as to the authorship and general value of documents; because he freely admits that in their present form the records of the doctrine and practice of the early Christians are incompatible with his views, or with what he designates as ‘the general consciousness’ of the primitive Church.

It becomes, therefore, a matter of some importance to ascertain, how far his judgment and statements on such subjects may be relied on,—what his character is as a fair and candid critic. But, besides the publication before us, it appears that M. Bunsen has a very large quantity of other materials of this kind,—the work of many years past; the very enumeration of which is startling,—but all having the same character as critical restorations, and as attributing anonymous or pseudonymous works to their true authors. For instance, ‘A Restoration of the Succession of the Roman Bishops before the time of Cornelius’ (written in 1847); a subject, hitherto, we are assured, ‘uncritically treated’ and ‘involved in confusion’ by men of great name, but now to be settled ‘by a safer method of inquiry, with the help of new documents’ (vol. i. p. 280). An edition of the ‘Epistle to Diognetus;’ the text arranged ‘with the assist-

ance of two eminent philologers ;' in which 'it is proved' that the first part is 'the lost early letter of Marcion,'—the latter part is the supposed conclusion of the *Philosophumena* (pp. 187, 188). Again, 'An unpublished Restoration of the Eight Books of the Hypotyposes of Clemens, (of which the first book is hidden under a false title,)' in which M. Bunsen believes he has proved that the work 'Extracts from Theodotus, or the Oriental School,' forms an integral part of those esoteric Lectures, which are the deepest and most instructive work of the great Alexandrian teacher' (p. 65). Again, (ready for the press,) 'A Synoptical Text of the Four Gospels,' and 'A Critical Reconstruction of the Chronological order of the Evangelical Accounts ;' to be followed by 'A Life of Christ' (vol. i. pref. p. xv.). Such being the extensive plans of M. Bunsen, it becomes a matter of some interest to ascertain what claim this author has to be listened to in such matters, and how far he is an impartial and a trustworthy critic. Our readers, we repeat, shall judge for themselves.

The first point which we shall take is one which in itself is of no importance whatever. It involves no theological questions, nor anything calculated to awaken prejudice, or excite ill-will. It is a mere question of literary criticism, with respect to a simple matter of fact. But we select it as exhibiting in a small compass characteristics which pervade the whole of M. Bunsen's work, and because it will show the value of his judgment, and the amount of trust which is due to the statements of one who, as it appears, is undertaking to reconstruct on a critical basis almost all the records of Christian antiquity.

The question of fact is this: Is the recently discovered work that treatise of Hippolytus against Heresies which Photius read, and of which he has left a description? M. Bunsen says it is. Jacobi and Duncker, in Germany, and an English writer in the *Ecclesiastic*, say it is not. M. Bunsen considers the correspondence between our book and that which Photius describes to be so exact, that, if we had no other evidence, this alone would be sufficient to demonstrate its authorship. To Jacobi and the writer in the *Ecclesiastic*, the dissimilarity appeared so great, that notwithstanding strong evidence that the work was written by Hippolytus, they were led to seek out some other author for it. Their difficulty has been removed by supposing that the book which Photius read was an earlier and shorter sketch on the same subject which Hippolytus mentions in his preface. Duncker suggested this view, and Jacobi says¹ it has

¹ Egregie confirmat nostram de origine libri sententiam, quod Duncker V. D. idem de re sentit, sublata quadam difficultate, quæ nos impederat; recte enim suspicatur, hippolytianum, quem Photius novit, libellum a nostro auctore in operis prooemio indicari et ipsius et antea conscriptum esse.—*Basilidis Sententias &c. Illustravit J. L. Jacobi. Berolini, 1852.*

removed his only difficulty. The English writer appears to have embraced the same solution independently.¹ That M. Bunsen's supposition, hastily formed and hastily put in print, is a mistake, there can be no doubt. But this is not our point. We wish to illustrate from this one case the candour and fairness of mind, as well as the correctness of critical judgment with which he treats such subjects, and particularly the amount of reliance which is to be placed on his most positive statements. Haste of composition is an excuse for some faults: let any amount of weight which seems due be given to it.²

After going through several arguments for Hippolytus being the author of the Treatise published as Origen's, M. Bunsen says:—

'But perhaps there may be some argument in store which we have not yet touched upon. Ay, there is; and it is a piece of evidence which, even if it stood alone, would put an end to all controversy on the authorship of our work. For we have an authentic and specific description of the contents of the work of Hippolytus "Against all Heresies;" and this description tallies so exactly with the book before us, that it cannot have been given of any other. I mean the account which the patriarch Photius has noted down of the contents of this work in a journal of his reading, known as "Photii Bibliotheca."—Vol. i. p. 16.

Now it appears from the sequel, that so far from Photius' description 'tallying exactly' with the book before us, it does not, on M. Bunsen's own virtual confession, tally with it on any one point, (except that both are against heresies,) and we think that if he had not been hurried away by excitement, he could not but have been conscious of the extreme difficulty he had in producing even the semblance of agreement. A comparison of what follows in the next few pages, with the statement we have just transcribed, will show what reliance can be placed on M. Bunsen's assertion, even about matters of fact. The second letter begins with the Description, from Photius:—

'A little book of Hippolytus was read. Hippolytus was a disciple of Irenæus. It is a treatise on thirty-two heresies, beginning with the DOSITHEANS, and going down to NOETUS and the NOETIANS. He says that Irenæus entered into a refutation of them in his lectures, and that he, Hippolytus, made a synopsis of these, and thus composed this book. The style of the book is clear, and rather stately, but not turgid; though it does not come up to Attic speech. He says some things which are not quite correct; for instance, that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not by the Apostle Paul. He is reported to have addressed the congregation, in imitation of Origen, with whom he lived on familiar terms, and of whose learned works he was a great admirer.'—P. 21.

¹ The Ecclesiastic and Theologian, Dec. 1852. We refer to these articles because they have been noticed by M. Bunsen.

² The present writer had not seen the last number of the 'Theological Critic' in which several of these points are noticed, until this article was in type. He is unwilling to suppress any part of what he had written, as it would lessen the cumulative force of the argument, which it seems a duty to exhibit in full.

After some supercilious observations on a 'blunder' of Jerome and Photius, (which is noticed by Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.* § 66, though this is not mentioned by Bunsen,) M. Bunsen proceeds to show the first point of agreement, which, unfortunately, is a point of difference. He says, with great *naïveté* :—

'I was struck at first by the expression, "a little book" (*βιβλίδιον*), for a work in ten books, of which seven and a half fill about 300 octavo pages. But it is to be considered, that *he takes no notice of the "Philosophumena;"* and the rest, the account of the heresies, occupies less than 250 pages. Photius uses the same word (*βιβλίδιον*) soon afterwards (c. 126), for a manuscript containing, *at least*, the two Epistles of the Roman Clemens to the Corinthians, and Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, which together would form a *volume fully equal to this second section of Hippolytus' work*. Hence, as probably *he had only this second part before him*, that expression has nothing surprising in it.'—P. 23.

Now we treat this simply as a question of evidence and criticism, and we observe there is not the slightest ground for supposing that Photius had part of this work only. His taking no notice of the *Philosophumena* (a name used by Hippolytus for the matter contained in the first four books), or of the philosophical subjects in the accounts of the heresies, is a decisive argument against his having seen our work; but that work is one so connected, both in the introduction and the conclusion, that it could not be divided into two; indeed, the supposition is without a shadow of foundation: and this very supposition, on which the whole argument is grounded, is itself given up (without a word of explanation) in the very next sentence. As soon as it is necessary to find a place for certain statements which Photius says Hippolytus made, and which are not in our book, Photius is supposed to have all that we have, and something else which we have lost:—another introduction, the lost books, heresies omitted, full statements of things of which we have only abstracts, will come across us continually. M. Bunsen appears to be utterly unconscious that his theories mutually destroy each other. He wrote in such haste that he had not time to correct previous theories when he found it necessary to invent new ones. But we could have excused this; though we do not think the publication of such careless productions creditable. It is not so easy to excuse false statements as to matters of fact.

M. Bunsen says that the two Epistles of Clement, and the Epistle of Polycarp, which (the 'at least' is inserted without any ground) were contained in what Photius calls a 'little book,' 'would form a volume fully equal to' the last six books (pp. 92—329) of the work in question. This fact, on the *truth* of which all depends, might easily have been ascertained; his printer would have told him; and as the whole stress of his explanation of the difficulty, that ours is a large work and Photius's was a little one, turns upon this matter of fact, it

should not have been published until it had been ascertained. But what are we to say when it appears that the fact stated *is not by any means true*? We have had the calculation made by an experienced printer, as a matter of business, in the type and same sized page as the *Philosophumena*. Without notes, the text of the last six books of Hippolytus's work would run to 200 pages; that of the two Epistles of Clement, and Polycarp's Epistle, to a little more than 50 pages, 56 at the very utmost; *i. e.* what M. Bunsen says would form a volume fully equal to ours, would not much exceed one-fourth of it. We should not have dwelt on this, had it not appeared to be M. Bunsen's practice to make statements which are decisive of the point at issue; which bear on their face no obvious improbability, and which not one reader in a thousand would think of investigating—but which, if investigated, prove to be untrue.

To pass to the next point: after speaking of Hippolytus's works, Photius says: 'He says some things which are not quite correct: for instance, that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not 'by the Apostle Paul.' Photius also states that Hippolytus says that his work was a synopsis of Irenæus. Now, in point of fact, neither of these statements is made in the book before us. Of this M. Bunsen was fully aware, and it is amusing to see the variety of the conjectures which he invents to get over the difficulty. But he does *not honestly say* that there is a difficulty; nor does he seem to be at all aware, that the conjectures by which he would account for it are mere groundless suppositions, and inconsistent with each other. His words are:—

'It must be confessed, indeed, that our manuscript has no passage *quoting* the Epistle to the Hebrews;' (Photius did not say anything of *quoting* the Epistle, but that the author said the Epistle to the Hebrews was not by S. Paul:) 'but the *quotation may have occurred* in the introduction, where the author, most probably, spoke of the relation of his work to that of Irenæus. Such a general introduction seems to be wanting. The "*Philosophumena*," in our manuscripts, begin rather abruptly with an introduction, which may have been a special one for that first section of the work.'—P. 23.

So then it seems that, after all, Photius *had* the whole work before him, which could no longer anyhow be a 'little book;' still less could it answer to this description, if it had also a general introduction which is now lost. But the notion that any such general introduction seems to be wanting is a mere theory framed for the occasion: and that our present introduction may have been a special one for the first four books, is absolutely contrary to fact: for it is almost wholly concerned with the subject of the heresies, and the profundity of their wickedness; only the author concludes by saying he will first set forth the opinions of the Greek philosophers, then compare each heresy with the philosophy which it respectively imitated, and thus

expose the heresiarchs. This then is the first supposition; that the statement occurred in an introduction which we have lost.

The second (our extracts are continuous):—

‘But the passage alluded to *may also have occurred* in the lost second, or third, or at the beginning of the fourth book.’ . . . ‘It is clear that the second and third must have been exclusively or principally devoted to an exposition of the mystical systems of antiquity. Here our author had ample opportunities for *quoting* the Hebrews, as a corrective of mystic writers respecting sacrifices, rites, and mysteries.’—P. 24.

It is sufficient to observe that this is a mere gratuitous assumption: and it is contrary to probability, for, as has been observed, the author does not introduce Christian subjects at all into his accounts of heathen philosophy: he simply states the philosophers’ views.

Now for conjecture the third:—

‘That passage *may also have occurred* at the end, where our manuscript is defective.’—P. 24.

Now it does not appear that the manuscript is defective, (we say this under correction,) or that the conclusion is incomplete (as M. Bunsen marks it, p. 185). However, M. Bunsen thinks it is; and what is more, he also thinks that he has found the part which has been lost from the end, the latter part of the well-known Epistle to Diognetus, of which the author is altogether unknown: (a conjecture which, from the entire difference of style, to our judgment, destroys all his pretensions to be a restorer of lost authors:) but, most unfortunately, this does not contain the words required. Indeed, the conclusion, even if there be any part lost, being simply hortatory, as M. Bunsen himself admits, could scarcely by any chance have contained anything about the authorship of an Epistle.

In despair M. Bunsen strikes a last desperate blow, and retreats with a show of fight:—

‘But who can say that this censure may not refer to some other work of Hippolytus, and apply to the author, not to our book? What follows immediately certainly does. At all events, I have no doubt about the fact, that Hippolytus expressed himself in that way respecting the Epistle to the Hebrews, and therefore incorrectly in the eyes of the patriarch. He could no more have ascribed it to the Apostle Paul, than did any one of his cotemporaries in the Western Church, or even any Alexandrian writer openly, before Dionysius, about the year 250. The Romans knew better than anybody, from their first regular Bishop, Clemens, that it was not S. Paul’s.’—Pp. 24, 25.

The last sentences are obviously nothing to the purpose. M. Bunsen has to account for the absence of certain words from the newly-discovered book; he turns away from the point at issue, glad to escape from the subject with an apparently unvanquished spirit. As for the argument that the statement of Photius, that Hippolytus said the Epistle to the Hebrews was

not written by S. Paul, may after all refer to some other work of Hippolytus; it might as well have been said at first—but it is obviously a last and a most desperate resource. As an evidence that Photius did not mean that this statement was in the book, but that Hippolytus said so somewhere else, M. Bunsen alleges, that Photius goes on to say that Hippolytus is reported to have preached like Origen, and that this could not have been in the book. For that is what is involved in M. Bunsen's statement, 'What follows immediately certainly does,' viz. 'apply to the author,' *i. e.* to Hippolytus in general, 'not to our book.' A most unfortunate argument surely: for the one is a fact in Hippolytus' history, the other an observation which he had made; the latter must almost necessarily have been in the book that Photius was speaking of; else why mention it without explanation? the former is distinctly severed from it by the words, 'He is reported.' Thus much for the first points.

It would have been much more candid, much more becoming the character of a critic, to have admitted that these are difficulties in the way of supposing that the work we have was Photius's, but difficulties which might be outweighed by positive evidence on the other side. But M. Bunsen has no difficulties: whether it be in the opposite statements of historians, in the interpretation of difficult texts, in investigating the most profound subjects on which the human mind can be exercised, all is plain and easy to him. He appears utterly unconscious of the existence of any facts inconsistent with the theories he has taken up. For when one would have thought that a moment's pause in the full speed of composition would have allowed him to be conscious of the series of difficulties he was encountering, and the extraordinary conjectures by which he was leaping over them, he says, with the utmost appearance of simplicity,—

'The rest of the account given by Photius is positive and accurate enough to prove that we have the work he speaks of before us. Ere I enter into a detailed proof of this assertion, I will briefly state the three leading points of my argument.'

These are—

- (a.) That the book begins with the Dositheans and ends with the Noetians.
- (β.) That it contains thirty-two heresies.
- (γ.) That it is, and (observe) that the author himself says it is, a synopsis of Irenæus.

Now the fact is, that *in not one of these points does the book before us agree with the description of Photius.* If M. Bunsen had reflected for a moment he must have been aware of this; and have been conscious that he was only deceiving Archdeacon Hare when he told him so positively that it did exactly agree.

(a.) The book begins with the Naassenes, Peratæ, and Sithiani, not with the Dositheans. And the theory by which M. Bunsen persuaded himself that Photius meant these sects, when he said the Dositheans, is one of the most absurd conceptions which a hard-run advocate ever had recourse to, or even attempted to palm off upon the simplicity and trustfulness of his readers. The Dositheans could have no connexion in any one's mind with these Gnostics; least of all in that of so matter-of-fact a person as Photius. The Dositheans were a definite recognised sect among the Samaritans, before the time of our Saviour: the Pseudo-Tertullian says, a sceptical sect, like the Sadducees among the Jews: the Naassenes were a body of Gnostics after the time of Christ: any one who is willing to compare M. Bunsen's description of them (pp. 25, 26,) when his object is to make them 'a primitive sect of Judaizing Christians,' with that in which he analyses Hippolytus' account of them (pp. 35, 36,) will see the misrepresentations to which he is reduced in order to make it appear that Photius meant the Naassenes, &c. but called them Dositheans. The Dositheans form the first class of heretics named in the outline of heresies appended to Tertullian's 'De Præscriptionibus,' in which the Ophites (the Naassenes under another name) and the other sects we have mentioned, occur in a distinct place in that enumeration. M. Bunsen, indeed, was aware that the Dositheans were the first mentioned in Tertullian, and he speaks of this fact and of the work itself, as if he were familiar with them. We will quote his words, and then the passage from the Pseudo-Tertullian, because, we apprehend, it will sufficiently appear that he knew nothing of the mention of them by Tertullian beyond the fact; and that he writes as if he were perfectly familiar with a book of which he knew almost nothing. This is, as will presently appear, M. Bunsen's usual practice, and it gives an appearance of marvellous learning to his work in the eyes of the ordinary reader, but surely the hurry of composition is no sufficient account of what looks much more like ridiculous vanity. M. Bunsen says:—

'Photius *evidently* found these Judaic sects, as we do in our book, at the head of his treatise, but *he expresses himself inaccurately*. Instead of calling them Ophites, as he might have done, or Naassenes, which is the same thing, or Justinians, he designates them as Dositheans, a sect not mentioned in our book at all. But *the name represents those earliest Judaizing schools*; so the author of the Appendix to Tertullian's book, "De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum," begins a list of heretics with Dositheus. *This is not correct*; for Dositheus was not a Christian at all, but lived before Christ, and founded a mystic sect among the Samaritans,' p. 121. 'The Dositheans, who were a Judaic sect, and not heretics, but who, as representatives of that oldest class of heretics, are also alluded to in the beginning of the treatise on

heresies appended to Tertullian's book, "De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum."—P. 26.

Now the Pseudo-Tertullian begins with these words.¹ 'I will touch upon a few points respecting these heretics, passing over many; for I say nothing of the heretics of Judaism. *Dositheus*, the Samaritan, for instance, who was the first who presumed to reject the prophets, as though they had not spoken under the influence of the Holy Spirit. I say nothing of the *Sadducees*, who springing up from the root of this error, in addition to this heresy, presumed to deny also the resurrection of the flesh. I pass by the *Pharisees*, &c. With these also I pass by the *Herodians*, who said that Herod was Christ.

'I turn to those who, after the Gospel was promulgated, fully became heretics. Of these the first of all was Simon *Magus*, &c.

It is sufficient to say that the only thing which is 'not correct' connected with this subject is M. Bunsen's own observation. The *Dositheans* are not 'alluded to as representatives of that oldest class of heresies,' nor does 'the name,' as beginning the list in Tertullian, 'represent those earliest Judaizing sects.' The most charitable supposition is that M. Bunsen had not seen the work of the Pseudo-Tertullian, and that his ready wit devised that explanation of the fact of its beginning with the *Dositheans* which best suited his own theory.

But though our treatise does not begin with the *Dositheans*, of course it ends with the *Noetians*. So M. Bunsen says in these express terms,—'The last of the heresies in the work read by Photius was that of the *Noetians*, and so in fact it is in our book.' This is simply untrue; our book ends with the *Essenes*, *Pharisees*, and *Sadducees*, or (if we suppose that the Jewish *αἰρέσεις* are not to be taken into account) with the *Elkesaites*. M. Bunsen, indeed, admits that the *Elkesaites* are the last; he could not do otherwise; he needed them to make up thirty-two. So in counting the heresies he puts them thus:—31, the *Noetians*; 32, the *Elkesaites*.

But Photius, when he enumerated thirty-two, 'beginning with the *Dositheans* and going down to *Noetus* and the *Noetians*,' must have meant that the *Dositheans* were the first in

¹ Quorum hæreticorum, ut plura præteream, pauca perstringam, Taceo enim Judaismi hæreticos; *Dositheum*, inquam, *Samaritanum*, qui primus ausus est prophetas, quasi non in Spiritu Sancto locutos, repudiare. Taceo *Sadduceos*, qui ex hujus erroris radice surgentes, ausi sunt ad hanc hæresim etiam resurrectionem carnis negare. Prætermitto *Phariseos*, qui additamenta quædam legi adstruendo a Judæis divisi sunt: unde etiam hoc accipere ipsum quod habent nomen, digni fuerunt; cum his etiam *Herodianos*, qui Christum *Herodem* esse dixerant.

Ad eos me convertito, qui ex evangelio hæretici esse voluerunt; ex quibus est primus omnium *Simon Magus*, &c.—Tertull. De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum, capp. xlv. xlvj.

the list, and the Noetians the thirty-second. M. Bunsen, however, in his haste, overlooks this inconsistency, and affirms that the Noetians are the last. He says at p. 121, that the Elkesaites are 'a short appendix to the school of the Noetians;' and that Alcibiades, its promulgator at Rome, 'was intimately connected with the Noetian School.' Now this is absolutely and ridiculously untrue. The Elkesaite leader was indeed attracted to Rome by the success of Callistus, a success owing, as Hippolytus asserts, to the laxity of his moral system; and it was in that point of laxity, *and that alone*, that the two heresies agreed. In all other respects the Elkesaites were peculiar—they set up a new religion. So peculiar indeed was the sect—having, like the Mormonites, a book with a professedly new Revelation—and so little is known about them otherwise, that Photius most certainly would not have omitted to mention so remarkable an account of them. These wretched attempts to reconcile the two accounts ought to be utterly fatal to the claim of this author to be a trustworthy critic. We do not know whether the monstrous disregard to truth of theory, or truth of fact, is most glaring.

(β.) On the second point, the number of heresies, M. Bunsen says:—

'Secondly; our work, like that read by Photius, contains the enumeration and refutation of just *thirty-two* heresies, a number corresponding neither with the enumeration of Irenæus, nor with that given by Epiphanius, or *by any other known writer.*'

And in saying this, he makes two statements, both of which are alike untrue. There are not *just thirty-two* heresies in this book—and there *is* another history of heresies in which there are.

i. The appendix to Tertullian, of which we have spoken, contains exactly thirty-two heresies, 'beginning with the Dositheans and going down to the Noetians.'

We enumerate them in a note.¹

¹ Chap. 45. (Jewish *αἵρεσις*.) 1. The Dositheans. 2. The Sadducees. 3. The Pharisees. 4. The Herodians. (Christian *αἵρεσις*.) 5. Simon Magus. 6. Menander. 7. Saturninus. 8. Basilides. 9. Nicolaus. 10. The Ophites. 11. The Cainites. 12. The Sethiani. 13. Carpocrates. 14. Cerinthus. 15. Ebion. 16. Valentinus. 17. Ptolemaeus. 18. Secundus (the distinctness of these heresies was known to Hippolytus). 19. Heracleon. 20. Marcus. 21. Colarbasus. 22. Gerdon. 23. Marcion. 24. Lucanus. 25. Apelles. 26. Tatian. 27. The Phrygians *κατὰ* Proclum. 28. The Phrygians *κατὰ* Æschinem. 29. Blastus and the Quartodecimans. 30. Theodotus Byzantinus. 31. Theodotus the Melchizedekite. 32. Praxeas the Noetian.

We add the concluding words of the treatise:—'Sed post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidam heresin introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curavit; hic Deum Patrem omnipotentem Jesum Christum esse dicit, hunc crucifixum passumque contendit, mortuum, præterea seipsum sibi sedere ad dexteram suam, cum profanâ et sacrilegâ temeritate proponit.' It is most probable that they who

ii. This work does not contain just thirty-two heresies, on M. Bunsen's own admission; for he has to suppose that one is lost out of our book, besides inventing another to make up his number of thirty-two. (i.) He has to say that the Colarbasians *ought to have been* in the book before us, though they are not; thereby making No. 11. (ii.) He has to translate the Greek, ἄλλος δέ τις ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν ('another distinguished teacher of theirs') thus: 'Epiphanes, another teacher of theirs,' thereby making heresy No. 8.

We are weary of this work, and so we fear are our readers. It is much more pleasant to read, and we are sure it is more pleasant to write free flowing pages, when there is no difficulty to obstruct our course. But M. Bunsen's claims to be a critic are put forward almost ostentatiously. He has undertaken to remove by *historical criticism*, the testimony to the supposed faith of the primitive church; it is of some importance that it should be shown what his real pretensions to be a sound critic are. For even allowing his suppositions to be correct, we submit that he ought to have stated the process by which he made out his numbers—as that, by counting them on particular principles, and by supposing one omitted, and that a proper name is hidden under an adjective, we might bring the number to about thirty-two—there are many other difficulties which we will not go into, as to who should be counted, and who not;—instead of this, he asserts with bold positiveness that there are 'just thirty-two.'

As for the Colarbasians, there is no more need that their heresy should have a separate description than many other modifications of the Valentinians.

As for Epiphanes, we must give M. Bunsen's own words:—

'viii. EPIPHANES.—Nine lines, copied in the same manner from what follows in Irenæus, after the words on Secundus. Both in Irenæus, and in our manuscript, the well-known proper name of this Gnostic has been taken for an adjective; a misunderstanding which, *I am surprised*, is not corrected

put out this tract in its present form, substituted Praxeas, the Noetian against whom Tertullian wrote, for Noetus. For, from these points and the contents of the work, we have very little doubt that this appendix, which is universally allowed not to be Tertullian's, is an abridged translation of that very Treatise of Hippolytus, which Photius read. Had M. Bunsen not despised our old divines so much, he might have found this suggestion in Waterland, as Dr. Allix's opinion. See Waterland's Works, vol. v. p. 227., ed. 1823, referring to Allix's Fathers Vindicated touching the Trinity, p. 99. We have not had time or opportunity to seek out Allix's book.

We also conceive that this 'little book' which Photius read was, (as Duncker, Jacobi and the *Ecclesiastic* suppose,) the earlier work on heresies mentioned in the Introduction to the Philosophumena. As for M. Bunsen's supposition that the tenth book of our work is that earlier Treatise, it is just worthy to be associated with the rest of the theories he has put forth on this subject.

by our learned editor, any *more than by Grabe and his predecessors, who did not observe* that the old Latin interpreter expressed it so well that he translated it: (Compare Tertull. *Contra Valentinianos*, c. 37)¹—

IRENÆUS (1—5. § 2).

HIPPOLYTUS (198. 98—199. 8).

ἄλλος . . . (Latin text: *Alius vero quidam qui et clarus est magister ipsorum.*)—*Letter 2*, p. 67.

Ἄλλος δέ τις Ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν οὕτως λέγει.

Now, whatever becomes of Irenæus and his translator, we conceive that Hippolytus, at all events, did not suppose the word *ἐπιφανής*, in Irenæus, to be a proper name: we submit the question to Greek scholars; for our own part, we think it much more probable that Hippolytus should have understood Irenæus in the same way as his two almost contemporaries, the old translator and Tertullian, specially as he was, we shall see, a reader of Tertullian, than that he should have expressed himself in such Greek as this, had he intended *ἐπιφανής* to be a proper name. But why should M. Bunsen, this 'truth-loving' man, in his eagerness to correct the errors of others, run into a wanton assertion of that which he was in nowise called on to refer to, and which is just contrary to the truth? We say nothing of the 'learned editor'; M. Bunsen is surprised he did not correct it. As for poor 'Grabe and his predecessors,' who do not deserve the epithet 'learned,' who belonged to the dark ages of theological learning and criticism,—whose theology, the theology we presume of Pearson, and Bull, and Waterland, is described by our author as 'the confused and idealess formalism of that age of despair and hypocrisy, the second part of the 17th and the first part of the 18th century,' of course, no one could be surprised that they *did not observe* that the old Latin interpreter had mistaken a proper name for an adjective. Unfortunately for M. Bunsen, it so happens that *they did observe it*. We wish we had our author's inventive genius, and we would have tried our powers of conjecture on this question, how he came to say that Grabe and his predecessors had not observed it. We are at a loss to know what edition of Irenæus he used,—into what obscurity of Cimmerian darkness he could have thrown himself, to be ignorant of that which appears in every recognised edition of Irenæus. Was it simply eagerness to appear able to correct the errors of others? Alas! how true it is that in such cases we overlook our own. The truth is, there is no edition of Irenæus, that we know—we have not looked at the yet unfinished edition of Stieren, which ought, of course, to surpass the old ones,—but of the editions in common use, there is not one which does not observe it. It is in Feu-arden-

¹ We add Tertullian's words: 'Accipe alia ingenia Circuriana insignoris apud eos magistri, qui et pontificali sua auctoritate in hunc modum censuit.'

tius', in Grabe's, in Massuet's (the Benedictine) edition, in each of which two last the notes of the previous editors are reprinted at length. As Grabe is the person mentioned by name, we will cite his note; the more so, because M. Bunsen will there meet with an old friend of his, a Bishop of Chester of former days, on whom he fell foul in his letters on Ignatius, we mean Bishop Pearson—who seems to have been 'brought up' to show M. Bunsen that he knew something of these matters, for he had written in the margin of his Irenæus this conjectural restoration of the words, "Ἄλλος δέ τις ὁ καὶ Ἐπιφανὴς αὐτῶν διδάσκαλος.

The note of Grabe on the words, 'Alius vero quidam qui et clarus,' &c. is:—

'Hunc *Epiphanem* fuisse, ejusque dogmata hic ab Irenæo recensita esse, ei qui textum nostrum bene consideraverit, observare in promptu est. Placet autem hanc observationem proponere verbis doctissimi Dni. *Dodwelli*, Dissert. IV. in Irenæum, § 25, ita scribentis: *Secundo* proximum *Epiphanem* noster quoque recenset *Irenæus*, si tamen Græca ejus rectè constituentur. Sic habet locus in veteri Interprete: *Alius vero quidam, qui et clarus est magister ipsorum*, &c. Hujus ἀποσπασμάτων Græca omisit *Epiphanus*. Sic autem reddit in Codicis sui margine *Cl. Pearsonius*: ἄλλος δέ τις ὁ καὶ Ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν. Accuratissimè simul, et, ut puto, verissimè. Ad hominis nomen illudit *Irenæus* in voce ἐπιφανὴς. quam tamen illusionem quum non intelligeret Interpres, nomen hominis ita obscuravit, ut nullum possit ex hoc loco colligi. Quid verò hoc in eo miremur, cum eodem etiam lapsus fuerit errore *Tertullianus* lib. contra *Valentinianos* c. 37, quo loco nostri (*Irenæi*) hunc ipsum etiam locum excerptit? Sic enim reddidit: *insignioris apud eos Magistri*. Corrupto nimirum similiter proprio hominis nomine in *Appellativum*. Rectè verò nostri (*Irenæi*) sententiam accepisse *Cestriensem* non modò inde colligo, quod soleant veteres primariis *Valentinianæ* sectæ Hæresearchis *Epiphanem* accensere, proximumque *Secundo*, ut noster fecit *Irenæus*, numerare, ut ex *Epiphania* discimus; sed et quod quæ claro illi, quem volunt, *Magistro* tribuit *Irenæus*, in *Epiphanem* aptissimè conveniant. Hæc *Clariss: Dodwellus*.'

We feel much greater diffidence in expressing a doubt on the correctness of the conjecture of Bishop Pearson, and the rest of these learned men who supposed Irenæus to have meant the heretic Epiphanes. But we do doubt, and for these reasons: Epiphanes was the son of Carpocrates. He died at the age of seventeen, but had previously written works putting forth what were called the Carpocratian views. Clement of Alexandria—and be it observed, Carpocrates and Epiphanes were of Alexandria—is most express on this point (*Strom.* iii. 2). He joins them together in his account; and so marked was the influence of Epiphanes, that he even says, it was from Epiphanes that the sect of the Carpocratians sprung: καθηγρήσατο δὲ τῆς μοναδικῆς γνώσεως· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ τῶν Καρποκρατιδῶν αἵρεσις. Now Carpocrates is placed by all writers among a class of heretics quite distinct from the Valentinians; and we submit that Epiphanes, if mentioned at all by Irenæus, Tertullian, or Hippolytus, would

have been mentioned in connexion with Carpocrates, as, in fact, he is by Theodoret. That this youth Epiphanes should be designated simply 'a teacher of the Valentinians,' seems in itself utterly improbable; still more that we should find in Tertullian, '*pontificali suâ auctoritate.*' The supposition that he was mentioned here by Irenæus is really grounded on Epiphanius's so understanding Irenæus, for, in his great compilation on heresies, he connects the account given by Irenæus of this teacher of the Valentinians with Clement of Alexandria's account of Epiphanes, the son of Carpocrates; mistaking, we conceive, the adjective for a proper name; for we do not think, with all deference to Dodwell and others, that the doctrines assigned to Epiphanes by Clement of Alexandria do at all identify him with the teacher of the Valentinians in Irenæus. Having, however, the warning of M. Bunsen's mistakes before us, we will not imitate his decisiveness, but only submit an opinion that at all events Hippolytus, as well as Tertullian and the contemporary translator of Irenæus, meant 'a distinguished teacher of the Valentinians,' and that No. 8 in M. Bunsen's thirty-two heresies ought to be left out.

(γ.) But we now come to the third point. Hippolytus said, in the treatise read by Photius, that he made his treatise as a synopsis from Irenæus. Of course we ought to find this statement in our book, or, if we did not, we might conjecture, as M. Bunsen did at first, that it had occurred in some one of the lost books; or, we might have said, in some of those parts of which (as he thinks) we have abstracts only: or many other conjectures might be made, *if we were quite sure that the book we have was that which Photius read.* But M. Bunsen despises these methods,—which, at any rate were safe, as the conjectures might have lasted, without the possibility of their being refuted, till the lost portions of the work came to light: having gained boldness in his progress, *vires eundo*, he gives us here the very highest specimen of his art.

Photius states that Hippolytus said that Irenæus entered into a refutation of the heresies in his lectures, and that he, Hippolytus, made a synopsis of these, and thus composed his book. M. Bunsen shows very fully, which is indeed obvious enough, that Hippolytus derived a large part of his work from Irenæus. He endeavours, indeed, with the true zeal of an author for his hero, to show that he is not a mere copyist, but more philosophical, as he *possibly* was, and an independent testimony to some facts which he repeats, which we should be willing to believe. But this is not the question; the important point is, that Hippolytus, in the book which Photius read, *said himself that his work was a synopsis from Irenæus.*

Now, it so happened that the writer of these pages had examined the new volume, for reasons of his own, with special attention to this point. He had observed that Hippolytus had derived much of his matter from Irenæus, and that he said that Irenæus treated particular subjects more fully than himself; but he did not find in any of those places that Hippolytus admitted his own obligations to Irenæus; and he noticed it the rather, because he thought the silence of Hippolytus on this point when he was speaking of the treatment of the same subject by Irenæus, and when he had actually been transcribing whole pages from him, had an appearance of disingenuousness. He was not a little surprised to find M. Bunsen assert that in the book before us, Hippolytus does say that his work is taken from Irenæus. He recalled what he had read, and could not remember it. He proceeded with M. Bunsen's book, and read as follows:—

'That (making an abridged extract from Irenæus) is also what Photius says Hippolytus declared he meant to do. *But I can now show that our author says so himself.* For having gone through the extracts from Irenæus, and added his own researches and his criticism upon Irenæus, he concludes the sixth book by saying, that the Valentinians had always gone on glorying in their inventions, the more absurd they were; and that having "made out everything from the Scriptures in accordance with the numbers set forth (the Cabalistic numbers), they charged Moses and the prophets with those inventions, pretending that these speak allegorically about the measures of the Æons. Now, I have not thought fit to give an account of such senseless and incoherent things, the blessed presbyter, Irenæus, having refuted their doctrines already with great skill and pains. *I have taken from him the account of their inventions, having shown before that they have stolen them from the Pythagorean philosophy, and the subtleness of the astrologers, and then fathered them upon Christ.*"¹ Then follows the concluding sentence given above, in which he says he had explained the systems of Marcus and Colarbasus.

'*Could we ever have expected to find such an explicit proof* that the book now discovered is the same which Photius read, and which bore the title of Hippolytus' work, mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome?'—Pp. 72, 73.

¹ 'This passage is very corrupt in our text.'

'Could we ever have expected to find such an explicit proof?' An expression indeed worthy of that other German impostor, Hermann Dousterswivel, when he found the gold which he had himself hidden. Will our readers believe the fact, that this statement is, to use his own phrase, 'foisted' into the text by M. Bunsen himself? These very words, 'I have taken from him the account of their inventions,' which constitute the whole of the 'explicit proof that the book now discovered is the same which Photius read,' *are not in the original.* His note indeed says, 'This passage is very corrupt in our text.' True; but that does not justify his telling Archdeacon Hare that it contains a statement which it does not contain. We give the

Greek words: ἃ παρατιθέναι μοι οὐκ ἔδοξεν ὄντα φλυαρὰ καὶ ἀσύστατα, ἥδη τοῦ μακαρίου πρεσβυτέρου Εἰρηναίου δεινῶς καὶ πεπονημένως τὰ δόγματα αὐτῶν διελέγξαντος, παρ' οὗ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐφευρήματα ἐπιδεικνύντες αὐτοὺς, Πυθαγορείου φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἀστρολόγων περιεργίας, ταῦτα σφετερισαμένους ἐγκαλεῖν Χριστῷ, ὡς ταῦτα παραδεδοκέναι.¹ (Philosoph. p. 222.) Our readers will at once see that these words do not say that which M. Bunsen's argument required that they should say. So, when he could not otherwise obtain the testimony that he wanted, *he put it in himself*; a mean attempt at falsifying documentary evidence, for which an English attorney would be struck off the rolls.

What is thought of such practice amongst diplomatists we have not the means of knowing; but we know what ordinary mortals would think of a man who showed in evidence a professed copy of a letter in which he had himself inserted an all-important statement that was not in the autograph, and thought it sufficient to say generally, 'the passage is very obscure in the original.'

It is plain from the words, '*I . . . having shown before,*' by which he translates the word ἐπιδεικνύντες, that M. Bunsen thought Hippolytus was speaking in the dignified plural which we reviewers are wont to use; whereas, both in the sentence which comes before, and that which follows, he speaks in the singular. Indeed such a statement as M. Bunsen inserts would not be at all in place here; and lastly, which makes it a clumsy trick, it would not be the statement which Photius asserts the book he read contained, for that was to the effect that the work, as a whole, was a synopsis from Irenæus; this, that the account of the Valentinians was taken from him.

How are we then then to trust M. Bunsen on any statement of fact whatever? Suppose M. Bunsen had conjectured an emendation of the text which afforded the statement which he gives in English, it would have been most natural that he should have told Archdeacon Hare how cleverly he had discovered what Hippolytus really wrote. M. Bunsen's usual practice in such cases is to print the Greek in full, when he has to correct a reading or to suggest a conjectural emendation. Why did he not do so here? Why suppress both the printed text and the acute conjecture, by which he had made the corrupt and unintelligible words speak the very language he desired? We ask, why did he suppress the evidence on which this most essential statement rests? One answer only can be given, *Because it did not exist*; because the Greek text, as we have it, could not, by any artifice, be tortured into such a statement.

¹ Mr. Miller modestly suggests that we should read:—καὶ οὐκ αὐτῶν ἐφευρήματα ἐπιδεικνύντος, ἀλλ' ἐκ Πυθαγ., &c. 'Irenæus, having ably and laboriously exposed their doctrines, and shown that they are not their own, but derived,' &c.

We are sorry we cannot describe this conduct in terms acceptable to the writer. He considers 'the facetious manner' of Archdeacon Churton' to be 'well suited to a retreat from a lost cause,'² and we fear we should fail in that kind of eloquence which he professes to delight in; and not being 'canonized bishops, or sainted writers,' we must be pardoned if we do not exhibit that amount of 'moral indignation' which he considers to be 'the ingredients of such a character.'³

But we willingly accept, if any of our readers think we have spoken too strongly, the apology, which M. Bunsen has provided for us: 'As to my own taste,' he says, 'since nothing human is perfect, I prefer good strong indignation infinitely to an impatient indifference, and to mawkish hypocrisy. *The man who will not attack a falsehood will not defend truth; and he who dares not call a knave a knave* (whether he be his bishop or brother-bishop, or not) will not treat tyranny as tyranny, when the cause of Christian truth is attacked by force.'⁴

If our readers are not quite tired of the subject, they will find the last instance of correspondence at pp. 106—111. S. Peter of Alexandria cited a passage from Hippolytus Against all Heresies. That passage is not in this book, but M. Bunsen, quite certain that it ought to have been there, most ludicrously endeavours to show how necessary it is to the sense of our present text, and in doing so, unless there is some misprint, utterly misapprehends the argument of Hippolytus, which is, that they who hold they are bound to keep the Mosaic Law in one point, are bound to keep it in all. Besides, as this supposition involves omissions, he again introduces the hypothesis that some of the books, as we have them, are abstracts only of what Hippolytus wrote. Did M. Bunsen remember that Photius's was a *little* book? Truly, inventive critics, as well as other inventive geniuses, ought to have long memories.

Yet at the last he sums up with calm satisfaction, and, on the retrospect of his work, he sets the seal of deliberate approval to his arguments in these words:—'Looking back to the three points I undertook to prove, I believe I have established them pretty satisfactorily. For I have shown that the work contains just *thirty-two heresies*. I have also shown that this

¹ We cannot use the name of Archdeacon Churton without recommending his valuable edition of Bishop Pearson's 'Vindiciæ Ignatianæ.' The work itself is a model of argument in this kind, and the study of such a treatise would give our students powers of thought qualifying them to engage effectually in such critical investigations as now meet us. Of Archdeacon Churton's additions to the work, in a Preface and notes carrying on Bishop Pearson's argument, expressed in Latin, the elegance and force of which carries us back to the best masters of such composition, we must speak most highly.

² See the Age of Hippolytus, vol. iv. Pref. p. xxi.

³ Vol. i. p. 324.

⁴ Ibid.

'account begins with the earliest Judaizing Gnostics, &c. Our work therefore begins, in fact, as Photius says; so too does 'it end,' &c.

M. Bunsen forms a justly high estimate of the duties of a critic. 'Historical criticism,' he says, 'is neither a party question nor the business of *dilettanti*: it requires the *earnestness* and the *conscientiousness* of a judge,' (vol. i. p. 323,) there 'nothing is at stake but that of which Pilate doubted the existence,' (vol. iv. pref. p. v. ;) and speaking of his opponents, he implies that they 'seek truth, not as a judge in order to find it, but as an advocate, in order to betray it.' To us M. Bunsen does not appear to have sought the truth at all; but first to have wanted to produce more evidence of this newly discovered book being Hippolytus's than really exists, although there is enough; then to have persuaded himself that it is that which Photius read,—then to have laboured to evince this to others, and to have put forth his grounds as an advocate intent only on gaining his point, and by assumed confidence in the strength of his evidence, by most positive assertions when he was most uncertain, by skilful assumptions, and by still more discreditable artifices, to gain a verdict from an unsuspecting jury. He even condescends to such a profession as this:—'Respecting the execution of this attempt, I must of course claim the highest degree of indulgence as to the form; but *no just and intelligent critic will have to blame me for the want of a conscientious wish to be historically true and perfectly impartial.*' (Vol. i. pref. p. xiv.)'

We request our readers to suspend their further judgment till they have seen something of M. Bunsen's critical method in the most grave questions of theology.

Of all that we have considered, indeed, it might be said,—It was written in haste. We say, as we said before, It was written in haste, but it was not published in haste. It was written in haste, indeed, and advertised almost as soon as it was written: every one else was to stand aside, for Chevalier Bunsen was taking up the game. It was written in haste;—but why written in haste? Why written at all, if the author could not give to it the time that it required? Who obliged him to write it? What occasion was there, when he had 'but little time to spare' from the fifth and last book of his "*Ægypt*" for this sudden

! M. Bunsen had ample opportunity for withdrawing or correcting his statements in the twelve months which elapsed between the printing and publication of the first volume. He refers repeatedly to the persons who agree with him, he even mentions, vol. iv. pref. p. xxviii. the publication of Jacobi's little work on Basilides, but does not mention that his own opinion on the identity of our book with that which Photius describes was not embraced by others, nor does he seem to have at all reconsidered what he had written here, though he found they differed from him on these points.

‘digression to the second Christian century?’¹ He would have been safer in his Ægypt. Few could pretend to test the correctness of his theories when hid amongst hieroglyphics. Why put himself into such a position as to have to speak of ‘many difficult points of so complicated a research which he is obliged to carry on in the midst of a London season, and that of the ‘Exhibition?’² Was the work intended for the Exhibition? Was it M. Bunsen’s contribution as a specimen of the learning, and honesty, and orthodoxy of German critics to the ‘Works of Industry of all Nations?’ If so, he ought to have taken more time, more pains, more thought in its composition. If an exhibitor had put in machines which would not work, furniture which fell to pieces when you used it, or glittering things, of which the material was not what it professed to be—which were labelled as gold, and were really of baser metal—would it be an excuse to say he had made them in haste? Haste is an excuse for doing things badly, if (which rarely happens) we are obliged to do them in too short a time. But their being done in haste is no excuse for their being done ill, if we are not called on to do them at all; still less is it an excuse for unfairness, or for mistakes, when *all the mistakes are in his own favour*.

We now pass to another class of subjects, in which, we regret to say, the same characteristics appear, but deepened in guilt by the importance of the subject matter on which the mistakes, rash judgments, and misrepresentations are made. We mean, the theological statements of Hippolytus. In treating these, we shall be glad to be spared the expression of those feelings of indignation which naturally arise when one sees the reckless spirit with which such topics are handled. We have on this account dwelt the more on the comparatively trifling question we have been hitherto discussing; because in it there was exhibited on a small scale what we have here on a large one. The general theory which M. Bunsen has framed as to the faith of Hippolytus, is as unfounded as his view of the identity of our book and that of Photius; the means by which he endeavours to get rid of the facts that stand in his way, are almost as indefensible.

But before we engage with these points, it is necessary to refer to the views on certain great Christian doctrines which M. Bunsen has put out, and which he conceives to be in harmony with ‘the general consciousness of the ancient Church;’ confining ourselves to the doctrines relating to the Unity in Trinity.

¹ Vol. i. p. 18.

² Vol. i. p. 327.

We give them in M. Bunsen's own words, as expressed in the Aphorisms¹ in the beginning of the second volume:—

¹ It is impossible to convey any adequate impression of the views apparently contained in these aphorisms, except by extracts; though these seem to us to be shrouded in Heraclitean darkness. If anything, they appear to be a system of naturalism, adopting, like the Gnostic systems of old, a Christian terminology. But it is almost necessary to put before our readers some of his views respecting Man and Revelation, in order to show the position which M. Bunsen occupies. We hope we do not misrepresent him in any way, and would willingly believe that his opinions are not so bad as they look:

Of Man he says:—‘In every human soul there are, consequently, two factors: the infinite, as far as the soul is a part of the self-consciousness of God before all finite existence; and the finite, as far as man has the immediate or nearest cause of his existence in another created being, or (in the first instance) in the agency of an elementary power in earth. . . .

‘The highest degree of power of the infinite in man is, that the soul has in itself the consciousness, and, by an unselfish, self-sacrificing life, manifests the working of that divine element which is in him. This is, as far as it is real, an incarnation of holiness, and consequently a second birth, or a new creation. . . .

‘The antithesis of Self and God, in the highly-gifted mind, corresponds with what theologically is called, the difference between Nature and Grace, “natural light” and “divine light.”

‘The end of all ethic effort is, theologically speaking, that Nature becomes Grace; and the aim of creation is, that Grace ends in becoming incarnate. For this is the process of the realization of the infinite in the finite, and man has to reproduce the very thought and act of creation, he being the finite mirror of the Infinite in the Universe. The following table shows the harmony of the Semitic expressions with the Japhetic terms of the philosophy of the mind:



— Vol. ii. pp. 36—38.

Of Revelation:—‘Revelation has necessarily two factors which are unitedly working in producing it. The one is the infinite factor, or the direct manifestation of eternal truth to the mind, by the power which that mind has of perceiving it: for human perception is the correlative of divine manifestation. . . .

‘This infinite factor is, of course, not historical: it is inherent in every individual soul, only with an immense difference in the degree.’—Vol. ii. p. 62.

Of Miracles:—‘Miracle, in its highest sense, is therefore essentially and undoubtedly an operation of the divine mind upon the human mind. By that action the human mind becomes inspired with a new life, which cannot be explained by

God, the infinite Cause of the Universe, must both exist and be an intelligent Being. Or, more philosophically expressed, the idea of God in the human mind implies at the same time, as indivisibly united, the idea of

any precedent of the selfish (natural) life, but is its absolute contrary. This miracle requires no proof: the existence and action of religious life is its proof, as the world is the proof of creation.

As to the preternatural action of the infinite mind upon the body and upon nature in general, two opinions divide the Christian world, which both are conscientious. The one supposes any such action of the infinite to exist only by the instrumentality of the finite mind, and in strict conformity with the laws of nature, which, as God's own laws, it considers immutable. It therefore considers miracles, which appear to contradict these laws, as misunderstandings of the interpreter, who mistakes a symbolical, or poetical, or popular expression, for a scientific or historical. This is now acknowledged to be the case with the celebrated miracle of Joshua and the sun. If the miracle regards the human body, that view ascribes it either to the same misinterpretation, or to the influence of a powerful will upon the physical organization of another individual, or, lastly, to the operation of the mind upon its own body. The other sees the divine miracle in the alleged fact, that these laws have been set aside for a providential purpose. As the subject is primarily a historical one, the safest rule seems to be, to judge every single case, in the first instance, by the general rule of evidence. An unprejudiced philosophy of history, at all events, will not allow this question to be placed on the same level with the ever-living, self-proving miracle of history, which nobody in his senses denies, but rather say about the other miracles, with Hippolytus: "Such miracles are for the unbeliever, whom often they fail to convert, and must be considered as useless when unbelief ceases."—Vol. ii. pp. 62, 63, 64.

Of Prophecy:—They were also inspired, says our author (*i. e.* S. Hippolytus), when they spoke of the persons and events of their own time, "exhorting men not to abandon themselves to negligence and levity (*μη βαθυμεν*)."¹ It does not require much of a philosophical mind to perceive, that to recognise the men and events of one's time as what they really are, and what they signify, and thus to put the seal of history upon them (what the mystics call the *signatura*), is as much an evidence of the knowledge of the future as any prediction, and as much a proof of an inspired insight into the past as any prophetic interpretation of the figures of men and events of bygone times. It follows, from this our author's view, that even those predictions were not an evidence, much less the highest, of inspired knowledge, so far as they simply foretold external facts.—Vol. i. p. 166.

Of Revelation, again:—The second factor of revelation is the finite or external. This means of divine manifestation is, in the first place, a universal one, the Universe, or Nature. But, in a more special sense, it is a historical manifestation of divine truth through the *life and teaching of higher minds among men*. These men of God are eminent individuals, who communicate something of eternal truth to their brethren; and, as far as they themselves are true, they have in them the conviction, that what they say and teach of things divine is an objective truth. They therefore firmly believe that it is independent of their individual personal opinion and impression, and will last, and not perish as their personal existence upon earth must.

The difference between Christ and the other men of God is analogous to that between the *manifestation* of a part, and of the totality and substance, of the divine mind. It is Semitically expressed by the distinction between Moses and Christ. According to Jewish theologians, not only a distinction was made between the decalogue and the ceremonial law, but the whole law was given through the instrumentality of angels, not through God directly. S. Paul adopts this view, and opposes to the Mosaic dispensation the manifestation of God through Jesus the Christ. Or, in other words, the Christian religion is a manifestation of the very centre of God's substance, which is Love: it is the revelation of the Father by the Son, who is the incarnation of the eternal word, and without Sin.—Vol. ii. pp. 64, 65.

From these principles it is that M. Bunsen deduces, we presume, the view which he expresses in speaking of the first verse of S. John, as expounded by Catholics

the primitively existing Being and that of the primitive Intelligence or absolute Reason.

'The object of the Thought of an infinite Being can only be Thought itself as Existence.

'We are thus obliged to distinguish in God the Consciousness or Thought of Himself (the ideality) from his Being (or reality). Thus we come first to an original twofoldness of the infinite Being. His thinking Himself, by an act of eternal Will, is identical with his establishing in His Being, by this spontaneous act, the distinction of Subject and Object: the Subject' (that which thinks) 'being Reason, the Object' (that which is the object of thought) 'Existence as such, as distinct from Thought.

'But that divine act implies, at the same time, the Consciousness of the ever-continuing Unity of Subject and Object, of Existence and Reason.

'Thus there is implied in the One Thought of God a threefoldness, centering in a divine Unity.'—Pp. 32, 33.

'The realization of God in the finite supposes the infinite process of Creation by the antithesis of Will and Reason in the divine Being; or, to speak theologically, the eternal generation of the Word, which is the Son in the highest, that is to say, in the infinite or ideal sense.'—P. 35.

'The primitive antithesis in God (God and Word), applied to the Creation in time and space, or considered with respect to the demiurgic process, which terminates in man, may be denoted as that of Father and of Son. The Son may in this respect also be called the eternal Thought of God.'—P. 36.

'The ancient scriptural and apostolic doctrine is that of Father, Son, and Spirit, substantially united. This doctrine is placed, as far as the first element is concerned, by the side of the strictest doctrine of the Unity of God. So far as the second, the Son, is considered, it always refers to Jesus, the Christ, and to believing man. Lastly, the Spirit is always treated with reference to the "community" (Ecclesia), or to believing mankind. But, at the same time, He who is the Son is called the incarnation of the Eternal Word. In like manner the Paraclete (John xiv. 26) is considered as the Spirit coming from the Father.

'The following three points may therefore here be assumed as proved; because every one may easily ascertain this simple fact, by comparing the

(vol. i. p. 169),—'What is not intelligible is either untrue or useless.' And again:—'Revelation reveals truth, but does not make truth,—that truth must be true in itself. Now, if true in itself, in its substance, not through any outward authority, revealed truth must be intelligible to reason. For reason is of the Divine substance, the image and reflection of the eternal, Divine reason, and therefore able to discover (as it is acknowledged to have done) the laws of the movements of the celestial bodies in space, and (as it must be allowed to have done to a certain degree) the laws of the human mind moving in time.' . . .

'Now if Christianity be not true . . . what authority in the world can make it true? But if it be true (as of course they ought to assume), it is true, because true in itself, and wants no authority whatever to make it true.' . . .

As if there was no difference between making and evincing truth, nor any depth even in the Divine nature which man's intellect could not fathom! Is this the field of thought of which M. Bunsen says (vol. ii. p. 23),—'Maurice may be called the Semitic exponent of the deepest elements of English thought and life in this field . . . and Carlyle, . . . as manifesting in his writings such a philosophy, may be designated its Anglo-Germanic prophet.' It seems to us to be a denial of any authoritative external revelation. The inaccuracy of thought discovered in these absurd passages is surprising; as is that which is displayed in the discovery that 'Justification by faith is the Semitic expression of the principle of moral responsibility.'—Vol. ii. p. 104.

genuine scriptural passages, which form the apostolic tradition on this subject :

'First,—The Unity of God, as the eternal *Father*, is the fundamental doctrine of Christianity.

'Secondly,—The *Son* is Jesus the Christ, as the adequate manifestation, in the highest sense : every true believer is Son, in a state of diminishing imperfection, being brother to Christ in the Spirit. But Jesus alone is the incarnation of the Word (*Logos*). He therefore is called by S. John, "the only-begotten," *Unigenitus*.

'Thirdly,—The *Spirit* has not had, and is not to have, any finite individual embodiment : it appears in finite reality only as the totality or universality of the believers, as the congregation of believing mankind, called Church. But this Spirit is, substantially, not the spirit of any human individual, or of any body of men, but the Spirit of God himself.'—*Ibid.* pp. 45, 46.

M. Bunsen speaks contemptuously of our received theological language. It has, at least, one advantage,—it has a recognised determinate meaning; we know to what view a given proposition commits the party who maintains it. M. Bunsen's statements have not a determinate meaning; we think they have no meaning at all. If we deny them in a given sense, it is quite open to him to say we have mistaken him. But they seem not only absurd but simply contradictory to the faith. They deny the doctrine of the Trinity, and the proper divinity of our Lord, by denying the personality of the Word or Son. In the Apology, indeed, he makes Hippolytus say : 'I called the Word as much a Person as the Father. The Son is conscious Reason united with Will, and the Father is conscious Will united with Reason. For a person not affected by Finiteness can mean nothing but a conscious being uniting both will and reason;'—what this means we do not know; if Hippolytus had spoken in that way, he might naturally have been called a Ditheist,—but certainly in his usual mode of speaking, M. Bunsen denies the Personality of the Word before the Incarnation: he speaks of 'The Logos, . . . being embodied in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, the true and real man;' (vol. i. p. 167;) of 'becoming like God, as Jesus had been,' (*Ibid.* p. 250;) of 'the metaphysical distinctions between the Logos, as the ideal self-consciousness of God,' and His embodiment 'in Jesus of Nazareth as a historical person and true man;' and of 'that hybrid question, mixed up of historical evidence and speculative reasoning, whether and how far the idea of a hypostatic Son was to be placed between that Logos and the historical Jesus.'—*Ibid.* p. 303; see also vol. i. pp. 41, 42, and 56. It would seem that M. Bunsen does not hold the proper personality of the Word, or Son, prior to the Incarnation, nor of the Holy Spirit at all.

It appears to us that this attempt to develop a doctrinal system from the 'idea of God in the human mind,' is really

carried out upon principles analogous to those which in other times led to Anthropomorphism. It is surely a gratuitous assumption that the Divine Mind, and, if we may so say, modes of thought, are so like our own, that we can argue to such an extent from the one to the other. We believe that Almighty God, in condescension to our infirmities, has revealed truths respecting Himself in terms derived from our experience, in order to convey some ideas to our minds, as grown people teach children. The propositions in which such truths are stated, are intelligible up to a certain point; beyond which they necessarily run on into what is unintelligible; they are to be regarded as accommodations; and of such statements one modifies by seeming to contradict another. This is the case in the expressions of truth by 'the higher minds' among men, who communicate something of eternal truth to 'their brethren.' Now what they who fell into Anthropomorphism did in respect of physical analogies, M. Bunsen seems to have done in respect of metaphysical analogies. Holy Scripture, we conceive, does itself guard against these misunderstandings by the varied character of the expressions which it uses. In the case before us, that of the Eternal Logos, persons might have rested in the view that It is what our thought or self-consciousness is, and has not any more substantive or personal subsistence; whereas the beginning of S. John's Gospel guards against this by the statement, Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, and ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, and by other expressions indicating distinct personality, as well as by that truth which takes most deep root in the Christian soul, that the Son of God voluntarily undertook the work of our redemption, 'being rich He became poor.' The interpretation of the first words of S. John by M. Bunsen, does indeed seem of itself to prove that his view is not consistent with them. He says, 'The first words ["In the beginning was the Word, &c."] speak of the immanent eternal existence of the Word as God (as God's thought of Himself,) that is, if we understand it aright, 'the thought &c. is the thought &c.' (vol. iv. p. 128.) He himself seems inclined to fall back on the Fathers. He says, (vol. i. p. 179,) speaking of the saving clause, *quatenus concordant*, 'I must limit my assent to the clear concordance of formularies, not only with Scripture, (which is the 'great Protestant principle,) but also with the earlier Fathers' and decrees.' And the views which M. Bunsen entertains, and which he affirms are those of the ancient Church, do seem to have some colour from the expressions of those Fathers, owing to the circumstance that the received philosophy of their day was Platonism. In philosophizing, therefore, on Christian doctrine, they naturally spoke in the received terminology; and they

seized on the illustrations suggested by the λόγος, (together with the σοφία of the Books of Proverbs and Wisdom,) to assist in bringing home Christian truth to the understanding of their contemporaries. But they, also, most strictly guarded themselves against misapprehension by many other expressions. Thus Irenæus, in combating the Valentinians—and their language reminds us of M. Bunsen's—repeatedly maintains¹ that we are not to argue from the facts of our own minds to those of the divine; and Tertullian (Adv. Prax. cap. 5) after working out that beautiful analogy of a second self being produced in thought, says, '*Quanto hoc plenius agitur in Deo?*' indicating the true personality of Him who is as this second self to the Father, even His Logos.

Indeed, that the fathers did thus guard the doctrine is unwillingly and unwittingly proved by M. Bunsen himself. For, taking up only one side, so to say, of their view, as their complete view, he is compelled to alter or to reject as spurious passages which distinctly guard against such misapprehension, although, as we shall see, he does it in opposition to all principles of true criticism.

But M. Bunsen says, immediately after the words with which our extract from his Aphorisms concluded, 'This is the statement of the Bible; and to accept and believe this statement, as the revelation of divine truth, this, and this alone, forms the doctrinal test of the Apostolical age.' And if we do not misunderstand him, he thinks no other was the doctrinal test of the second and third centuries. That this is not the case is manifest from this fact. In vol. i. p. 237, in classifying the heretics M. Bunsen, in defiance of facts, puts under the class of '*Sects orthodox, both as to God and Christ*, but with some error in other points,' the Noetians and Callistians, whom S. Hippolytus regarded as the worst of heretics, and who were anathematized by the Churches.² And in the Apology (vol. iv. p. 110), he makes Hippolytus confess that 'the Noetians . . . stood with us on evangelic ground,' and blame himself for having treated them 'as heretics, . . . who were indeed not separated from us by any truly essential point.' Can any misrepresentation be more patent?

If it be alleged that Noetianism was connived at by one Bishop of Rome, and taught by his successor, let it be remembered that it was Noetianism cloaked under the profession of orthodoxy, misrepresenting those who maintained the true faith, and pretending to oppose the errors which it imputed to them. Let it be remembered that Callistus, before he became bishop, professed to the orthodox that he really agreed with them,

¹ See Book ii. c. 13, § 8; c. 23, § 4.

² Cont. Noet. c. 1.

and persuaded them of his sincerity; that when bishop, in order to purge himself of the suspicion of heresy, he anathematized Sabellius, and so far modified his former views as to be regarded by Sabellius himself as having departed from them. That Sabellianism or Noetianism was a heresy to be anathematized was agreed on, whenever it appeared; whether this or that person was a Sabellian, considering the subtlety with which their views were concealed, is another question.

Our present object, however, is chiefly to show how little M. Bunsen is qualified to determine what the views of the primitive Christians were, and incidentally only to exhibit what they really believed.

M. Bunsen maintains that his own view is sanctioned by the theological statements of S. Hippolytus, and under this persuasion he expresses the high sense he has of their importance and authority:—

‘The conclusion of the work,’ he says, ‘contains the solemn confession of the learned and pious author himself, who represents the doctrine of the Catholic Church, exactly one hundred years before the Council of Nice, in the very age of transition from the apostolic consciousness to the ecclesiastical system.’—Vol. i. Pref. pp. v. vi.

Again:—

‘Through his master Irenæus, the apostle of the Gauls, and disciple of Polycarp of Ephesus, who had caught the words of the Apostle of Love from St. John’s own lips, Hippolytus received the tradition and doctrine of the Apostolic age from an unsuspected source.’—Vol. i. Pref. p. iv.

It so happens that other decided testimony to the orthodoxy of S. Hippolytus is given by two high authorities. Photius, who, as M. Bunsen well knows, was very acute in discerning any variation from strict orthodoxy of statement, and very severe in censuring it, testifies to it unconsciously (*Bibliotheca*, c. xlviii.) in saying that the author of the ‘*Little Labyrinth*’ ‘treated of the Divinity of Christ our true God, very closely (to the doctrine of the Church;’ for so we presume *ὡς ἔγγιστα* should be translated,) and ‘described without fault His mysterious generation from the Father:’ (see ‘*Age of Hippolytus*,’ vol. i. p. 152.) And Dr. Routh selected the treatise against Noetus, for insertion into his *Opuscula*, as a choice testimony to the doctrine of the Church on the subject of the Unity of God and the Person of Christ. This may assure us, if we meet with expressions which are now unusual, that in the opinion of somewhat competent judges, Hippolytus, whatever may be made of his isolated statements, is indeed truly Catholic.

But we are not so much concerned now with the general question of his orthodoxy as with M. Bunsen’s mode of dealing with his statements.

The first passage we shall take is the opening of what M.

Bunsen calls the second part of Hippolytus's Confession of Faith. The original and his translation are as follows:—

The doctrine of the Logos.

Οὗτος οὖν μόνος καὶ κατὰ πάντων Θεὸς
Λόγον πρῶτον ἐννοθεῖς ἀπογεννᾷ οὐ
λόγον ὡς φωνήν, ἀλλ' ἐνδιάθετον τοῦ
πάντος λογισμῶν. Τοῦτον μόνον ἐξ ὄντων
ἐγέννα· τὸ γὰρ ὄν, αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἦν, ἐξ οὗ
τὸ γεννηθῆναι αἴτιον τοῖς γινομένοις.—
[Philosoph. pp. 334, 335.]

'Now this sole one and *universal* God, first by His cogitation begets the Word (Logos), not the word in the sense of speech, but as the *indwelling* reason of the universe. Him alone of all beings He begat: for that which was, was the Father Himself; the being born of whom was the cause of all beings.'—P. 154.

We have marked in italics the words to which we wish to draw attention.

The expression to which we especially refer as indicating M. Bunsen's ignorance of the common theological language of the ancient Church, is that of ἐξ ὄντων ἐγέννα; but, by the way, we will observe some other points, taking them in the order in which they present themselves. The words κατὰ πάντων, here translated 'universal,' are a few pages afterwards (p. 184) translated 'of all:' this we shall have occasion to notice again. We would suggest that the words πρῶτον ἐννοθεῖς mean rather, 'Having first (or previously) conceived,' as opposed to the word ἀπογεννᾷ, which follows, and in which the ἀπὸ implies the putting forth of the Word, which had previously existed from eternity with the Father, into visibly distinct existence; the *Manifestation* in distinctness of Him who eternally was in being in a real personality, veiled in the depths of the Divine consciousness.

The meaning of the next words is clearly mistaken: ἐνδιάθετον τοῦ πάντος λογισμῶν, translated 'the indwelling reason of the universe,' refers to the view indicated a few lines below, and happily expressed in the extract which M. Bunsen himself gives from Meier, p. 297, 'the universe locked up, as it were, in Him in its ideal existence;' for λογισμὸς is not reason, nor can it be equivalent to λόγος: it is the exercise of reason, and that considered as a substantive thing, referring properly not to speculative thought, but to that which issues in action or production; i. e. a calculation or planning, devising, scheme. Now in the Divine Λόγος was imaged forth that world which He was to create, before it came into being,—the plan or scheme of the universe, whilst it was yet ἐνδιάθετος, remaining, that is, as a conception in the Divine mind, and not yet put forth; as Hippolytus says, in the next sentence,¹ 'The Word was not unacquainted with the Thought of the Father' . . . and again,

¹ Οὐκ ἄπειρος τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐννοίας . . . ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰς ἐν τῷ [νῷ] πατρικῷ ἐννοηθείσας ἰδέας, ὅθεν κελεύοντος Πατρὸς γίνεσθαι κόσμον τὸ κατὰ ἐν Λόγος ἀποτελείτο ἀρέσκων Θεῷ.—Ibid.

'He has in Himself the ideas conceived in the Father's (mind) (*ἐν τῷ [νῶ] πατρικῷ*). Whence, on the Father's commanding the world to come into being, the Word accomplished it in detail, 'therein pleasing God.' The same view is expressed by other Fathers, as by Tatian, as understood by Bishop Bull (Def. Fid. Nic. ii. 6, § 3), interpreting Tatian's words, §§ 4, 5; we quote the very literal translation recently published: 'The Word, the beginning of the world, who is also the idea or exemplar, or, in other words, the Art Divine whereby the Father, when He willed, formed the universe.' And the like is said by Athenagoras of the *Λόγος* going forth as the idea and operating cause of creation—*ἰδέα καὶ ἐνέργεια*, Apol. § 10.'

We notice by the way the carelessness of translating *γινόμενοι* 'beings.' The word is almost a technical expression in the early Christian writers for created beings, as opposed to God; as, of course, the commonest schoolboy-accuracy would require us to

¹ This subject will be made more clear by the following extract from Dr Burton's Bampton Lectures, p. 212:—

'In order to explain myself, I must make some remarks upon the use of the term *Logos* in the philosophy of Plato. Whoever has studied the works of that speculative writer, must be aware that the Mind or Reason of the Deity held a very conspicuous place in his theological system. The Mind of the Deity was the seat of those *Ideas*, those eternal but unsubstantial prototypes of all things, from which the material creation received its qualities and forms. Hence we find the work of creation attributed sometimes to God, sometimes to His Mind or Reason, sometimes to the *Ideas*. But we must carefully remember that Plato never spoke of the Reason of God as a distinctly existing Person; it was only a mode or relation in which the operations of the Deity might be contemplated. . . . He speaks of God being the Father of a being who is God, the Son of God, and even the only-begotten: but it is quite plain that he is here speaking of the intellectual world, the first substantial effect of that creative faculty, which the *Ideas* in the mind of the Deity possessed. This intellectual world had no material existence; it was still seated in the Mind of the Deity, and hence it was often identified with the Reason of God.'

Dr. Burton points out, that the doctrine of S. John, on the contrary, is, that the *Logos* was personally distinct from the Father; and, after regretting that the Fathers should have had recourse to these analogies, (which we think too narrow a view,) he says,—'When it is argued from this analogy that the Fathers believed Christ to be an unsubstantial energy, a mere mode or quality of God, *nothing can be more unfair, or show a greater ignorance of the writings of the Fathers.*' It is plain, from this argument, that by 'Christ' Dr. Burton intended the *Logos*, or Son of God, before His incarnation. M. Bunsen seems to consider Christianity to be distinguished from Platonism in this, that the *Logos*, being un-personal, was embodied in a human person, 'the historical Christ,' Jesus of Nazareth (vol. i. p. 56); the Christians themselves believed the distinction to lie in this, that the *Logos* was personally distinct from the Father before the Incarnation, which they expressed by the words, *Λόγος ἐνπρόσωπος*,—a substantial or personal *Logos*. It is plain that, if at any point of time the *Logos* had begun to be personal, that point of time was the beginning of His existence. To assert that this took place, even before all time, was Arianism, and involved the assertion that He is not truly God. To assert that it took place only by union with a human person, is a modification of Humanitarianism. On this principle it is, we suppose, that Meier says of Hippolytus, that he is 'advancing towards the personality of the three subjects which the others (Beryllus and Sabellius) knowingly deny; in assuming the eternal personality of the Son for the future, he is forced to acknowledge it in the past;' cited by Bunsen, p. 298. We refer to Meier's statement only as an admission.

translate it as 'what is made,' or 'brought into being,' as opposed to 'being' simply, as in the words cited below about Hermogenes. Presently afterwards M. Bunsen is guilty of the like carelessness: he translates *πρωτότοκος τούτου γενομένος* by '*being* His first-begotten.' It means, '*having become* His first-begotten;' that is, having, by condescension, become manifested as distinct from the Father. It is only by attention to small points such as these that we can avoid an entire misapprehension of a writer's meaning.

To return, however, to the words, *ἐξ ὄντων ἐγέννα*. We need scarcely do more than draw attention to the expression. It is the opposite of *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*, a phrase which is of the utmost importance in the dogmatic history of the Antenicene period, and forms one of the criteria of Arianism. The statement of S. Hippolytus is that 'the Word alone was produced by the Father *out of what was in being*, for that which was in being 'was the Father;' that is, whereas all created beings were called into existence out of nothing, the Son was not produced out of nothing, but out of the Substance of the Father, and therefore was properly '*begotten*, not made:' for he who is brought into being by one out of his own substance, is begotten of him. The words which occur earlier in the book, in the account of Hermogenes, (viii. 17, p. 273,) illustrate what we have said. His view was that matter was eternal; 'for it was impossible 'for God to make what was created, except out of what was in being,'—*ἀδυνάτως γὰρ ἔχειν τὸν Θεὸν μὴ οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων τὰ γινόμενα ποιεῖν*. (It will be observed, of course, that the word *γεννᾶν* is used both generally for *producing*, and strictly for *begetting*, in this passage, as elsewhere.) The importance of this doctrinal statement of S. Hippolytus is manifest. It clearly severs him from Arianising teachers, as is manifest to any one who knows even the least of that controversy; according to that item in the condemnation of Arianism, at the end of the Nicene Creed, in which they are condemned who say the Son was 'out of nothing,' *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*. The orthodox, with Hippolytus, have ever held that He was *ἐξ ὄντων*, that is, as the Father alone was in being, *ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς*, or *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς*. The immediate context shows that this was Hippolytus' meaning; as he goes on to say,—'For that which was in being was the Father Himself;' *τοῦτον μόνον ἐξ ὄντων ἐγέννα: τὸ γὰρ ὄν, αὐτὸς ὁ Πατὴρ ἦν*. And the contrast in this respect between the Son and all created beings occurs repeatedly in what follows; *e.g.* in the same page, 'For the first substances of these,'—*i.e.* created things, whether angels or material objects,—'having been formed out of what was not,' *καὶ γὰρ αἱ τούτων πρῶται οὐσίαι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γενομέναι*. And again, in a passage which

exactly illustrates our meaning; (p. 336,) *τούτου ὁ λόγος μόνος ἐξ αὐτοῦ διὰ καὶ Θεός, οὐσία ὑπάρχων Θεοῦ· ὁ δὲ κόσμος ἐξ οὐδένος· διὰ οὐ Θεός,* 'His Word is alone of Him,' (literally 'out of,' 'derived out of' Him,) 'wherefore He 'is God, being 'the substance of God. But the universe is out of nothing, 'therefore it is not God.' This will be recognised at once as the Nicene argument, if we may so call it. The Word, or Son, is of God, therefore He is God. S. Hippolytus derived it from his master, S. Irenæus: it is his great and immortal maxim, *τὸ ἐκ Θεοῦ γεννηθὲν, Θεὸς ἐστίν,*¹ 'that which is begotten of God, is God.' The English language fails to express the great distinction implied in the Greek preposition, which gives this meaning, 'that which is produced *out of* God, is God.' M. Bunsen, in his fourth volume, imagines S. Hippolytus discussing the expressions of the Nicene Creed. One would have thought he would have simply rejoiced to see his own statements of doctrine almost expressly repeated there. The words of the Creed, as set forth by the Council, being, — '*γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τούτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς· Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ . . . γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμο- οὐσίον τῷ Πατρί,*'—'begotten of the Father, as His only begotten, that is out of (ἐξ) the substance of the Father, God of 'God begotten, not made, of one substance with the 'Father.'

We will not leave this extract from the Confession of Hippolytus, without noticing two other points. 1. At p. 157, in addressing mankind, he says, 'For if He had willed to make thee a God, He could have done so: thou hast the *example* of 'the Word: [but] willing to make thee man, He made thee 'man.' The meaning of the passage is obvious; and though we think every one will be disposed to say of S. Hippolytus, '*minus cautè locutus est,*' it is very evident that he held that the Word both had a personal subsistence, and was God: otherwise his argument falls to the ground. We give the words and translation from M. Bunsen:—

The Greek words are:—

εἰ γὰρ θεόν σε ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι, ἐδύνατο· ἔχεις τοῦ Λόγου τὸ παράδειγμα· ἄνθρωπον θέλων, ἄνθρωπόν σε ἐποίησεν.

M. Bunsen translates it:—

'If he had willed to make thee a God, he could have done so: *for* thou hast the *image* of the Logos: but willing to make thee a man, a man he made thee.'

M. Bunsen translates *παράδειγμα*, 'image;' a sense it cannot have, and puts in 'for,' where it is not found in the Greek, instead of where it is. We suppose he wished it to mean that man might have been made God, because the image of the

¹ Lib. i. 8. § 5, p. 41.

Word is in him. We presume it is by the passage so translated that M. Bunsen would show that S. Hippolytus agreed with his view, that '*the soul*, i.e. every human soul, *is a part of the self-consciousness of God*' (i.e. the Logos), or that '*reason is of the Divine substance, the image and reflection of the eternal, Divine reason*' (i.e. the Logos);¹ and it would be a great help to those who would argue that the '*historical Christ*' is called God, though really only a human being in whom the Logos is especially manifested.

2. The other, and the last thing we shall observe on this place, is the quiet way in which, after having thus, either in ignorance or by stealth, got rid of two most important statements on the divinity and personality of the Word, by gross mistranslations, M. Bunsen wishes to destroy a third by forcibly altering the text. The words in the Greek, as we have it, run thus,—
'Χριστὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ κατὰ πάντων Θεός, ὃς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀποπλύνειν προσέταξε, νέον τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποτελῶν, εἰκόνα τοῦτον καλέσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, τὴν εἰς σὲ ἀποδείκνυμενος στοργήν.' There is no objection to this reading, except that it says that Christ is '*God of all*,' or '*God over all*,' ὁ κατὰ πάντων Θεός; and that it seems to say that Christ gave command to wash away sins. M. Bunsen expresses these objections in the following note:—

'This important sentence needs correction, unless one will place the author in contradiction with himself. He cannot have said that Christ was the Father, which the words in the present text imply. He cannot have said that Christ ordered men to wash off sins. God, according to His eternal purpose of redemption, ordered Christ to wash away the sins of mankind, making new the old man. The absurdity of the present text becomes still more glaring, if we recollect what we have just heard Hippolytus say of the relation of God the Creator to the Logos' [in the passages we have cited]. 'The corruption of the text may be accidental, (through the repetition of the last two letters of Θεός); but it may also be the consequence of a *designed correction in pejus*.'

In the text he alters it thus; (we give his translation in the parallel column)—

Χριστός γὰρ ἐστὶν [φ] ὁ κατὰ πάντων Θεός (t. Θεός, ὃς) τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀποπλύνειν προσέταξε, νέον τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποτελῶν, εἰκόνα τοῦτον καλέσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διὰ τύπου, τὴν εἰς σὲ ἐπιδεικνύμενος στοργήν. οὐ προστάγμασιν ὑπακούσας σεμνοῖς, καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος μιμητῆς, ἔσῃ ὅμοιος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμηθεῖς. Σοῦ γὰρ πτωχεύει Θεός καὶ σὲ Θεὸν ποιήσας εἰς δόξαν αὐτοῦ . . .

For Christ is he whom the God of all has ordered to wash away the sins of mankind, renewing the old man, having called him his image from the beginning typically, showing forth his love to thee. If thou art obedient to his solemn behests, and becomest a good follower of him who is good, thou wilt become like him, honoured by him. For God acts the beggar towards thee, and having made thee God to his glory . . .

¹ Vol. ii. p. 36, and vol. i. p. 171.

On this we will only observe that it is plain that Christ, not the Father, is the subject of the several participles and verbs: that it is He who does all these things for us; that the command or commission to men to wash away sins, is not more surprising than that to Saul to arise and wash away his own sins—it is obviously a most natural expression; and, further, that the whole force of the argument is lost if it be not asserted that Christ is God. For it is on the condescension of ‘the God of all’ that the argument is built, as the concluding words show: ‘for *thy God* becomes poor, having made even thee God unto His glory.’ We think this the true rendering of *καὶ*, and that the passage is not mutilated. Every one will recognise the allusion to S. Paul’s words, 2 Cor. viii. 9, ‘Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though He was rich, yet for your sakes He became poor (*ἐπτώχευσεν*), that ye through His poverty might be rich.’ The expression *πρωτεύει* is the Apostle’s expression, and the contrast between Christ and us, is the same. Lastly, as S. Hippolytus had just been speaking of men being made divine through Christ, it was quite necessary to introduce some such distinguishing words as these, ‘God of all,’ to mark the true Godhead of the Son in contrast to ‘the Divine nature,’ (2 Peter i. 4,) of which Christians are ‘made partakers.’

The real gist of the objection alleged by M. Bunsen lies in the words, ‘He cannot have said that Christ was the Father, which the words in the present text imply:’ that is to say, Hippolytus could not have said that Christ is *ὁ κατὰ πάντων Θεός*, because that title belongs exclusively to God the Father. Now at this place we are indeed bewildered. M. Bunsen professes to have read Hippolytus’s works, and in particular the treatise against Noetus. He makes copious extracts from it; he talks familiarly of Dorner’s treatment of it,—nay, he had gone over it with so careful and critical an eye as to be able to say that, he ‘does not think there is more than one interpolation in the text of the treatise against Noetus.’—vol. i. p. 251. Now is this a wanton assertion, or had he run his eye over it so carelessly as to overlook some most important portions of it? Or did he not perceive their relation to the passage before us? Our readers must judge for themselves. M. Bunsen translates *ὁ κατὰ πάντων Θεός* at the beginning of the Confession of Faith, ‘the universal God,’ in the place now before us, ‘the God of all.’ We apprehend we are not acting unfairly in saying that, *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός*, ‘the God over all,’ though it does not express exactly the same idea,¹ is, at the very least, as strong an expression. Now

¹ The Son is said in the Treatise against Noetus, c. 14, to be *διὰ πάντων*. In both the places where the words *ὁ κατὰ πάντων Θεός* are used in the Confession before us, it seems designed to express true, omnipresent, universal Godhead, as opposed

it is notorious that this designation was applied especially to the Father, with reference to the Son and the Holy Ghost; according to that mutual relation of prerogative and subordination, by which the Father is greater than the Son. In this sense, God the Father was especially called, 'God over all;' the passages are too numerous to cite. Now the Noetian doctrine was, that the Father became incarnate, and Himself was Jesus Christ. They alleged many texts in proof of this: amongst them the words of S. Paul, Rom. ix. 5, 'Of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is God over all, blessed for ever,' *Χριστὸς ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, εὐλόγητος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*. If any one wishes to see in a small compass how very usual was the application of the specific title, *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός*, to the Father; and again, how decidedly the assertion that Christ was the God over all was considered to be the token of Sabellianism, we refer him to the numerous extracts from the Fathers in Wetstein's note on Rom. ix. 5.

But we will confine ourselves to S. Hippolytus. In the second chapter of his treatise against Noetus, which treatise, be it remembered, 'does not contain more than one interpolation,' he states the arguments of the Noetians, and amongst other texts of Scripture on which they rested, he cites this, (Rom. ix. 5,) 'Christ, who is God over all, blessed for ever,' *Χριστὸς ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, εὐλόγητος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*: and, in chapter 6, he engages in a refutation of the argument derived from it. Now, M. Bunsen ought to have known this; for the words occur at the very beginning of the chapter, and anyhow could scarcely have escaped observation; and the argument upon them occupies great part of that chapter. Yet we cannot believe that he had read it, because in it Hippolytus argues this very point against Noetus, and shows, that though Christ is God over all, it does not follow that He is the Father Himself. His words are:—

'As to what the Apostle says: "Whose are the Fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is God over all blessed for ever;" it is well and clearly explained by the mystery of the truth. He is God over all, for thus He says expressly, "All things are delivered unto Me of the Father." He has been made God over all blessed, and though He has become man, is God for ever. For thus also John has said: "He who is and was, and is to come, God Almighty." Rightly has he called Christ Almighty,' &c.¹

to the local limited deities of heathenism, or the figurative application of the word (as in Ps. lxxxii. 6, S. John x. 34) to men.

¹ Ο δὲ λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος, ὅτι οἱ Πατέρες, ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· καλῶς διηγείται καὶ λαμπρῶς τὴν ἀληθείαν μυστήριον. οὗτος ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός ἐστιν, λέγει γὰρ οὕτω μετὰ παρρησίας, Πάντα μοι παραδέδοται ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς. ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός εὐλογητὸς γενόμενος, καὶ ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος Θεός ἐστιν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

What then is to be said of the critic who alters, 'Christ, who is the God of all, commanded,' into 'Christ, whom the God of all commanded;' because, forsooth, Hippolytus would contradict himself if he said that Christ was God of all? How can a writer be trusted, who, professing to come fresh from the reading of the treatise against Noetus, of which this is a principal argument, asserts that Hippolytus could not do that which he himself is most careful to show he can; that is, consistently with his doctrine, apply to Christ an epithet which was applied to Him by S. Paul?

The Noetians, be it observed, alleged the words, 'Christ, who is God over all, blessed for ever,' as a conclusive argument in favour of their doctrine. They do not seem to have had any suspicion, that it could have been overthrown by a difference of punctuation; nor does that mode of meeting their allegation appear to have presented itself to S. Hippolytus. We must suppose that he had never heard of such a mode of punctuation: for why go about to explain the text in the way he does, if the Noetians had cited it in a totally different sense from that which the received punctuation required? Now, M. Bunsen being so familiar with all critical questions, and holding so decided a view that 'the text which is the same as the ancient Church read, is the right text,' (vol. iv. p. 33,) how is it that he did not observe that Hippolytus connected the words, 'God over all' with 'Christ?' He says very much about our putting the point in a wrong place, in S. John i. 2, 3. (vol. iv. pp. 31, 127,) and makes Hippolytus exceedingly surprised at our having pointed that text as it is in our received editions. How is it that he did not observe that his friends, the modern German critics, have departed in the same way from the primitive reading of this verse;¹ and why was not S. Hippolytus astonished at the mistakes made in the *critical* editions of the New Testament, which point it so as to mean, 'of whom as concerning the flesh, Christ came? God, who is over all, be blessed for ever.' Is it of more importance to point aright the text, 'without Him was not anything made; what was made through Him was life,' &c., than to vindicate this direct testimony to our blessed Lord's Godhead from the corruptions of critical editors?

That the words would not have been so written by S. Paul,

οὕτως γὰρ καὶ Ἰωάννης εἶπεν 'Ὁ ὦν καὶ ὁ ᾤ, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ' καλῶς εἶπεν παντοκράτορα Χριστόν, κ. τ. λ.—Cont. Noet. c. 6.

¹ So vol. i. p. 109. M. Bunsen, almost for the purpose, as it seems, of introducing his own view on the reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16, cites the words thus: 'He who was manifested in the flesh,' &c. He might have noticed that in the treatise against Noetus, c. 17, printed by him, vol. i. p. 256, there is, possibly, a confirmation of the other reading, οὗτος προελθὼν εἰς κόσμον Θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη.

had he wished to say, 'God, who is over all, be blessed for ever,' is clear. But that is not our point. We are concerned only with this question, How was the verse read in the primitive Church? We have seen how Hippolytus and his adversaries agreed in reading it. Now there was no theological object to gain by connecting the words, 'God over all,' with 'Christ;' on the contrary, they presented a great difficulty to the orthodox. But S. Hippolytus's treatment of the text shows that he knew no other way of understanding them. So Irenæus cited them, lib. iii. c. 16. 3, though elsewhere he shows that, in relation to the Son, the Father is God over all, lib. ii. c. 28, 8. So did Tertullian against Praxeas, c. 13, showing that Christ is thus called God by the example of the Apostle: and somewhat later, by Novatian on the Trinity, c. 13. and 30, and Cyprian against the Jews, ii. 6, (the difference of reading we are aware of;) both in argument. In a totally different, and most critical school, they were so cited by Origen in his commentary on the words, and argued on by him: and by Dionysius of Alexandria, in the Epistle about Paul of Samosata, (p. 248,) alleging them in an argument for the divinity of Christ: to say nothing of the concurrent and unanimous usage of the Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers, indeed the whole of antiquity. On the other hand stand early MSS., but all more recent than this. Why, then, should not Hippolytus say of this text, 'it is difficult for me to believe how later changes can have improved an old text, or what importance it can be to know the different ways in which subsequent copyists disfigured and interpolated the texts read by the Fathers, when the old texts agree so well among themselves?' (Vol. iv. p. 32.)

This is a clear case of pure criticism, and we apprehend that there is no doubt that the readings we find in the writings of the Fathers—essentially involved, be it observed, in their argument, and therefore not 'interpolations'—are the true readings, and that the new punctuation arose from a faithless fear of seeming to encourage Sabellianism: our own Version and the Latin avoid it by translating—'Who is over all, God blessed for ever,' instead of—'Who is God over all, blessed for ever,'—thereby escaping from the ambiguity.

Our object in this digression is, to point out two remarkable instances of virtual dishonesty in critical editors of high repute, Tischendorf and Wetstein. Of the former, we are grieved to say anything which may seem ungrateful. But the high character which his editions justly hold, requires it the more. Tischendorf points the words, . . . Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα. ὁ ὦν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, κ.τ.λ. and has this note 'sæpe ὁ ὦν etc. a pp. [ut Ath. Cæs. Theodor. Mop.] ita laudantur ut planè cum

ἰ Χριστὸς conjungant.' That is to say, 'the words are often cited by the Fathers, as Athanasius, Cæsarius, Theodorus of Mopsuesta, so as to connect the words, "who is over all, God blessed for ever," with "Christ."' The fact is, that every Father, including the Antenicene Fathers, who does cite it, cites it thus: but this fact is wholly suppressed; and yet these very Fathers, Hippolytus, and Irenæus, and Tertullian, and Cyprian, are cited as authorities for variations in the readings, only a line or two before. M. Bunsen makes Hippolytus say in his Apology: 'as long as there shall be *critical* and *honest* inquiry of *truth-seeking* minds, and *courage to believe in truth*, historical facts seem to me as much capable of demonstration as mathematical truths.' We do not inquire into the philosophy of this statement, nor do we say to whom the epithets 'critical,' 'honest,' 'truth-seeking,' are applicable: but we do say, that if there be an historical fact capable of demonstration, it is this—that the whole ancient Church read the words so as to apply to Christ the title, 'God over all, blessed for ever,' and that Tischendorf's text is not the primitive text.

We referred to Wetstein, and found several moderns, as Locke and Erasmus, cited in favour of the pointing which he adopts; which is the same as Tischendorf's. We found ONE ancient name; we cite the words 'Q. 91, ex N.T. *Augustino* adscript. Sed ad Patris personam pertinere dicatur.' 'In Question 91 on the New Testament, ascribed to Augustine; but it may be said that this refers to the person of the Father.' We looked to this spurious but ancient work:--reading M. Bunsen had made us suspicious. We found that the words cited are an imagined objection, to which the writer immediately replies—that the Father was not mentioned, and they could not be referred to Him. The Pseudo-Augustin's words are, 'But perhaps it may be said, that it refers to the Person of the Father? But in this place there is no mention of the name of the Father; and therefore if it is denied that it is said of Christ, let some person to whom it does apply be supplied.'

Far be it from us to depreciate in any degree the labours of critics: but let them be honest and candid critics, and not, like Wetstein on this place, bring forth a heap of passages showing the Father is distinctively called *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός*, and that it was a sign of Sabellianism to call the Son so, when he actually cites the explanation given by Hippolytus, and copied from him by Epiphanius, which showed that they did not question that these words are said by S. Paul of the Son, and may be so said

¹ 'Sed forte ad Patris personam pertinere dicatur? sed hoc loco nulla est paterni nominis mentio. Ideoque si de Christo dictum negatur, persona cui competat detur.'

consistently with the truth. Let him not, when every single Father who cites these words applies them to the Son, fall back on Julian the Apostate's saying, that S. Paul did not venture to call Jesus God, or cite as the Pseudo-Augustin's own sentiment, a view which that writer states only to refute.

M. Bunsen lays great stress on the importance of applying the principles of true criticism to the ancient monuments of Christianity. A large portion of these volumes consists of such so-called critical restorations of the genuine Creeds, and Laws, and Liturgies of the Primitive Church; and we have seen before the repeated mention of the critical restorations he has in hand. It becomes of some importance, therefore, to understand clearly what he means by critical restoration. To us it appears to be a wanton omission or insertion of words and clauses, in order, if possible, to bring the statements of the ancient writers into harmony with M. Bunsen's view of what was 'the general consciousness of the ancient Church.' This is indeed impossible, because the expressions of their faith, of this 'general consciousness,' are inwoven in the very fabric of their writings. But it is of some importance, nevertheless, to come to a clear understanding of what is meant by saying, 'Take away *ignorance, misunderstandings, and forgeries*, and the naked truth remains; not a spectre carefully to be veiled, but an image of divine beauty, radiant with eternal truth.' We have seen one specimen, in the expunging the words *ὁ κατὰ πάντων Θεός*, applied to Christ; we shall shortly see another, in his marking as an interpolation the words, *τὸ δὲ τρίτον (πρόσωπον) τὸ ἄγιον Πνεῦμα*, 'and the third Person is the Holy Spirit.'

But it may not be out of place to adduce an instance, not from the hastily written letters to Archdeacon Hare, but from a more deliberate composition—the third volume—where M. Bunsen is engaged in *restoring to their genuine form* the Hymns of the Primitive Church. The hymn we refer to is the *Gloria in Excelsis*, which there is every reason to believe has come down from the very earliest Christian antiquity; but of which there are two forms, one used by the Eastern, the other by the Western Church. M. Bunsen gives the Eastern form, as it is found in the Codex Alexandrinus, where it is appended, with the other ecclesiastical canticles, to the Psalter, as is usual in the Greek MSS. of the Old Testament. The Latin he gives as it is now used in the service of the Church. He places in a third parallel column the hymn as it stands in the pseudo-Apostolical Constitutions; admitting, at the same time, that in the Constitutions 'the original text has evidently been paraphrased, and may have been tampered with.' It is well known that these

Constitutions were held to have been Arianized. M. Bunsen, like Whiston, seems to have a great regard for them, and to consider that 'critically restored' they would be a genuine monument of antiquity: which is probably true, if there were a sufficient basis for a sound critical restoration.

The important difference between the Eastern and Western forms of the *Gloria in Excelsis* lies in the place in which the glorifying of the Holy Spirit is introduced. In the Eastern form the words run thus: 'We glorify Thee, &c. O God the Father Almighty, O Lord the only begotten Son, and O Holy Ghost. O Lord Jesu Christ, O Lord God, Lamb of God,' &c. And in the concluding clauses the mention of the Holy Spirit does not occur, the words being, 'For Thou only art holy, Thou only art the Lord, O Jesus Christ, unto the glory of God the Father.' Now M. Bunsen argues from this difference that the mention of the Holy Ghost, in both forms, is a late insertion. He says: 'About the year 380, Hilarius, it appears, transferred this Hymn, in his liturgical compositions and collections, from the Greek to the Latin Church, according to a text not entirely accordant with the Alexandrian codex.' (vol. iii. p. 134.) Now, of this passage it is not too much to say, that, not merely the statement as a whole, but each individual clause of it, contains a misrepresentation. 'About the year 380:' we presume that M. Bunsen fixed on the year 380 because it was the latest date anterior to the Council of Constantinople in 381, which asserted, against the Macedonians, the doctrine of the personality of the Holy Spirit. But unfortunately S. Hilary was dead at that time: he died in 367, according to Clinton; and the data are explicit enough to fix it to about that year. He returned from the East about 360.¹ 'Hilarius, it appears,' &c.: we ask, How does it appear? We believe no one says anything like it, for 300 or 400 years after S. Hilary's death: after that, one John Beleth, a middle age writer of no authority, whom it is simply ridiculous for a critical historian to mention, says that Hilary composed the Hymn, which we presume we are not to believe. But meanwhile the 4th Council of Toledo had mentioned Hilary's Hymns, and also the *Gloria in Excelsis*, but in such a way as to show that they did not connect it with Hilary. Indeed, as M. Bunsen is well aware, the hymns which S. Hilary is said to have written are of a totally different character from the *Gloria*; they are what we now call hymns, not rhythms.

¹ 380 may be a misprint for 360 or 350. S. Hilary's Episcopate is rightly placed 350, vol. iv. 449, 470. The assertion that the Latin text of the *Gloria in Excelsis* is ascribed to him is repeated, vol. iv. p. 207. We have read what is said in vol. iv. on the liturgical fragment supposed to be S. Hilary's.

Next, 'in his liturgical compositions and collections:' the argument requires that it should mean that Hilary made *liturgical compositions and collections*, and it implies that he derived them from the usages of the Eastern Church. Now Jerome tells us that amongst Hilary's works, was a *Liber Hymnorum*, and a *Liber Mysteriorum*; the hymns, we presume, were his own compositions; the *Liber Mysteriorum* was most probably a service-book for his own Church at Poitiers; but possibly only a modification of the rituals received in that and the neighbouring Churches. That Hilary promoted hymnody most successfully at Poitiers, and that thence his hymns spread to other Churches, is certain, and beautifully referred to in his writings. But M. Bunsen's assertion that he introduced the *Gloria in Excelsis* into the Latin Church is simply without foundation, and, we apprehend, contrary to fact.

For in the Bodleian Library there are very early MSS. of this hymn in Latin, according to the form of the Western usage, with *the corresponding Greek* in Latin characters; M. Bunsen will find an account of them in a tract of Thomas Smith, (so learned in what concerns the Eastern Church, but belonging to the same dark time in which Bull, Pearson, Dodwell, and Grabe lived,) in a little book called 'Smithi Miscellanea,' published in 1686. From this fact we should infer, that the hymn had been first used in the Western Church in Greek, at the time when Greek was a Christian language there; and that it had been originally introduced into the West in the form which it has since retained. This is certainly the most probable supposition, and we conceive that it had been in use in Rome before the time of Hippolytus, as we shall see presently; and it seems most probable that the old statement is true, that it was introduced by Telesphorus, whose pontificate M. Bunsen dates A.D. 117—127.

But, proceeding upon the supposition that S. Hilary did introduce this hymn into the West about 380, M. Bunsen argues that the words 'O Holy Ghost' in the Greek are an insertion,— 'Who can believe that the Roman Church would have omitted something which she found in the Greek text, which she adopted into her *Latin* service?' We do not know so much of Liturgies as M. Bunsen appears to do; but we could believe it, for we imagine that the account given of the infinite variety of Liturgical forms is, that particular Churches modified the expressions of the forms which they adopted or derived from other Churches. Indeed, this is very strongly put by M. Bunsen himself (*e.g.* vol. iv. p. 160). Why should there not be several forms of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, as well as of the Creed, or the words of Consecration? Indeed it is not improbable that the whole may have grown up

by degrees; for we see the first elements of it in the dying words of the holy Polycarp. And that the glorification of the Holy Spirit should have been an original integral portion of it in its simplest state is most probable from that very circumstance which M. Bunsen himself, a few pages before, states; viz.—‘That which constituted the whole doctrinal consciousness of the ancient Church’ was, ‘the belief in the Father, the Son, and the Spirit.’ We demur to the word ‘whole.’ That the words, ‘O Holy Ghost,’ in the Eastern form, are out of place, is a mere assertion of M. Bunsen’s; the Orientals have ever so used them, from the date of the Alexandrian MS. to the present day. That the earliest forms of this hymn would in all probability contain an act of adoration to the Holy Spirit, is almost certain from the assertions of Justin Martyr and Hippolytus, that they ‘worshipped the Holy Ghost;’ *προσκυνοῦμεν τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα:* from the fact that the Holy Spirit was thus glorified in the doxologies, as by Hippolytus himself against Noetus, (cap. ult.) attributing glory to Christ, *ἅμα Πατρὶ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι*, ‘together with the Father and the Holy Ghost;’ as well as in the genuine liturgical forms, and from the controversies which arose about the correct form of the *Gloria Patri*; which show both that the Holy Ghost was thus adored in primitive times, and also that any alteration in the received form would then have been most jealously watched. All this, by the way, proves that the ancient Church, even if they did not express it dogmatically, believed that the Holy Spirit was a Person; else why should they thus glorify Him?

Having thus theorised away the words, ‘with the Holy Ghost,’ out of the Latin, and ‘O Holy Ghost’ out of the Greek form, M. Bunsen proceeds *upon this*, with the aid of the Arianised Apostolical constitutions, to lay it down, that in the passage, as it would stand after the above removal—‘O God the Father Almighty, O Lord the only-begotten Son, O Lord God, Lamb of God, &c.—the words, ‘O Lord God,’ ought to be put next after ‘O God the Father Almighty,’ and to be followed by a pause, so as to conclude the address to the Father with that clause. Setting aside the Constitutions, where the form is quite altered, there is absolutely no ground whatever for this ‘restoration of the primitive text,’ except M. Bunsen’s deep-rooted imagination that the form we have is inconsistent with ‘the general consciousness of the ancient Church.’ He says, that the addressing these words to Christ, ‘in itself points to the Post-nicene period, when such expressions as the ancient Church ‘never dreamt of applying to Christ, were studiously applied

¹ S. Just. M. Apol. i. c. 6; S. Hippol. cont. Noet. c. 12.

‘(or made to apply) to Him.’ Yet, surely, the first days of Christianity were those in which the believers in the Gospel would most markedly distinguish themselves from the heathen, by recognising Christ as God. We dare not refer to Ignatius, but M. Bunsen himself cites Pliny, saying that the Christians praised Christ, ‘*tanquam Deum*,’ ‘as God,’ or, as Pliny might suppose, ‘as a God,’ and two pages after, in an extract from Ussher, the Little Labyrinth is cited, where Hippolytus alleges, as an evidence of the faith of the Church, against those who denied the Divinity of Christ, that ‘all the Psalms and Hymns of the brethren, which have been written by believers from the beginning, hymn Christ, the Word of God, *speaking of Him as God*.’¹ In another fragment of the same work, Hippolytus speaks of our ‘Merciful God and Lord Jesus Christ.’² We do not think it necessary to do more than give this specimen of critical restoration. It is enough to add, that universal consent has fixed on this hymn as one of those to which Hippolytus alludes, as hymning Christ as God, and it might well have been regarded as a settled point from the whole air of antiquity which the composition bears. We may now judge what is to be expected from these promised restorations of the primitive texts. No one, of course, denies that the Liturgies have been added to and interpolated, but all depends on the *soundness* and *faithfulness* of the criticism which we bring to bear upon them.

So far as we have had leisure to examine what M. Bunsen has written on the Creeds and the Liturgies, his treatment of them is characterized by the same unwarrantable assumptions, unfair suppression of facts, and rashness of theory, which we have noticed in other parts of his work.

We now revert to a passage in the first volume, pp. 251, 252, in that part of the letters to Archdeacon Hare in which M. Bunsen is treating of the Book of Hippolytus against Noetus.³

¹ Παλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ᾄδει ἀδελφῶν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσθαι, τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὕμνοισι θεολογοῦντες. Ap. Euseb. v. 23. (See Routh's Reliq.)

² Ὁ εὐσπλαχνὸς Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

³ Here we are again forced to notice a consequence of the precipitancy with which M. Bunsen has written. He complains of our ignorance of what is done by the theologians and critics in Germany: we have surely some right to complain of his ignorance of what we have done. We can feel for Fatherland as well as M. Bunsen. This writer hopes that the Oxford Press will print a critical edition of S. Hippolytus' works. He is evidently not aware that this Tract, which is well worth all the rest that S. Hippolytus has written, except the newly-discovered book, has been twice printed by the Delegates of the Oxford Press within the last few years, with suggested emendations, and critical and explanatory notes, partly selected, partly original, by one whom he must, we should think, bow to, both as a scholar and a theologian, whom he himself designates as ‘that almost centenary veteran amongst living authors, on the ancient monuments of Christianity—the venerable Dr. Routh.’ (Vol. i. p. 9.) The treatise and the notes are in the first

M. Bunsen writes with the utmost freedom about Hippolytus and Tertullian; he discourses on the place they occupy in the development of doctrine, and the relation of their views to each other, and to those of the rest of the Fathers. One would presume from all this,—indeed, any casual reader would take for granted,—that M. Bunsen was perfectly at home with these authors, that he had turned over their pages with careful thought, and that their expressions would be to him familiar as household words. Indeed, in one place he makes a very serious assertion on the subject. He says, in speaking of our received ‘theological formularies’ on the doctrine of the Son and the Holy Trinity:—

‘They are not strictly reconcileable with the *true, genuine, uninterpolated* writings of the fathers of the first, second, and third centuries; *I speak advisedly*; for *I have read these writings with a sincere desire to understand and appreciate them*; and in judging them, I use nothing but the liberty, or rather, I exercise the duty, of a Protestant Christian searching for truth.’—Vol. i. p. 270.

We are not now speaking of writings which M. Bunsen may have read in former days, but with those on which he comments and expresses opinions as if they were now before him. To ascertain how much or how little reliance can be placed upon his statements and judgment, we must dwell upon one word, but a word all important to one who speaks of S. Hippolytus's views on the Trinity, or the position which he held in the dogmatic controversies of his time.

The word we refer to is *οἰκονομία*. It so happens that this word is of frequent occurrence in the treatise of Hippolytus

volume of Routh's *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula*, a selection from the writings of primitive antiquity, made for the use of our younger students in Theology, of which a second edition was published in 1840, and which is now used as a class-book by the Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford. The treatises were selected as testimonies to the Catholic Faith, combining clear and accurate statements of doctrine with ability and grace of composition. The Treatise of Hippolytus against Noetus was chosen by the venerable President as setting forth the doctrine of the Unity of God and the Personality of the Son; and yet this most unfortunate and presumptuous critic imagines that, by cutting out one single clause, he can make it witness to the very heresy (for such his own system is) against which Hippolytus contended.

We cannot forbear quoting Dr. Routh's exquisite Latin. His address to the reader begins thus:—

‘*LECTORI S. Testes hosce Ecclesiasticæ Doctrinæ a te peto, ut accipias benigne, quippe, quo propius absint a primordiis Christianismi, eo magis contra hæreticam pravitatem justissimas ob causas valent. Quæ res cum ita sit comparata, idcirco ex operibus antiquorum patrum libellos aliquot mihi visum est seligere, qui veritatem catholicam luculenter et accurate, tum vero scite et eleganter tradant.*’ . . .

In enumerating the works and the doctrinal subjects for which they were selected, he says,—

‘*De unitate Divina et Filii persona exponit S. Hippolyti liber ille contra Noetum.*’

against Noetus, and in the writings of Tertullian—particularly in the passages which are most critical in respect to the doctrine of the Trinity; and that it occurs in a very peculiar sense,—in a sense in which it is not found, perhaps, in any other writer. One who had read in the original the tract of Tertullian against Praxeas—his great work, indeed *the* great work of that age on the doctrine of the Trinity—would have been so much struck by the word *οἰκονομία*, that he could not soon have forgotten it; and certainly, if he had studied at all carefully Tertullian's views on these points, or the history of the controversy at that time, which was continued or repeated shortly after in Hippolytus's day, he must have retained the recollection of that term as the very symbol of the orthodox view.

The word, as is well known, is of very frequent occurrence in the early Christian writers. It is used generally of the dispensations of God in Providence; of His dealings with His people under the Old Testament; and especially of the great dispensation of grace under the Gospel—of the Incarnation and the consequent acts and sufferings of our Saviour, and the influence of the Holy Spirit. Now, whether it was in a further derived sense, from the fact of the Persons of the Holy Trinity being manifested, and acting, as it were, distinctly in the dispensations of nature and grace, and of the ministrative offices of the Son and the Holy Spirit—or, further, from the notion which the term *οἰκονομία* suggests of mutual relations, (as those in earthly systems of parts to the whole, and mutually to each other,)—relations of prerogative and subordination,—we will not attempt to determine: but so it is, that Tertullian, and, as it would seem, the orthodox at Rome in his time, (for it was at Rome that the controversy appears to have been chiefly carried on,) and, as we shall see, in the time of Hippolytus, used the word *οἰκονομία* to express the mystery of the Trinity. 'We believe in the *οἰκονομία*,' was the watchword of the Trinitarians, as 'We hold the *μοναρχία*,' was that of the Unitarians. We use the word Unitarians, as it most nearly expresses the views of those who are technically, from their watchword, called Monarchians. The cause of their difficulty in holding the true faith arose from its appearing to be incompatible with that fundamental doctrine of religion, the Unity of God. Hence on the one side arose the mere Humanitarians, of whom Theodotus was the leader, who taught the doctrine to which, as it now appears, S. Hippolytus gave that name, which it has ever since retained, of 'the God-denying apostasy,' *τῆς ἀρνησιθέου ἀποστασίας*:—the words occur in a fragment of The Little Labyrinth, or Treatise against Artemon, (cited by Eusebius, E. H. v. 28,) a work now identified as Hippolytus's. On the other hand

arose the Noetians, who, holding strictly the Divinity of Christ, and denying that there was any distinction of Persons in the Godhead, maintained that Jesus Christ was God the Father Himself, incarnate. Tertullian opposed these latter doctrines in his treatise against Praxeas; Hippolytus, in his personal contests against those who taught the same, under various modifications, at Rome in his own day, and formally in his treatise against Noetus; that he had Tertullian's treatise against Praxeas before him, and used it in the composition of this work, we think highly probable. Our readers may judge in some degree from the extracts we shall make from the two writers—in which, however, the correspondence will be quite incidental, as the selection is not with any reference to this point. Those who wish to compare the two more exactly, will find some passages supposed to correspond placed in parallel columns in Semler's 'Dissertation on the Life and Writings of Tertullian.' Semler, indeed, in supporting his strange theory about the origin of the writings of Tertullian, maintained that the treatise against Praxeas was derived from that of Hippolytus against Noetus; and he certainly shows a remarkable correspondence between them. We may use his facts, and draw a very different inference. We now know the position of Hippolytus, his time, his relation to the Noetian heresy, and its propugnators in the Church of Rome; and we also know that he made use of the writings of others without acknowledgment. We infer that he derived suggestions and expressions from Tertullian. Semler mentions the use of this very word *οἰκονομία*, and says that Hippolytus and Tertullian alone use it to express the Trinity;¹ the cause of which, we presume, is that they are the only writers whose works remain in connexion with the controversy at that place and time. M. Bunsen himself says:—

'The only writer who agrees with the view of Hippolytus on the relation of the Logos and the Son, and of both to the Father, and to the Spirit, is Tertullian; but no one could attribute our work, or that against Noetus, to him.'—P. 259.

This observation was inconsiderately and unfortunately made—unfortunately for the author's theory, we mean—as it admits that which utterly overthrows it. But as such is the admitted correspondence, nay, agreement of the two writers on these points, we shall be the more excusable for extracting somewhat largely from Tertullian. Our object is to show the sense in which he uses the word *οἰκονομία*, and, incidentally, to exhibit his belief in the Personality of the Holy Spirit, and of the Word before

¹ 'Hoc nomine præter Tertullianum et hunc scriptorem nemo usus fuit ad describendam Trinitatem.'—Semler, *Op. Tertull.* vol. v. p. 376.

the Incarnation. We desire that attention may be given to this point of the Personality, lest any should suppose that the word *οικονομία* implied only an unreal, temporary, or merely relative distinction of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

In the second chapter of his treatise against Praxeas, in setting forth the belief which he had himself learned in the Church, and only held the more intensely after he became a Montanist, he says: 'We believe in one only God, indeed; but yet under 'this dispensation, which we call *economy*, that of the one only 'God, there is also a Son, His own Word, who proceeded from 'Him, by whom all things were made, and without whom was 'nothing made: that He was sent from the Father into the 'Virgin, and born of her, Man and God, the Son of Man, and 'the Son of God, and was named Jesus Christ: that He suffered, ' &c., and sitteth, &c.: who thence sent, according to His promise, from the Father, the Holy Ghost the Comforter, the 'sanctifier of the faith of those who believe in the Father and the 'Son and the Holy Ghost.' We cannot forbear to add Tertulian's testimony, that 'this rule of faith has come down from the 'very beginning of the Gospel, even before the existence of the 'earliest heretics, still more before that of Praxeas, who is but 'of yesterday, as is proved by the later original of all heretics, 'as well as by the newness of Praxeas, who sprang up but 'yesterday; by which the question is settled beforehand against 'all heresies in general, that that which is earliest, is true; that 'which is later is a corruption.' And presently after,² 'This 'heresy, the Noetian, thinks that it alone possesses the truth in 'its purity; whilst it conceives that we cannot believe one only 'God, otherwise than by saying that the selfsame One is both 'Father and Son and Holy Spirit. As though in that way in 'which we understand it, all were not One; seeing that all are 'of One—by unity (that is) of substance: and the mystery of

¹ 'Unicum quidem Deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispensatione, quam *οικονομία* dicimus, ut unici Dei sit et Filius Sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil. Hunc missum a Patre in Virginem, et ex ea natum, hominem et Deum, filium hominis et filium Dei, et cognominatum Jesum Christum: hunc passum, hunc mortuum et sepultum, secundum scripturas, &c. . . qui exinde misit, secundum promissionem suam, a Patre Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum, sanctificatorem fidei eorum, qui credunt in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum. Hanc regulam! ab initio evangelii decurrerit, etiam ante priores quosque hæreticos, nedum ante Praxeam hesternum, probabit tam ipsa posteritas omnium hæreticorum, quam ipsa novellitas Praxeæ hesterni. Quo peræque adversus universas hæreses jam hinc præjudicatum sit, id esse verum, quodcumque primum, id esse adulterum, quodcumque posterius.'

² 'Maximè hæc [perversitas] quæ se existimat meram veritatem possidere, dum unicum Deum non alias putat credendum, quam si ipsum eundemque et Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum dicat, quasi non sic quoque unus sint omnia, dum ex uno omnia, per substantiæ scilicet unitatem, et nihilominus custodiatur *οικονομία*

'the *economy* is nevertheless guarded, which arranges the Unity into a Trinity, distinguishing Three, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Three,' he proceeds,—'non statu, sed gradu: non substantia, sed forma, non potestate, sed specie,'—not in state, but grade; not in substance, but form; not in power, but aspect.² But of one substance, and one state, and one power; because there is one God, from whom those forms, and grades, and aspects are reckoned, in the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit. How they admit of number without division the following arguments shall show. For simple, not to say unintelligent and uneducated men, who always form the largest portion of believers—seeing that the very Rule of Faith itself (*i. e.* the Creed, confessed at Baptism) transfers them from the many Gods of the world to the one only and true God; not understanding that we must indeed believe in one only God, but together with His *economy*,—draw back with alarm from the *economy*. They assume that the number and mutual relation (*dispositio*) of the Trinity, is a dividing of the Unity; but wrongly so, seeing that the Unity drawing out the Trinity from itself, is not destroyed but ministered to by it. So they give it out that we preach two or three Gods; and that they are worshippers of one God; as though the Unity unreasonably contracted did not make heresy; and the Trinity reasonably drawn out did not constitute the truth. They say, 'We hold the *monarchia*;' and so articulately do even Latins, even the uneducated, (the variation of reading is immaterial,) utter the sound, that you would suppose they understood [the meaning of] *monarchia*,

sacramentum, quæ unitatem in trinitatem disponit, tres dirigens, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, tres autem, non statu, sed gradu, nec substantiâ, sed formâ, nec potestate, sed specie, unius autem substantiæ, et unius status et unius potestatis, quia unus Deus, ex quo et gradus isti et formæ et species in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti deputantur. Quomodo autem numerum sine divisione patiuntur, procedentes tractatus demonstrabunt.

'Simplices enim quique, ne dixerim imprudentes et idiotæ, quæ major semper credentium pars est, quoniam et ipsa regula fidei a pluribus diis sæculi ad unicum et verum Deum transfert, non intelligentes unicum quidem, sed cum suâ *oikovouliâ* esse credendum, expavescent ad *oikovouliav*. Numerum et dispositionem trinitatis divisionem præsumunt unitatis, quando unitas ex semet ipsa derivans trinitatem non destruat ab illa, sed administretur. Itaque duos et tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari, se vero unius Dei cultores præsumunt, quasi non et unitas irrationaliter collecta hæresim faciat, et trinitas rationaliter expensa veritatem constituat. Monarchiam, inquit, tenemus. Et ita sonum ipsum vocaliter exprimunt etiam Latini, etiam Opici, ut putes illos tam bene intelligere monarchiam quam enuntiant. Sed monarchiam sonare student Latini, *oikovouliav* intelligere nolunt etiam Græci.'

¹ We despair of expressing adequately in English the words of which we have cited the Latin. That *status* means the Godhead in rest (so to say), that is, independently of operation in respect of man; *gradus*, the same in operation, is shown to be an error by the uses of *gradus* in other places. The word *species* means more than aspect, it is used c. 13, and c. 8, of the ray in relation to the sun, the stream to the spring, the shrub to the root.

'as well as they pronounce it. But whilst Latins are studious 'to pronounce the word *monarchia*, even Greeks are unwilling to 'understand *œconomia*.' Observe the watchwords.

Again—and these citations shall be more brief—c. 8.¹ 'Every-thing which cometh forth from any is a second in relation to 'that from which it cometh forth. Yet it is not on that 'account separated from it. Now where there is a second '[person],² there are two [persons], and where there is a *third*, 'there are three. For the Spirit is third from God and the 'Son, as the fruit out of the shrub is third from the root, and 'the streamlet out of the river is third from the fountain-head, 'and the extreme point of the ray is third from the sun. Still 'it is in nothing alien from the source from which it derives its 'properties. Thus the Trinity flowing down from the Father 'by entwined and connected grades, is in no wise contradictory 'to the *monarchia*, and protects the estate of the *œconomia*.'

Again in the next chapter, speaking of the Son being '*alius a patre*,' another [person] than the Father, he says,³ 'Our Lord 'calls the Comforter another than Himself, ("He will send you '*another* Comforter") as we also call the Son another than the 'Father, that He may indicate in the Comforter a *third* grade '*(gradus)*, as we do a second in the Son, from our careful 'regard to the *economy*.'

Lastly,⁴ 'I say this of necessity, when they contend that the 'same person is both Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, flat-tering 'the *monarchia*, in opposition to the *economy*,' &c. (the distinguishing watchwords again.)

We cite a few words more to illustrate Tertullian's view of the Three Persons of the Trinity, c. 11⁵: 'Almost all the Psalms

¹ 'Omne, quod prodit ex aliquo, secundum sit ejus necesse est, de quo prodit, non ideo tamen est separatam. Secundus autem ubi est duo sunt; et tertius ubi est, tres sunt. Tertius enim est Spiritus a Deo et Filio, sicut tertius a radice fructus ex frutice, et tertius a fonte rivus ex flumine, et tertius a sole apex ex radio. Nihil tamen a matrice alienatur, a qua proprietates suas ducit. Ita trinitas per consertos et connexos gradus à Patre decurrens, et monarchiæ nihil obstrept, et *oikonomia* statum protegit.'

² We add the word *person* in brackets, because it is implied in the masculine adjective, according to that distinction of Tertullian, which has been perpetuated as an established *dictum* in Catholic theology. '*Qui tres unum sunt, non unus*; quomodo dictum est, Ego et Pater unum sumus; ad substantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem,' adv. Prax. c. 25, and as he adds, c. 23, Had Christ said, '*unus sumus*,' it might have given some colour to Praxeas' doctrine.

³ 'Sic alium a se Paracletum, quomodo et nos a Patre alium Filium, ut tertium gradum ostenderet in Paracleto, sicut nos secundum in Filio, propter *oikonomias* observationem.'

⁴ 'Necessitate autem hoc dico, cum eundem Patrem et Filium et Spiritum contendunt, adversus *oikonomias* monarchiæ adúlantes.'

⁵ 'Omnes pene psalmi Christi personam sustinent, Filium ad Patrem, id est Christum ad Deum verba facientem representant. Animadvertite etiam Spiritum loquentem ex tertia persona de Patre et Filio: Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede ad dextram meam, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum. Item per

‘ speak in the Person of the Son; they represent a Son addressing Himself to a Father, that is, Christ addressing Himself to God. Observe, also, the Holy Ghost speaking *as a third person* of the Father and the Son; The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool, &c. The Holy Ghost speaks through Isaiah, These things saith the Lord to my Lord the anointed. Again, through the same, speaking to the Father about the Son: Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed; for He shall grow up before Him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground, &c. These are a few passages out of many, for we attempt not to go over the whole of Scripture; but by these passages, few as they are, the distinction of the Trinity is thus manifestly set forth. There is Himself who speaks, the Spirit, and the Father to whom He speaks, and the Son about whom He speaks; so also the rest (of the words of Scripture) which one while are said to the Father about the Son, or to the Son; one while to the Son about the Father, or to the Father; one while to the Spirit, to show the distinction of the *Three Persons*: to establish each Person severally in his own peculiar property.’ In the next chapter, Tertullian cites the texts, ‘ Let *Us* make man,’ and, ‘ The man is become as one of *Us* ;’ and ‘ The Lord rained fire from the Lord,’ &c., as evidences of the distinct personality of the Son and the Holy Spirit. But we might transcribe the whole treatise, for this is its chief argument.

We are not concerned with the correctness of Tertullian's views and reasonings; our point is only this, a pure question of fact:—What was the belief of Tertullian and Hippolytus on the point before us? M. Bunsen alleges the agreement of view between Hippolytus and Tertullian. Yet in the Apology he makes Hippolytus speak of our doctrine as a thing unknown to him. He attributes to him his own strange notions about the Logos; and he makes him argue largely against the personality of the Holy Spirit. (Vol. i. p. 167, vol. iv. pp. 66, 199.)

We have cited the passages at length, not only to illustrate the meaning of the term *οικονομία*, as used by Tertullian, but

Esaiam : Hæc dicit Dominus Domino meo Christo. Item per eundem ad Patrem de Filio : Domine, quis credidit auditui nostro, et brachium Domini cui revelatum est? Adnuntiavimus de illo, sicut puerulus, sicut radix in terra sitiendi, et non erat forma ejus, nec gloria. Hæc pauca de multis. Nec enim affectamus universas scripturas evolvere, cum et in singulis capitulis plenam majestatem et auctoritatem contestantes majorem congressum in retractatibus habeamus. His itaque paucis tam manifeste distinctio Trinitatis exponitur. Est enim ipse, qui pronuntiat, Spiritus, et Pater, ad quem pronuntiat, et Filius, de quo pronuntiat. Sic et cetera, quæ nunc ad Patrem de Filio vel ad Filium, nunc ad Filium de Patre vel ad Patrem, nunc ad Spiritum pronuntiantur; unamquamque personam in sua proprietate constituunt.

also to show that one who was at all acquainted with his writings on the Trinity must have been familiar with it. Nay, further, that in the great struggle which was going on in the Church of Rome, in the early part of the third century, against Noetianism,—which, be it observed, is that very struggle in which, next after Tertullian, (so far as we know,) Hippolytus took the leading place, into which he threw his whole soul; in this great struggle the *οικονομία* was the watchword of the party to which Hippolytus belonged, as *μοναρχία* was of their opponents. It is in this sense that it is repeatedly used in his treatise against Noetus. Yet M. Bunsen mistakes the meaning of *οικονομία*. He gives it the meaning, common elsewhere, of ‘the Incarnation,’ and so translates it in a place, where no sense can be made of the words of Hippolytus, if it be so translated. We should have thought that any one who read the treatise of Hippolytus against Noetus in the Greek, must have seen that *οικονομία* could not mean the Incarnation. We should have thought too that M. Bunsen would have known that there was this peculiarity about the word; that it is used by Hippolytus and Tertullian in this sense, as Neander and Dorner would have shown him, and that it is only by Hippolytus and Tertullian that it is so used.

True it is that in the old Latin version of Hippolytus against Noetus, by Franciscus Turrianus, which is reprinted in Fabricius’s edition of his works, which M. Bunsen used, in a column alongside the Greek, we usually find, *œconomiam, id est, incarnationem*, and on c. 3, Fabricius brings together authorities for its having this meaning (as it usually has in other writers); but on the passage translated by M. Bunsen, Turrianus in his note, as if compelled by the context to modify his interpretation, but yet strangely missing the sense, says that *œconomia* in the early Fathers, sometimes means the Incarnation of the Son of God: sometimes, as here, the operation of the Holy Spirit in the mystery of the Incarnation. M. Bunsen, however, translates the words: ‘As to myself, I do not speak of two Gods, but merely of One: only I establish two persons (*πρόσωπα*), and as the third, the Incarnation (*οικονομίας*), the grace of the Holy Spirit.’ The Greek is, ‘*Τί οὖν (φήσειεν ἂν τις) δύο λέγεις Θεούς (τ. οὖν φήσειεν ἂν τις δύο λέγειν Θεούς); δύο μὲν οὐκ ἐρῶ Θεούς ἀλλ’ ἢ ἓνα, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, οἰκονομίαν δὲ τρίτην, τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.*’ We submit that the words cannot be thus translated, for they must in that case have been *τρίτον δὲ τὴν οἰκονομίαν*, and if they could, the result would be the absence of any meaning; for what are we to understand as the substantive after ‘a third;’ the third *what*, as you would say to schoolboys? The meaning is: ‘I establish two persons, and as the third Divine

relation, or ministration, the grace of the Holy Spirit.' What makes this point of greater importance is, that in the next clause of the passage, M. Bunsen cuts out, as an interpolation, some words which he feels are inconsistent with his notion of what Hippolytus believed. He certainly ought to have ascertained the meaning of the author's words before he presumed to reject a portion of the text, on no ground whatever but that the words do not agree with his own opinion, or with the statement which he cites from Meier, 'that Hippolytus decidedly ascribes no personality to the Holy Spirit.'

We give M. Bunsen's own words:—

'I will now give the text, omitting what is not essential, and premising only, that I do not think there is more than one interpolation in the text of the treatise against Noetus,' (we wish our readers to notice this admission, and to remember it,) 'I mean the passage in chap. xiv; where the introduction of the Holy Spirit not only disturbs the whole connexion of ideas,' (our readers will see the whole passage cited below,) 'but puts Hippolytus in opposition with himself, by making him call the Holy Spirit the third person [πρόσωπον]. I have therefore marked these words as spurious, by placing them between asterisks.' Πατήρ μὲν γὰρ εἷς, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Υἱός, *τὸ δὲ τρίτον τὸ ἄγιον Πνεῦμα.*—Vol. i. p. 254.

We proceed, therefore, to examine the passages in which the word *οἰκονομία* is used by S. Hippolytus in this treatise, and then to look into this particular passage. Our purpose in doing so is far from being merely to show that M. Bunsen has misunderstood the meaning of a word, or wantonly condemned an important clause as interpolated. We hope that the real views of Hippolytus will thus appear in his own words.

In the third chapter of his treatise, after stating the Noetian arguments derived from texts of Holy Scripture, he says,²—

'The Scriptures indeed speak aright, but otherwise than Noetus understands them;³ but because Noetus understands them not, the Scriptures are not on that account to be rejected. For who will refuse to confess that there is one God? but he will not (therefore) deny the *economy*.'⁴

i.e. the Trinity, the Divine relations; the Incarnation would

¹ Dr. Routh suggests the reading, *οἰκονομία δὲ τρίτην*, 'and as third in the economy.'

² 'Αἱ μὲν γραφαὶ ὁρθῶς λέγουσιν, ἅλλα ἂν (for, ἀλλ' ἀνοήτως) καὶ Νόητος νοεῖ. Οὐκ ἤδη δὲ εἰ Νόητος μὴ νοεῖ, παρὰ τοῦτο ἐκβλητοὶ αἱ γραφαί. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἐρεῖ ἓνα Θεὸν εἶναι; ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἀναιρήσει.

³ Dr. Routh elegantly suggests ἀλλ' ἀνοήτως καὶ Νοήτος νοεῖ. So in the *Philosophumena* ix. 10. p. 283.—τοὺς νοητοὺς (for, ἀνοήτους) Νοητοῦ διαδόχους.

⁴ Dr. Routh reprints Fabricius's note, in which this is understood of the Incarnation, and adds, with the modesty of a true critic: 'Mea quidem sententia rectius dixeris, *οἰκονομίαν* hoc loco dispositionem illam esse monarchiæ divinæ, qua in salutis nostræ dispensatione Trinitas simul cum monarchia consistit. Vide Tertull. contra Praxeam, capp. 3, 4, et alibi.' See also his conjecture and note on the next clause.

be out of place. Again, in chap. 14¹—(we shall return to chap. 4).

¹ These things, then, my brethren, the Scriptures indicate. This *economy* [evidently the relation of the Father and the Son] the blessed John, also bearing testimony, delivers to us in his Gospel, and confesses that this Word is God, saying thus: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." If, then, the Word was with God, being God, why then, some one may say, Sayest thou there are two Gods? I do not confess two Gods, but one, and two Persons, and as the third *economy*, (i. e. Divine relation,) the grace of the Holy Spirit. For the Father is one, but there are two Persons, because there is the Son also, and the third the Holy Spirit. The Father commands, the Word performs; and the Son [*qu.* the Spirit²] is manifested, through whom the Father is believed on. The harmonious *economy* is drawn together into one God; for God is one: for He who commands is the Father; He who obeys is the Son; that which makes intelligent is the Holy Spirit. The Father that Is (being) above all, the Son through all, and the Holy Spirit in all. Nor can we otherwise hold One God, unless we really believe in Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit. For the Jews glorified the Father, but were not thankful, for they acknowledged not the Son. The disciples acknowledged the Son, but not in the Holy Spirit, wherefore also they denied Him. The Word of the Father, therefore, knowing the *economy* (the Divine relations) and the will of the Father, that the Father willeth not to be glorified otherwise than in this way, after He had risen gave commission to His disciples, saying: "Go ye, make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit;" showing that any one who omits any one of these, has not glorified God perfectly. For it is through this Trinity that the Father is glorified. For the Father willed, the Son wrought, the Spirit manifested.

¹ Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, ἀδελφοί, σημαίνουσιν αἱ γραφαί, ταύτην τὴν οἰκονομίαν παραδίδωσιν ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης ἐν Εὐαγγελίῳ μαρτυρῶν, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον Θεὸν ὁμολογεῖ οὕτως λέγων, Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος. Εἰ δὲ οὖν ὁ Λόγος πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, Θεὸς ὦν, τί οὖν φήσκειν ἄν τις, δύο λέγειν (for, λέγεις) Θεούς; δύο μὲν οὐκ ἔρω Θεούς ἀλλ' ἢ ἓνα, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, οἰκονομίαν (for, οἰκονομία) δὲ τρίτην, τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Πατὴρ μὲν γὰρ εἰς, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Υἱός, τὸ δὲ τρίτον τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Πατὴρ ἐντέλλεται, Λόγος ἀποτελεῖ, Υἱὸς δὲ δείκνυται δι' οὗ Πατὴρ πιστεύεται. Οἰκονομία (for, καὶ οἰκονομία), [sic ap. Routh., οἰκονομία Fabr.] συμφωνίας συνάγεται εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, εἰς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, ὁ γὰρ (for, ὁ γε) κελεύων, Πατὴρ, ὁ δὲ ὑπακούων, Υἱός, τὸ δὲ συνετίζον, ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Ὁ ὦν (for, οὖν) Πατὴρ ἐπὶ πάντων, ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς διὰ πάντων, τὸ δὲ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐν πᾶσιν. Ἄλλως τε ἓνα Θεὸν νομίσαι μὴ δυνάμεθα, εἰ μὴ ὅτιως Πατρί καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι πιστεύσωμεν. Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν γὰρ ἐδόξασαν Πατέρα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠυχάριστήσαν, Υἱὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν, μαθηταὶ ἐπέγνωσαν Υἱόν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, δι' ὃ καὶ ἠρνήσαντο. Γινώσκων οὖν ὁ πατρῷος Λόγος τὴν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλως βούλεται δοξάζεσθαι ὁ Πατὴρ ἢ οὕτως, ἀνάστας παρέδωκεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς λέγων· Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, δεικνύων ὅτι πᾶς ὅς ἂν ἐν τι τούτων ἐκλίπῃ, τελείως Θεὸν οὐκ ἐδόξασεν. διὰ γὰρ τῆς Τριάδος ταύτης Πατὴρ δοξάζεται. Πατὴρ γὰρ ἠθέλησεν, Υἱὸς ἐποίησεν, Πνεῦμα ἐφάνερωσεν.

² We suspect that this word *υἱός* should be *πνεῦμα*, from the mention of the Three divine Persons throughout the passage which follows, and from the work attributed to the Spirit agreeing with this. It must be remembered that there is only one MS. of the Tract against Noetus.

Again, in chapter 8¹—

'But if he would learn how one God is proved, let him know that there is of Him one power; and so far forth as regards the power, there is one God; but as regards the *economy*, the manifestation is threefold.'

We shall now see more clearly the meaning of the word *οἰκονομία* in the fourth chapter, in which alone it could be taken for the Incarnation. Hippolytus is speaking of the indwelling of God in Christ,—that is, in the *Incarnate Word*. He explains it thus: 'The Father is in the Word, and on the Word becoming man, He is thereby in Christ.' So he meets the Noetian argument for the Father's being incarnate, derived from the words, 'God is in thee.'² 'In whom is God, except in Christ 'Jesus the Father's Word, and (or according to) the mystery 'of the *economy*.' Of whom speaking again, He intimates His 'condition after the flesh, saying, "I have raised thee up in 'righteousness'" (*i.e.* by the Resurrection). . . . And again, 'To say, God is in thee, showed the mystery of the *economy*, 'because when the Word was incarnate and had become man, 'the Father was in the Son, and the Son in the Father, whilst 'the Son was sojourning among men. This, then, was signified, 'brethren, that it really is the mystery of the *economy* because ' (or, that it is in the mystery of the *economy* that) this Word was 'of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin, having made one Son unto 'God.' In the last words the *οἰκονομία* may, perhaps, mean the Incarnation. Indeed, it is probably so used elsewhere, both by Hippolytus and Tertullian; by Tertullian, adv. Praxeam, c. 23, perhaps: 'Tamen in ipsa *οἰκονομία*, Pater voluit Filium in terris haberi, se vero in cælis;' and by Hippolytus, Hom. in Theoph. c. ii. p. 262 ed. Fabr., on the words, 'What aileth thee, O thou 'sea, that thou fleddest, and thou Jordan, that thou wast driven 'back?' applied to our Lord's baptism, he says: 'They reply, 'We saw the Creator of all things in the form of a servant, and 'not knowing the mystery of the *economy*, (*ἀγνοήσαντες τὸ 'μυστήριον τῆς οἰκονομίας*,) we were driven back through fear.' So in a passage in the *Philosophumena*, extracted from Irenæus, the word *οἰκονομία* is used in the sense which it commonly has

¹ Εἰ δὲ βούλεται μαθεῖν πῶς εἰς Θεὸς ἀποδείκνυται, γινωσκέτω ὅτι μία δύναμις τούτου, καὶ ὅσον μὲν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν, εἰς ἐστὶ Θεός, ὅσον δὲ κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν, τριχῆς (cor. τριχῶς) ἢ ἐπίδειξις.

² Ἐν σοὶ οὖν, φησὶν, ὁ Θεὸς ἐστίν. Ἐν τίνι δὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Λόγῳ, καὶ τῷ μυστηρίῳ (for, κατὰ τὸ μυστήριον) τῆς οἰκονομίας. Περὶ οὐ πάλιν δεικνύων τὸ κατὰ σάρκα αὐτοῦ σημαίνει. Ἐγὼ ἡγεῖρα αὐτὸν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης. . . . Τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐν σοὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐστίν, ἐδείκνυν μυστήριον (for, τὸ μ.) οἰκονομίας, ὅτι σεσαρκωμένου τοῦ Λόγου καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος ὁ Πατὴρ ἦν ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, ἐμπολιτευομένου τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις. Τοῦτο οὖν ἐσημαίνετο, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ὄντως μυστήριον (for, ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ) οἰκονομίας ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου ἦν οὗτος ὁ Λόγος καὶ παρθένου, ἐνα Υἱόν Θεῷ ἀπεργασάμενος.

in other writers, of the dispensation of grace through the Incarnation, 'The Saviour under the *economy* (ὁ ἐξ οἰκονομίας Σωτήρ);' and, 'Jesus is the name of the Man under the *economy* (τοῦ ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀνθρώπου);' and adv. Judæos, he speaks of the Son praying to the Father οἰκονομικῶς. It would seem that it was in Rome, and in the refutation of the Noetians there, that the word acquired its prominence in this special reference to the Trinity.

Let us now revert to the passage translated by M. Bunsen, and conjecturally emended by him. The words, as he translates them, are,—'I do not speak of two Gods, but merely of one; only I establish two persons (πρόσωπα), and as the third, the Incarnation (οἰκονομίαν), the grace of the Holy Spirit.' He does not translate further, but the passage continues,—'For the Father is one, but there are two persons, because there is the Son also, and the third the Holy Spirit.' (In the first clause the grace of the Holy Spirit is used by a common metonymy for the Holy Spirit.) It is, perhaps, sufficient to cite the parallel words of Tertullian, (adv. Prax. c. 12:)—'Nay rather, because there was now with Him a second Person, the Son, His own Word; and a third, the Spirit in the Word, therefore He spake in the plural, Let us make, and ours, and unto us.' 'Imo, quia jam adhærebat illi Filius secunda persona, Sermo ipsius; et tertia Spiritus in Sermone, ideo pluraliter pronuntiavit, faciamus, et nostram, et nobis.' He is commenting on 'Let us make man in our image,' &c.

But as it is asserted in a citation made by M. Bunsen, vol. i. p. 297, out of Meier, that 'Hippolytus decidedly ascribes no personality to the Holy Spirit' (or, should Meier's words be translated, 'does not decidedly ascribe any'?); and, in the fourth volume, S. Hippolytus is made to speak at length on this subject; we will refer to other places, which illustrate the point so fully, as, we humbly submit, to leave no doubt whatever that S. Hippolytus held the personality of the Holy Spirit. We would have our readers keep in mind the words of S. Hippolytus, cited above, on the baptismal formula.

In the sixth chapter, in speaking of the Father subjecting all things to the Son, Hippolytus adds, 'except Himself;' but in the eighth he says,¹ 'One is constrained, then, even though he wish it not, to confess the Father God Almighty, and Christ Jesus, the Son of God, God made man, unto whom the Father hath subjected all things, except Himself and the Holy

¹ Ἡ Ἀνάγκη οὖν ἔχει καὶ μὴ θέλων ὁμολογεῖν Πατέρα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, καὶ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν Υἱὸν Θεοῦ Θεὸν ἀνθρώπου γενόμενον, ᾧ πάντα Πατὴρ ὑπέταξε παρεκτός ἐαυτοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ τοὺτους εἶναι οὕτως (legebat ὁντως Turrianus) τρία.

'Ghost; and that thus *these are Three*,' or, adopting a more probable reading, 'that these are really Three.'

Meier's observation that Hippolytus was called a Ditheist, not a Tritheist, is scarcely worthy of notice; the question of the Son and His distinct personality was the only subject then in controversy. Tertullian shows that the orthodox were charged with being Tritheists, and preached '*duos et tres (Deos)*.'

And, as we have said before, S. Hippolytus concludes his work by ascribing glory to the Son, 'together with the Father and the Holy Spirit.' These things seem to us plainly to indicate a belief in the personality of the Holy Spirit; and so they did to Dorner, who lays down absolutely that Hippolytus held the personality of the Three, in opposition to Hænell (i. 611, 612), who had argued that Hippolytus's view was Sabellian; the very doctrine which he most earnestly opposed.

Indeed, we conceive that M. Bunsen has made a very unfair use of Dorner's name. He speaks as if he had read his book; we hope that he had not, and that he was not aware that Dorner had explained the *οἰκονομία* of the Trinity, and distinctly maintained that Hippolytus held the Three Persons. Yet M. Bunsen talks quite naturally, at vol. i. p. 176, of 'going patiently along with men like Neander and Dorner, through all the darkness and darkening ages, from the fourth to the seventh century.' At p. 43 he calls Dorner's 'a marvellous work.' At pp. 293, 294, he cites a long passage from him (vol. i. p. 693). At p. 262, on the genuineness of the fragments against Beron, he says Dorner's refutation (pp. 536—548) of Hænell is so complete, that it seems unnecessary to say here a word about it. He says, p. 260,—'Dorner is the only one of our critical school who has done justice to Hippolytus generally, and in particular to this homily, and to the book we shall next have to speak of. And I believe the greatest triumph of Dorner's criticism on the Noetian heresy and on our homily to be, that it has anticipated the clearer and more scientific exposition of the doctrines of Hippolytus, which has now come to light with our work. There is nothing essential to be added from this to the picture he has drawn from his incomplete materials.' Yet, we believe, the most charitable supposition we can frame, as well as the truest, is, that M. Bunsen had never read that part of Dorner's work in which he treats of the Tract against Noetus, pp. 609, &c.; because, if he had read it, he could not have been ignorant of the meaning of the expressions of which we have spoken, or of the views of Hippolytus; nor again would he, we trust, have suppressed the fact that Dorner does not agree with him, in holding that Hippolytus denied the personality of the Holy Ghost. We cannot but suspect that M. Bunsen's

information is gained from conversation, or notices in Reviews, or other imperfect sources.

But we are sorry to observe the carelessness with which Dorner is translated: M. Bunsen cites a passage from him in English, vol. i. p. 291, which contains several mistranslations. Whatever became of Patristic Greek, we should certainly have expected that modern German, specially that of so great an ornament of the 'historical and critical school,' would have been translated correctly. We willingly make allowance for misprints, if any there be, or for a want of familiarity with the English language, though the terms occur so frequently in the work before us, and are of so great critical importance, that we cannot suppose the mistakes are to be accounted for in this way. We desire it to be observed that these mistakes seem to indicate an intense ignorance of common theological words and opinions, so gross as to be almost incredible.

At p. 293 we read, as cited from Dorner, 'the distinct hypostasis (*personification*) of the Logos would not be firmly established, as God himself is Reason (Logos).' The word 'personification' is inserted by M. Bunsen, to explain the word *hypostasis*, but surely he ought to have known that *ὑπόστασις* is a theological term of most common use in antiquity, and means 'person' or 'personality.' The notion of the *personification* of the Logos, or the Logos becoming or being represented as a person, may be entertained by M. Bunsen—but it ought not carelessly to be attributed to Dorner. He obviously meant the distinct *personality* of the Logos.

A few lines after we read, 'the ἀρχὴ of S. John (*in which the Logos was μονογενής, or the Son*).' The words 'die ἀρχὴ bei Johannes (in der der Δόγος, d. h. μονογενής oder Sohn war),' ought to be translated, 'the ἀρχὴ of S. John (*in which was the Logos, i. e. the μονογενής, or the Son*).' Dorner added the words in the parenthesis, to remind us that the ἀρχὴ of which Origen was speaking, was that of which S. John says, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, that beginning of which it was said, 'In the beginning was the Word.'

In p. 395 we read, 'By his (*i. e.* Hippolytus) determinism 'the world, and even the humanity of Christ, were divested of 'personality.' We do not know whether M. Bunsen holds that the world was possessed of personality, of which Hippolytus divested it; he does hold that the humanity of Christ was possessed of personality, therein being heretical. But Dorner never said this, which is indeed mere nonsense. The words translated 'were divested of personality,' are, 'selbstlos wird,' which would be expressed in English, we presume, by 'were deprived of substantive existence.'

M. Bunsen is not sparing of the faults of others; he scatters sneers and criticisms freely on every side. He decides between opposing views, and comments on the omissions and oversights and mistakes of others. We shall not refer to these, excepting in one instance, that of Bishop Bull. M. Bunsen has the following words:—

‘I hope I may say so’ (*i. e.* that no one can understand the first three verses of S. John,) ‘without being at home in speculative subjects, without any disrespect to that truly learned and acute divine, Bishop Bull; but certainly he was *no speculative philosopher*, nor is his method a truly historical one. He *often makes assertions also which have no foundation*: as, for instance, that Hippolytus was a disciple of Clement of Alexandria. Bull asserts that all ancient authors say so, whereas nobody says so. Bossuet has praised and thanked him for his book: I think he would not have done so, had Bishop Bull adopted a truly historical and philosophical method.’—Vol. i. p. 263.

This is a very easy and summary mode of satisfying oneself about an author's merits: a ‘truly historical and philosophical’ method indeed! It would have been better to have seen what Bull's method really was. ‘Bossuet praised his book.’ It so happens that the book which Bossuet praised was not *the* book of Bishop Bull, the ‘Defence of the Nicene Creed,’ but the work called the ‘Judgment of the Catholic Church.’ This, however, is a slight matter. As to ‘the historical method,’ however, which, in M. Bunsen's sense, is ‘interpreting every passage in connexion with the whole range of the author's ideas, and every writer as a portion of his age, to be understood from the language and ideas of his time,’—this is a very common-sense method, if *fairly and thoroughly* carried out. But Bishop Bull's object was not to investigate all about the Fathers' views, but to show thus much, that they certainly testified to the Nicene faith; but that being the design of his work, let us hear his own account of his method. He says,—and his words may be a useful lesson for his censor: (we cite the preface to the *Defensio*):—

‘One thing I may venture most solemnly to declare, that in the whole course of this work I have observed the utmost good faith. Not a passage have I adduced, from which, after a careful examination both of the passage itself and its context, I did not think really made for the cause which we are maintaining; not a passage have I garbled, but put before you all entire.’

And again of passages adduced in support of Arianism:—

‘I have not knowingly or designedly kept back any; I have endeavoured, by observing the drift and purpose of each author, and by adducing other clearer statements from their several writings, to establish on solid grounds that they not only admit, but actually require, to be understood in a catholic sense.’

Bishop Bull's work had merits which the present specimen of

'the German method' has not. But Bull committed one grievous offence, which is really unpardonable in any writer; 'he *often* made assertions which have no foundation!' If that forfeits a writer's claim to be esteemed, M. Bunsen must take the consequence;

— In nos legem sancimus iniquam.

We fear he has himself committed that very fault in writing this sentence: he says, 'he *often* made assertions which have no foundation;' he alleges *one* instance; and observe, the instance is of an assertion which is of no sort of consequence to Bull's argument. Bishop Bull did not make 'an assertion which had no foundation' with any sinister view, for example, to prove a point which he could not establish otherwise; nor did he make it, *knowing* that it had no foundation. He made the statement on the authority of the common books of reference in his day; as Baronius, Bellarmine on Ecclesiastical Writers, and Labbé's notes on it, the notes on Jerome in Miræus; which all assert that Hippolytus was a disciple of Clement of Alexandria.

We have necessarily omitted very many points in M. Bunsen's work which seem to us to call for the most severe censures. The Inspiration, the dates and genuineness and readings of the books of Holy Scripture, the Sacraments, and the opinions of the early Church respecting these subjects, are treated in a way which, notwithstanding the author's protest, appears to us inconsiderate, unfair, and contrary to the Truth.

We only add one instance of M. Bunsen's ludicrous precipitancy, and the eager way in which he seizes on everything which he thinks in any way likely to support his speculations. We let our author speak for himself. He is citing Photius's account of the work 'On the Universe.'

'According to his (*i. e.* Hippolytus) opinion, *man consists of fire and earth and water*, and besides, of *the spirit* (πνεῦμα), which he also calls soul (ψυχή). As to the spirit, these are his own words:—

"Taking of this (the spirit) the principal part, He (God) formed it together with the body, and prepared for it a passage through every limb and joint. Now this spirit, plastically connected with the body, and all-pervading, is fashioned (τετύπωται) in the same shape (εἶδει) as the visible body; but its essence is rather cold in comparison with the three of which the body consists."—You here see' (adds M. Bunsen) 'the exact and literal doctrine of the four elements, of which the Spirit is one, carried out speculatively, in the form of a *Christian physical philosophy*.'

We do not know what Archdeacon Hare saw: for our own part, we see nothing but the four elements, and a common notion of those days, that our souls were made of air; 'air' being the primary meaning of πνεῦμα. No one who ever read it can forget the exquisite description of this view in the Tusculan

Questions. What this 'Christian physical philosophy' is, which makes our souls of *the* spirit, we know not; we suppose it is the philosophy of M. Bunsen, of which we have given a specimen above, p. 238, note, which he was delighted to recognise in this venerable Father. But we look on to M. Bunsen's pages 155 and 156, and there we find Hippolytus, in the *Philosophumena* as translated by M. Bunsen, enumerating these very four elements, and saying, 'The sun, moon, and stars, I conceive, are of fire and *spirit*.' What becomes of this 'Christian physical philosophy' now; and what weight can M. Bunsen expect any of his researches to have, when he puts off such folly as this upon his readers? or does he really believe that this is an evidence of his own theory, that 'mind is conscious nature, and nature unconscious mind?'¹ or are the heavenly bodies really animated and possessed of souls? We suspect he felt that he was wrong, for though there is no article before *πνεῦμα* in the passage cited from Photius, yet M. Bunsen translates it, *the* spirit; (*spiritus* is the word in the Latin version;) whereas in the second passage, where he still translates *πνεῦμα* 'spirit,' instead of 'air,' he no longer says '*the* spirit.' But one who speaks with so great an appearance of knowledge of the philosophy of the ancients, Greek and Christian, ought to have remembered that the 'Divine part' of the soul, which he would make to be 'the spirit,' would be called *νοῦς*, and that the *ψυχή*, which Hippolytus is speaking of, is the vital principle, or the 'animal soul.'

We have no wish to force a parallel, nor are we skilful in framing a scheme of opinions from a few slight indications; but, so far as we can see, the opinions which M. Bunsen holds, appear to be very like those attributed by Hippolytus to Callistus.² We do not refer merely to their obscurity, though Hippolytus brings the whole of the Noetian school under the description of the Heraclitean philosophy, as 'dark' and 'obscure,' and (to all appearance) self-contradictory, and as 'bringing Heraclitean darkness on all who followed them.' We do not, however, dwell on this point of resemblance.

Nor yet, again, do we say that our author is *πανούργος* or *ποίκιλος τὴν πλάνην*, 'crafty and chameleon-like in leading people wrong;' nor yet that, like Callistus, he raises controversies which excite divisions amongst men, and yet speaks so fairly to each party by themselves, that they are persuaded his views really agree with their own; though Callistus would have found his work very much facilitated by the principles on which 'any 'Protestant Christian . . . can feel himself in perfect communion

¹ Vol. iv. 58.

² See the *Philosophumena*, book ix.

* with the Churches of the East and West, and see the working of 'the Spirit in the scholastic, and even in Tridentine, definitions.'¹ In one point, however, they do agree—in misrepresenting those whom they cannot cajole into sanctioning them, and 'pouring on them the venom that is cherished within them,' *ἐξεμῶν παρὰ βίαν τὸν ἐνδομυχούντα αὐτῷ λόγῳ*. Just as Callistus represented Hippolytus as a Ditheist, so does this present writer represent Catholic believers as holding the Three Persons of the ever-blessed Trinity to be 'three historical personages.'² Callistus, however, was very anxious to purge himself from the suspicion of heresy; he was afraid of the honest and straightforward Bishop of Portus; so he protested he did not agree with Sabellius, and endeavoured to assume the language of orthodoxy. He might, perhaps, say that he held 'the doctrine of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to be the fundamental doctrine of Christianity,'³ and the like. Hippolytus, however, says that he combined the heresies of Theodotus and Sabellius; sometimes falling into the doctrine of the one, sometimes into that of the other. He said, for instance, that 'that which is seen,' the man, the 'historical Christ,' is the Son. He seems to have shrunk from saying that the Father himself was incarnate, but the Spirit; which was clothed with flesh, 'embodied,' so to say, 'in' Jesus of Nazareth;⁴ and that the Logos was both Son and Father, *i. e.* (we may suppose), as if one said that the Logos, or self-consciousness of God, was, in one sense, the Father himself; in another view, the objective manifestation of Him; and that this, by being embodied in the 'historical Christ,' in Him became the Son. This we see clearly, that the views of our author, so far as they mean anything, do, like those of Callistus, fall into the heresy of Theodotus—for it is plain that his 'historical Christ' is in himself a mere man; and into that of Sabellius, by denying any plurality of Persons in the Godhead, avoiding the assertion that the Father was incarnate, or that Christ was a mere man, by representing some unintelligible mode, or operation, or image of the Father, to be 'embodied in the historical Christ.' And it is to sanction this resuscitation of that very heresy which he so resolutely withstood and carefully exposed, that Hippolytus has been dragged out by M. Bunsen—dragged out and exposed to a martyrdom more revolting to his own spirit than that wherein his body was mangled.

One thing yet remains. How is this mystery to be explained? the mystery, for so it is, of such a man as M. Bunsen, so gifted, so generous as he is said to be, seeming to disregard the common rules of faithfulness and candour—whilst yet he appears

¹ Vol. i. p. 175. ² Vol. iv. p. 50. ³ Vol. i. p. 303. ⁴ Vol. i. pp. 167, 303.

full of high and noble sentiments, professing with all apparent sincerity a conscientious desire to know and to say what is true, and to forward above all other things the interests of truth among mankind.

It is, if we may presume to judge from the phenomena before us, that he is so strongly and deeply possessed with certain speculative theories, that he can see objects only in their light. That even in common matters he is thus the slave of an idea, is evident from the examination we have made of his views and arguments about the book which Photius read, views which are simply groundless and utterly opposed to facts. Once thus possessed with a view, it seems to him absolutely certain; the facts that contradict it, stubborn as they are, bend like the grass before him, or vanish from his sight. He seems to labour under an *ἀορασία*, or *σκότωμα*, as the ancients called it, and to be blinded alike to the laws of evidence and the existence of facts. He even creates facts by the strength of imagination. The delusion is like that which has been noticed of old, in the union of enthusiasm and unconscious deceit. Love of system, M. Bunsen himself observes, leads men to misinterpret facts. The wish to make it appear that all the Fathers generally speak one doctrine, and mean the same thing,—though they themselves thought they did, as did also the age that followed them,—is, in M. Bunsen's view, quite sufficient to prevent men from attaining truth. Is not the intense persuasion that some theory of our own is true, and an earnest wish to impress that same view on others, calculated to produce the same effect? Is not this quite as inconsistent as the former, with the calm and equable state of mind, which alone can do justice to the work of balancing evidence—with the use of that experimental method, which is the great instrument of attaining truth in the history of the past, as much as in the facts of nature? It is, indeed, curious to see how controversialists of different schools and different ages have put a force upon the facts of antiquity; but no Roman controversialist, no 'obscurantist' of modern times, has ever been guilty of much more unfair handling of documents, or tampering with evidence, than the writer of the 'Age of Hippolytus.'

If we are to believe M. Bunsen to be at all what his high and noble sentiments would lead us to suppose him, we must imagine that he is labouring under a delusion like that which they say has made devoted enthusiasts, whether consciously or not, feign miracles and disbelieve what they might see. There must be a S. Philumenism in liberalism, and a superstition even in philosophy, to account for the facts before us.

Indeed, no little light is thrown on the subject by M. Bunsen's

own statement. He talks, in a passage to which we have often referred, of our not 'grounding our convictions 'upon this or 'that passage which may be controverted, but upon the undeniable existence of a general consciousness of the ancient 'Church.'¹ Here we seem to have a key to the whole matter. M. Bunsen is possessed with the notion of 'the undeniable existence of a general consciousness of the ancient Church,' corresponding to his own view: its records are but as a mirror to him, in which he sees himself reflected. This or that passage, therefore, is of no consequence. We have the early working of this same mental temperament in his letter to Dr. Nott on the 'Christian Sacrifice.' The facts all go in one way—the particular passages are all against him. But M. Bunsen was not willing to submit to the facts and to accept the truth which they taught. He was possessed with an idea, and he saw that idea embodied in a creation of his own mind, which he called 'a general consciousness of the ancient Church.' Unfortunately that general consciousness did not find expression in any one of the ancient forms of prayer—which were indeed the embodying, if anything could be, of that consciousness—except very partially in one Ethiopian Liturgy.

There are other instances of the like possession. Such was the antiquarian of the last age. He was the slave of his own ideas. He discerned the traces of a Roman camp in an old earthwork, and reconstructed history, by deciphering a Latin inscription out of a mouldering milestone. He misconstrued texts, and imagined emendations, because he was quite sure that his theory was true, and that the author must have written accordingly. Such an one sees sights we cannot see, and is all the more certain that he is right the more deeply he has drawn from his imagination; for that imagination has seen connexions which become, so to say, part of himself. To him trifles light as air are confirmations strong as Holy Writ. And he entertains no doubt whatever of his own sincerity or fairness. He is impelled to put out his views and the arguments which seem to him so convincing, from a belief that he has seen a vision of truth, which the rest of the world cannot discern; the same blindness making him meanwhile utterly unconscious of his own mental state.

We can in no other way account for the phenomenon before us. For the most remarkable circumstance is, that M. Bunsen himself seems perfectly unconscious of his own faults. He writes with the seeming sincerity and honesty of a man who is all truth and all conscientiousness. He pleads against any misapprehension on this ground: and, as if conscious of his integrity, and anticipating misrepresentation, he says:—

¹ Vol. i. Pref. p. ix.

'No just and intelligent critic will have to blame me for the want of a conscientious wish to be historically true, and perfectly impartial.'—Vol. i. Pref. p. xiv.

And again, in discussing those heresies, where he seemed so blind to opposing facts, he says :—

'I do not see how I can go through this argument *conscientiously*, without a complete enumeration of the thirty-two articles in question.'—Vol. i. p. 31.

Again :—

'I have not written and published my Ignatian researches, any more than others, in order to produce an effect upon this or that person; but to satisfy my own mind, by expressing a *conscientious conviction* on a point on which I thought I had something to say.'—Vol. i. p. 60, note.

Lastly, with a tone that pervades his whole book, and reminds us of the sanctimoniousness of other classes of men similarly possessed :—

'Let no one search unless he be prepared to take the high ground of Christian life and liberty, and to apply *historical criticism* to the facts, and independent speculation to the ideas of Christianity. *But above all let him be honest and true.* Whoever will make a bargain with his reason and conscience will braid and twist them, and lose all power of conviction and faith.'

We can with this case before us believe the most incredible of all inconsistencies,—the union of the highest sentiment, with actions the very reverse. Indeed, the very profuseness and exaggeration of M. Bunsen's professions and high sentiments makes their reality suspicious.

Of those who are opposed to him, he says :—

'Their mode of conducting controversies would not be tolerated for a moment in the field of classical literature, where men like Porson and Gaisford, Niebuhr and Hermann, Boeckh and Ritschl rule,—where nothing is at stake except that of which Pilate doubted the existence, and where it is considered as unbecoming to seek truth, not as a judge, in order to find it, but as an advocate in order to betray it.'—Vol. iv. Pref. p. v.

He imagines himself to be a model of historical truth, and those who differ from him are either 'barbarians or obscurantists by profession,' and all that they have written 'for the last 250 years is chaff.' Lost in the persuasion of the truth of his theories, he expects to overturn the whole of the received views of what is matter of historical fact; and appearing highly to estimate what he has done, and wishing, heartily and sincerely, we doubt not, that the honour should redound to Fatherland, and desirous, through this specimen of his own, to recommend the theology, and 'the critical and historical method' of his countrymen, to the English mind, he says :—

'If I have not entirely failed in my efforts to elicit truth out of the records of thought, and out of the annals of history, which are now opened to us for the first time, I owe it to the resources of thought and learning which I have found in the standard works of modern German divinity and

philology, and which I have endeavoured to apply to this subject. Deeply impressed as I am with my unworthiness to represent either, I still trust to have, by this process, and by the very important contents of the newly discovered book, *sufficiently shown the real nature and the superiority of the German method of inquiry, and the satisfactory results already obtained.*—Pref. vol. i. pp. xvi. xvii.

And he speaks of 'the proofs he has given of what has been achieved already in this respect, by the critical and historical school of Germany.' We are not disposed to depreciate what that school has done in its own province; but we can also see its defects. Of one thing, however, we are certain, that M. Bunsen's work cannot hold a place amongst those which have done credit to his country; and, we apprehend, the scholars of Germany will duly appreciate the compliment which is paid them in having the '*Age of Hippolytus*' put forward as a favourable specimen of their theological and critical school.

As for the work of Hippolytus, we trust that our own countrymen will not imitate the over-speed of the Chevalier Bunsen. We hope, also, that English writers will show in this important discussion, as they ever have shown and are showing, true scholarship and critical discrimination, soundness, as well as acuteness, and caution, if not brilliancy; above all, candour and honesty.

Those who may wish to follow up the great doctrinal questions which M. Bunsen has opened, will find abundant matter in Waterland and Bull, particularly in the *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*, in which copious extracts are given from the Fathers, which are preserved in the original language in the recent English translation;—the works of Bishop Kaye, on Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, and in the Testimonies and Lectures of Dr. Burton. They will find in these works judicious and sound criticism, and in all ample citations from the authors, and fair representations of their opinions.

NOTICES.

THE Reverend Edward John Shepherd, A.M., Rector of Luddesdown, has favoured us with an 8vo. of 540 pp. which he is pleased to entitle 'A History of the Church of Rome to the end of the Episcopate of Damasus,' (Longman.) To this he has also added a Letter of 43 pages to Dr. Maitland, on 'The Genuineness of the Writings ascribed to Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage,' the first instalment of a series which he is so good as to promise us on the subject.

Mr. Shepherd evidently considers himself born to regenerate the whole of Primitive Church History. His theory—very simple and easily enunciated—is that almost all the writings, historical and doctrinal alike, of the early Church are forgeries; and he thinks that a host of persons have been at the trouble and expense at different times, of interpolating genuine works and concocting others—in the different forms of Acts and Canons of Councils, histories, and dogmatic treatises—in order to support the doctrine of the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. Who these forgers were, or when they lived, he does not tell us; and indeed he confesses at the outset that he does not see his way clearly on the point, but he believes that they succeeded in suppressing all or greater part of the genuine documents of previous times, (if, indeed, there ever had been such, or, in fact, any person at all to write or be written about,) and in bribing or deluding the transcribers of every country into copying, and their readers into receiving, their spurious compositions for the authentic works of authors—who never existed; and he conceives that it is left for himself to point out to an admiring generation which of all the mass of professedly patristic writings, acts of councils, and the like, may be received as genuine, and which are to be rejected, either as having been interpolated or as being altogether spurious. Thus he doubts Eusebius' account of S. Dionysius of Corinth and his letter to the Church of Rome, (History, Book iv. chap. 23.) He doubts the letter of the Church of Lyons to Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, about Irenæus, then a Presbyter, given by Eusebius, (v. 4.) and referred to by S. Jerome in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers. He doubts Victor's attempt to excommunicate the Churches of Asia Minor, making more of it than it deserves, (Euseb. v. 24.) He doubts the letter of Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, to Fabius of Antioch, (Euseb. vi. 43.) He doubts not only the writings but the very existence of S. Cyprian. He doubts the account of the letter of Dionysius of Alexandria to Dionysius of Rome, as given by S. Athanasius. He doubts Constantine's letter to Chrestus, and rejects the Council of Arles, but forgets to tell us how a forger could advance the claims of Rome by inventing a Council summoned by an Emperor, and at which a Bishop of Arles sat as president, after the Bishop of Rome had endeavoured in vain to decide the cause; and he gives no indication as to what forger, at all near those times, was likely so much as to have heard of the doctrine of the Romish supremacy, properly so called, and thus falls into the common but palpable contradiction of supposing certain persons to have been labouring for a particular doctrine, which,

however, he is compelled to admit, was one as yet unknown. He doubts about Constantine's vision of the Cross, and Eusebius' life of that Emperor, with that of Martin of Tours, by Sulpicius Severus. He rejects the historical treatises of S. Athanasius, and his Apology against the Arians. At page 59, he has no doubts as to what S. Athanasius himself really was, as he speaks of him as Bishop of Alexandria; but at page 72 he has fallen into a doubt about this also, as he there terms him 'Bishop or Presbyter of Alexandria.' At page 75, note, he declares at once that the letter of Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia, given by Theodoret in his History, Book I. chap. v., is spurious, but gives no reason for that decision beyond the general one, that that whole work is the composition of a Roman forger! Mr. Shepherd's readers, however, must not always look for the reasons of his doubts, but must take such as he pleases to give, and be thankful. He rejects the histories of Socrates and Sozomen. He doubts about Hosius, Liberius, Meletius, and Lucifer. He rejects the Council of Sardica, and doubts those of Alexandria under S. Athanasius, A.D. 362, and of Rome under Damasus, 376-7. He receives Damasus himself, indeed, but only, as it appears, because he is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, and in terms of condemnation. He doubts the well-known edict of Theodosius, Cod. Theod. xvi. tom. i. l. 2. In a word, with him as with another well-known destructive,

'Function

Is smother'd in surmise, and nothing is
But what is not.'

We cannot compliment Mr. Shepherd on his respect for antiquity or on his bibliographical accuracy, both surely qualifications in some degree necessary for a Church historian. At page 66, note, he compares the Bishop of Rome to a scavenger; for which one dreads that some zealous member of that Church may inflict on him the same punishment as the Prince did on Falstaff for likening his father to a singing-man of Windsor; and at page 214, he speaks of 'S. Basil's able and learned editor Maran!'—a post-diluvian Methuselah, whom he must suppose, if he thinks at all, to have enjoyed upwards of two centuries of existence, and to have edited as many works as the countryman thought that *tempus fugit* had made clocks. Mistakes like these are in themselves little or nothing, but when accompanied with a great pretence and display of learning, and a tone of overwhelming superiority to all the rest of the world, they become positive offences, and deserve no mercy. We recommend him before he publishes another volume of his 'History,' to look into Mosheim, or Alban Butler, or any other historian of that profound class, for an account of S. Maur and his congregation, by which means he may discover the real meaning of the word Maranus.

Mr. Shepherd has not disproved the existence of S. Cyprian half as completely as Archbishop Whately has done that of Bonaparte. His letter on the subject resembles the portion allotted to the same question in his book, except that the former contains fewer facts than the latter, and is more diffuse and less logical. Having stated in his History that S. Cyprian 'is probably an imaginary personage,' p. 126, (to have proved which would have rendered, we should have thought, any after-discussion as to the

authenticity of his works wholly unnecessary,) he proceeds, singularly enough, to inquire in his letter whether this eidolon of a bishop did or did not write the letters ascribed to him; and he decides that he did not for the somewhat subordinate reasons following. Firstly, because having no letters worth mentioning between the Churches of Rome and Carthage before and after his time, we therefore can have none during it. Secondly, because the tone of address in these pseudo-Cyprianic letters is too familiar to have been real; and, thirdly, that messages are sent in them to persons of such common and every-day names, that among the thousands so called in Rome and Carthage, it would have been impossible for the recipients to know who were the individuals intended.

S. Cyprian either lived or did not live. If he did not live, that fact is certainly a very good reason against any letters which bear his name being genuine, but it must be clearly established first; and the first thing Mr. Shepherd had to do was to make up his mind decidedly and once for all, as to which of these two alternatives he intended to accept. If, as appears to be the case, the concurrent testimony of antiquity goes with him for nothing in comparison with his own abstract reasoning, and he rejects the Bishop from the list of living men, it was quite unnecessary for him to proceed to any further question about his works, and there was no room for his letters after his history; but, like most other root and branch innovators, he mistrusts his own theory when it comes to the test, and makes a somewhat painful exhibition of himself as a logician, in treating the Bishop at one time as a person who never existed, and discussing the question at another as to whether he did or did not write any portion of the works ascribed to him, until the reader becomes as bewildered—not as to whether S. Cyprian did live and write or not, for Mr. Shepherd has produced nothing at all calculated to disprove either of these facts—but as to what his real opinion of the matter may be, as he is apparently himself. As to what Mr. Shepherd urges, that there was no continuous correspondence between Rome and Carthage before and after S. Cyprian, we admit the fact; but what, we would ask, does it prove in relation to S. Cyprian himself or his letters? And who so ready as Mr. Shepherd to have fallen into doubts, and cried out ‘*forgery*’ or ‘*interpolation*,’ had there been either a succession of letters between the Churches when they had no question to discuss, or silence when they had? As it is when the need of intercommunication begins to exist, and not before, we find a correspondence spring up between the places and persons concerned, and which again ceases on the questions at issue being laid at rest. It is also open to an inquirer to ask when a correspondence may begin and end between individuals or corporate bodies, without afterwards involving a question as to its genuineness? And does not Mr. Shepherd see that the question is not whether there were hundreds or thousands of Calphurnii, Uranii, Alexii, and the like, in Rome or Carthage, but whether out of these there were not some Christians so situated as that the correspondent addressed would know them to be the persons alluded to by the writer. Besides, how many thousand Phœbes, Maries, Urbani, and Aristobuli, were there in Rome when S. Paul wrote his epistle to that city? We would put it seriously to Mr. Shepherd that unexplained facts are to be looked for in all histories,

and that if for this reason he rejects the letters of S. Cyprian, he cannot logically and with consistency receive those of S. Paul. His position, in fact, is this—that because the persons addressed by S. Cyprian's correspondents happen to bear familiar names, therefore the letters are not genuine but the work of a forger: how this conclusion follows from the premises we leave Mr. Shepherd to decide.

As to the appeal of S. Cyprian to Rome, in preference to any other see, there needs no such doctrine as the modern one of the supremacy of Rome to account for it. Carthage was the metropolitical see. S. Cyprian could not be plaintiff, defendant, and judge in his own cause, nor could he accept the decision of any Bishop of inferior dignity to himself. Rome was but a few days' sail distant, Alexandria was far off, and Antioch still further, to say nothing of the fact that the history of the case proves that it was necessary to make appeal to the secular as well as the ecclesiastical power, and this alone would have carried the appellant to Rome as its seat.

Mr. Shepherd, throughout both his History and Letter, commits the fundamental mistake of arguing from the assumed *relative* state of the Churches to the letters, whereas of the former we know nothing, whilst the latter certainly come to us with, on the whole, a *prima facie* evidence of genuineness. If either were to be done, he should rather have reversed the process, and concluded from the letters to the state of the Churches, and not from the state of the Churches to the letters, lest he prove to be concluding from nothing to something. In a word, if S. Cyprian wrote any letters at all, he wrote these, or some of them; and if he wrote even one, then, however different the state of the two Churches relatively might have been from what Mr. Shepherd would have expected, all that is proved is, not that the letters are forgeries, but that his expectations are worth nothing. And is it a very extraordinary circumstance, that a warmth of feeling should have arisen between two neighbouring Churches in the time of persecution, and when many martyrs and confessors of each were known to each other personally, and that it should have changed with the changing circumstances? Or were the grandsons and great-grandsons of these correspondents compelled to write to each other for no other reason than that their grandfathers and great-grandfathers had written to each other a century before? S. Cyprian is mentioned both as having lived and written by Eusebius in his History, Book VI. chap. xliii, and by S. Jerome, in his translation of Eusebius' Chronicle, in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers, and in his piece against the Luciferians; but Mr. Shepherd's keen eye detects the whole to be forgeries or interpolations for the express purpose of introducing his name: the first, because Eusebius always affixes to his mention of a Bishop the name of his see, but in the present instance he speaks merely of 'Cyprian and the Bishops who were with him in Africa,' and the others for reasons equally grave and conclusive. But he forgets to tell us how S. Augustine, who was his countryman, and flourished only a century and a half after him, and lived so long in Carthage, and made such continual use of his writings, could have been deceived into believing his existence, had he really been 'an imaginary personage,' and his works a mere tissue of forgeries. We contend that this one testimony to his truth is worth so very much more than any abstract reasoning which Mr. Shepherd can construct against it, that, in fact, it renders his pages mere waste paper.

And if the subject be thought to deserve another word, we would say, in conclusion, that when the voice of antiquity is so uniform and so clear, where such a host of moderns, no less diligent and acute than Mr. Shepherd, have seen no occasion, from the facts which they had in common with himself, to raise any of his sagacious doubts,—and not least of all, where such learned writers as Pearson and Dodwell, to say nothing of Bishop Sage's 'Cyprianic Age,' have given us such minute and valuable accounts of the life and acts of S. Cyprian, as are to be found in the 'Annales Cyprianici' of the former, and the 'Dissertationes' of the latter, (with which Mr. Shepherd is either unacquainted, or he deems it beneath him to notice them,) we do not expect that any real light will be, thrown on the question by that gentleman.

In the Fine Arts department we may mention two or three productions, the knowledge of which may be useful in the selection of Christmas presents:—1. A very religious print, by E. V. B.—we are violating, we believe, no confidence in naming the Hon. Mrs. Boyle—'A Christian Funeral,' correctly drawn, and recalling the better characteristics of the German school. 2. Mr. H. Barraud's companion to his famous and popular print of the 'Choristers.' We have here another group of Choristers equally effective, and we think likely to be equally successful with its predecessor. Not the least value of it consists in its use in superseding a sentimental group of three unsatisfactory Charity Girls, which was accustomed to do duty as the *pendant* to the 'Choristers;' and, 3. (published at Munich,) 'Abbildungen der Glasgemalde,' &c. (Copies of the Glass Paintings in Christ Church, Kilndown). This church is famous, as most of our readers know, for its valuable windows, executed at the cost of Mr. Beresford Hope, at the Royal Munich Manufactory. We do not refer to them as the best style of glass painting, or that they fulfil all the requisites of this peculiar branch of art; but the capacities of glass painting cannot be understood without studying the Munich development. The drawing is artistic, correct and beautiful—too much so, perhaps, for the conditions of the art; the tinctures are somewhat weak—but the diapers and jewellery, by the use perhaps of certain chemicals, are exceedingly elaborate and beautiful. An odd mistake occurs in the lettering. S. Augustus is of course S. Augustine of Canterbury. Why S. Augustine (Doctor), a Bishop, should have the pallium, and why S. David, Archbishop, should have it not, we are not aware. The subjects are single figures canopied; the tracery is of course Teutonic and flamboyant; and the windows, broad lancets, gave unusual opportunities to breadth of design. The engravings are exceedingly good, and the colouring rich, and we should be glad to see equally handsome volumes of home production.

Dr. Hook's 'Church Dictionary,' (Murray,) has appeared in an enlarged and handsome volume. It now bears the look—as it always had the substance—of a creditable and compendious book of reference.

It is almost unnecessary to do more than put on record the Bishop of Exeter's 'Letter to the Dean of Exeter on Confession and Absolution' (Murray.) The Dean, with the terrors of an Exeter populace before him, took or made the opportunity of talking and subsequently publishing some clap-trap, which would have been much more suitable to Exeter Hall

than to Exeter Cathedral. The Bishop, without going out of his way, makes use of this Sermon as a formal and full exposition of his sentiments on this misrepresented question, at the same time administering to Mr. Law a lesson which, we regret to say, he stands in great need of. In polish, completeness, and logical sequence, we do not remember any publication, even of the Bishop of Exeter, which will take higher polemical rank.

Mr. Kerchever Arnold's admirable series of School-Books, (Rivingtons,) is going on satisfactorily. Some *Eclogæ Aristophanice*—a Tacitus—and a Virgil are among the last instalments. The notes are just what notes should be: terse, suggestive, compact hints—the completest and pleasantest contrast to the old German style of uncritical gabble.

In Mr. Kingsley's brief but piquant pamphlet, 'Phaethon,' (Macmillan,) we find more to admire and less to censure than in any of his previous writings. His style is certainly very telling; and on such a subject his wit is eminently in place. The brochure is much to be recommended.

From Messrs. Mozley we acknowledge the second complete volume of that most useful and varied work, 'Stories and Catechisings on the Collects,' by Mr. Jackson. And in the cloud of rival and unnecessary magazines for Churchmen and Church purposes, we can still commend the 'Magazine for the Young,' as generally superior to its competitors.—We desire, at whatever sacrifice of critical dignity, to recommend 'The Conceited Pig' to 'Parents and Guardians,' who at this season may be inflicted with holiday importations of incipient self-esteem from our seminaries of fame and name. On its first appearance we hailed the Pig with entire sympathy as a most amusing and witty story. It now appears 'illustrated,' and standing on its own merits, which are quite sufficient to secure general acceptance.

Ken's 'Approach to the Altar,' and 'Ken on the Apostles' Creed,' have been beautifully reprinted by Pickering, and form appropriate gift-books.

To those in 'populous cities pent,' Mr. Ward's little volume on 'Closed Cases for Plants,' (Van Voorst,) details a discovery, of the simplest and most efficient kind, which none can thoroughly appreciate but those who know the charm of real green life in a smoky town. These 'Closed Cases' will have the advantage of creating a new element of beauty—room-scenery.

We select Mr. Armstrong's Sermon, preached at Kemerton, 'The Opposition of the World,' (J. H. Parker,) as far beyond the average, both in thought and expression.

We much regret that any, and we fear there was great, occasion should have been given for the severe but just 'Letter to the Bishop of Chester on Pictorial Crucifixes.' (Masters.)

'Scenes in the Lives of Christian Children,' (Masters,) is a suitable packet for a Christmas and Christian memorial.

Mr. Wm. Palmer's (of Magdalene) 'Dissertations on the Orthodox or Eastern Catholic Communion,' (Masters,) has reached us in time only to announce. A single glance at its contents shows, however, the importance of the volume.

Lord Cranborne has written, and Mr. Masters has published, a 'History of France for Children.' Creditable both as a composition and suitable for those to whom it is addressed, this little work is remarkable, considering the affliction—blindness—under which the author labours.

'Family Adventures,' by the author of the 'Fairy Bower,' (Mozley,) comes to us under touching circumstances, as the posthumous work of its remarkable and gifted authoress. The tales are shorter, and addressed to a younger class, than the writer's previous and more formal works. But in these slight sketches we recognise the same firm yet delicate touch, and the same nice appreciation of character, which won popularity to the 'Fairy Bower.' A second edition will correct more than one fault which the writer's critical eye was withdrawn from observing: Isidore, for example, is not a girl's name.

Mr. Newland's 'Letter to Mr. Hatchard, on Confession and Absolution,' (Masters,) fully sustains this vigorous and useful writer's reputation.

It is not often that we have to *recommend* publications by 'recent converts': but there are reasons which induce us to depart from our rule in suggesting to certain querulous persons among ourselves Mr. J. Spencer Northcote's 'Pilgrimage to La Salette,' (Burns & Lambert.) It will amply repay perusal.

Among Sermons, we have to acknowledge, 1, Mr. Puckle's second volume of 'Parochial Sermons,' (Rivingtons.) 2. Mr. Hardwick's volume, addressed to 'Town Congregations,' (Macmillan.) 3. Mr. Woodward's 'Sermons, preached at Rome,' (Rivingtons.) 4. Mr. Trevor's 'Unity in Uniformity,' (Bell.) 5. Mr. Christie's Synod Sermon, 'The Rule of the Church a Law to her Members,' (Lendrum,) which is full and able. 6. 'Samuel's last Appeal,' a Farewell Sermon by Mr. J. H. Crowder, (Hale & Nowell,) which has more than local interest. 7. 'The Purity of the Church of England, and the Corruptions of the Church of Rome,' (Rivingtons,) by Mr. Chancellor Harington—a characteristic 5th November Sermon. 8. 'Christ and the Church,'—which requires a sharp eye to detect the latent Irvingism. 9. 'Remember the Sabbath-day,' (Rivingtons,) by Mr. Kempe of Kensington: Mr. Kempe seems to identify Sunday and the Jewish Sabbath. 10. 'Do all to the Glory of God,' by Mr. Tate of Dover, (Rivingtons.) 11. 'The Evidences of Religion,' in two Sermons, by Mr. Bruce Kennard, (Rivingtons.)—ambitious but not successful: the writer fortifies himself by Dr. Arnold, Bishop Hampden, and Mr. Morrell's sceptical History of Philosophy; 12. Mr. Harvey Goodwin's 'Sermon at the Cambridge Commemoration of Benefactors,' (Deighton.) 13. Mr. Armstrong's elegant 'Funeral Sermon for Lord Somers,' (J. H. Parker.) 14. 'An Evangelical Ministry the Strength of the Nation,' (Seeleys,) by Mr. Webster, who takes occasion to talk about every thing, himself, and his pecuniary means not excluded, in Dedication, Notes, &c.; 15. An Ordination Sermon, 'The Faithful Pastor,' by Mr. R. Gordon, (J. H. Parker.) 16. 'Concionalia,' by Mr. H. Thompson, (Masters,) a little work containing outlines of Sermons,—a 'Pulpit Help' of which we cannot approve. 17. Four 'Advent Sermons,' by Mr. Tomlins, (Mackay.) 18. 'Sermons for the Christian Seasons,' (J. H. Parker,) a proposed series, cheap and sound. 19. 'The Sisters of Bethany,' (Masters.)

THE
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

APRIL, 1853.

ART. I.—*Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore. Edited by the Right Honourable Lord JOHN RUSSELL, M.P.* Vols. I. & II. London: Murray.

BEFORE proceeding to any account of the subject of these volumes, it is impossible for us to avoid a remark on their execution. The title-page vaunts in capitals that they are 'edited by the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, M.P.,' and the advertisements have set forward in still greater prominence this distinguished name. The statement is strictly correct, yet it has all the effect of a misrepresentation. *Memoirs of the poet Moore by Lord John Russell* might have been a very interesting biography. But the volumes we now have are not that. Lord John Russell has written nothing but a preface. *Memoirs of Moore, by himself*, by whomsoever edited, might have been an autobiography still more attractive. But the 'Memoirs' which these volumes do contain come down just to his nineteenth year, and occupy seventy-six pages of the first volume. The editor's contribution to them consists in appending a certificated copy of Moore's baptismal register. Thus there are 'Memoirs' of Thomas Moore, and there is editing by the Right Honourable Lord John Russell; but surely every reader, whose eye had rested with satisfaction on the announcement of the forthcoming work, must have laid down the volume with a sense of having been balked—may we not say, taken in?—by the promise. We are quite sure that the high-minded and honourable publishers, perhaps the most munificent patrons of letters in the world, are not to be charged with the smallest degree of intention to mislead. The noble editor, on his part, is as free from any imputation of mercenary motive. He receives nothing. As literary executor for his friend, his only object has been to secure for his friend's family the best bargain he could, to dispose of the materials left for the poet's biography at the highest figure. With this bargain the public, or the community of readers, have nothing to do. Nay, it might even add to their satisfaction to know that in purchasing their copy they were contributing to the comfort

of the declining years of the poet's widow. The sum given for copyright is a contract between executor and publisher, and we do not wish to inquire into it. But we do complain on behalf of the reading community of two respects in which its interests have been sacrificed. First, that the title of the book creates a false impression. The title-page is a contract between the editor of a book and his readers. The contract in this instance, if observed in the letter, is broken in the spirit, and Lord John Russell's preface is nothing more than an apology for breaking it. Secondly, the public complains very widely, and we believe most justly, of the neglect of its interests and rights which Lord John's abandonment of all editorial functions involves. It has been too often the case, in the recent era of biography, that our interests in these best memorials of our country's great men have been fatally affected by the unfitness of the hands into which their memoirs have fallen. Crabbe and Mackintosh were mutilated by filial piety. Southey, Wordsworth, Jeffrey, Chalmers, have been marred for all time to come by the incompetence or ill judgment of their editors. Neither of these objections lay against the present editor. As a biographer of Moore, Lord John Russell was qualified by personal intimacy, by experience, taste, and literary skill, to have fulfilled all the conditions of that responsible office as well and fully as Lockhart has done for Scott, or Talfourd for Charles Lamb. He has accordingly not failed in doing this; he has simply not attempted it. He might appear to have sent Moore's papers in a bundle to Longman, requesting him to publish them with Lord John Russell's name in the title-page. We are far from requiring that an editor should write in his own book as a mere point of etiquette, that he should try to say something when he has nothing to say, that he should be putting himself forward to make his remarks on everything. On the contrary, the less he appears the better, provided he is at hand when wanted. But to make a man's letters and diary intelligible the editor *is* wanted continually. Such remains do not tell their own story. They abound in allusions and hints which are meaningless as cypher without a key, and which should either be not printed at all, or, if printed, should be interpreted. Lord John Russell supplies not a single link, introduces us to none of the personages, not even those to whom the letters are addressed,—is scarcely at the trouble to arrange them in order of date; we may infer from one of his very few foot-notes, has not even read through the papers he has printed. And for this almost unparalleled negligence we cannot accept the apology he offers. Instead of ascribing it to its true cause, viz. other more important avocations, he seems to insinuate (in the preface) that it is

done on principle. He has transferred '*laissez faire*' from politics to biography. '*Moore's life*,' he says, 'is represented in his own account.' So far is this from being the case, that for anything like a connected sketch of the poet's life, the reader must still have recourse to the preface to the collected edition of the Poems, or to a recent number of the *Irish Quarterly Review*.

Such are these two volumes in respect of their omissions. They do not even contain what was already in print, and public property. But we shall be equally dissatisfied with them if we examine what they do contain. They are not a '*life*,' they are only the raw materials of a '*life*.' To extract from them the spirit of biography would require no less skill, time, and power than we have seen displayed in reducing the two garrulous octavos about Wordsworth into thirty pages, or the multitudinous notices of Robert Burns into a small 12mo. volume. Here the rough material is of the very poorest and most barren quality. The preface says apologetically, '*Moore's life* is '*represented in his own account, whether in the shape of 'memoirs, letters, or diary.*' But, with the exception of the few pages of autobiographical memoirs, breaking off in his nineteenth year, there is little of any interest in the volumes. Nothing can be more trivial than the letters, so far as they have yet appeared. They have no merit as compositions; they do but serve in this respect as foils to the half-dozen of Jeffrey's letters which are scattered among them, shining and sparkling through the gloom. There are just 400 of them. Forty would have given all the impression that can be gathered from the whole. We cannot but suspect—where we are told nothing, all is conjecture—that better letters of Moore's must be yet in existence. What we have here have the air of being the refuse. Did he correspond with none of his eminent acquaintance? His mother, Power the music publisher, Lady Donegal and her sister, (two excellent ladies, but quite unequal to appreciate the poet,) Mr. Dalton, are (with one or two business letters to Longman) the only correspondents. Were there no letters to Jeffrey, to Bowles, Byron, Rogers, or to any correspondent who would have called out something of the thoughts and powers of the man? Or can it be that the interesting letters have been kept back by their holders as being too unreserved, and touching yet living fibres of the social web? Or is this only another instance of editorial supineness, and the collection of them has been neglected?

The case is not much better as regards the diary. For, though it is true, as has been often remarked, that the most frivolous record of a man's day, be the writer who he may,

always possesses interest, yet this is always under one condition, that of distance of time. It is time that gives a value not their own to such memoranda. Pepys even, if he had gossiped of George IV. instead of Charles II., would be ridiculous instead of curious. Another circumstance which greatly diminishes the value of so much of the diary as is now published, is that it consists mainly of records of conversations. The little that there is of personal observation and event is not without interest. Conversation too, when good, is quite capable of being well journalised. And the set in which Moore lived in town, as well as what he saw at Bowood, were accustomed to a tone of conversation well worth recording. But Tom Moore is no reporter for these 'noctes cœnæque Deum.' He never gets beyond the anecdote and the jest; the finer thought, the thread of argument, the tone and sentiment, has disappeared from his canvass. How different from the crumbs of the Holland House table we have in Mackintosh's Journal. Anecdote and joke, however, though most inadequate as representations of such 'feasts of reason,' are very good things in their way, provided they are new. But it will scarcely be believed that the greater part of the anecdotes in this portion of the diary is what was collected by Moore for his life of Sheridan. The diary is little more than the scrap-book of collections for that work,—the odds and ends and patches, as they were picked up in conversation, and afterwards worked into that life of Sheridan, which has been before the world ever since 1825. The diary served as the common-place-book of materials for a work since published.

In fine, it will be found that when the half-dozen volumes, to which on the present scale of publication the work will probably run, are published, we shall have flung down before us in the rough the materials for a life of Moore, or some of them. The life will be still to write; our notion of the man, and his place in literature and the world, will have to be formed by each one of us for himself. Whether this be owing to the editor's negligence, or to a set purpose of eking out a book, we are not careful to inquire. Our complaint is urged in the interests of a branch of our literature which has of late years acquired dimensions and a rank quite new. The great biographies of our great writers, which the last twenty years have produced, have not only been among the most stimulating and popular of the publishers' announcements, but bid fair to become one of the most prominent and valuable provinces of the library. They may take the place in our literature which the French private *Mémoires* did in the continental literature of the last century. As the *Mémoires* reflected the court manners, the gallantry, and the intrigue, which was organised into a system alongside

of the political wars of the pre-revolution period, so these biographies will present the writer, become, in our period of social transition, the great teacher of the age. The press has had at various times great and startling influence,—incendiary, revolutionary. There have been other times when pamphlet and satire have done wonders which they could never now approach. They have effected much in politics. But in no known age have the writers had the enormous preponderance and moral weight they now have. The satirist of former times overthrew a dynasty, or an established church. He was powerful for destruction. He was a demagogue, who by seizing a favourable moment worked the passions of the people to frenzy. Not so the modern press. It has gradually usurped the functions of the pulpit, the college, the statesman. It no longer overthrows, but forms, educates, saves. Hence the life of the writer is no longer a thing apart from the age, but is in intimate and vital connexion with its movement. ‘Society has no graver interest than the well-being of the literary class.’ Therefore, the biography of a great poet is a matter of public concern. He belonged not to himself while he lived, still less does he when he is dead belong to his bookseller or his executor. A petty curiosity may be overindulged, but even that is a token of our rights. Its great men belong to a nation. Their life is part, the indispensable part of their works. If poetry were only an art, the poet himself would then be nothing to us. It is because poetry is an inspiration, an influence that searches depths of our moral being that nothing else reaches, that we require to know the life of which it was the expression. Who is our teacher, and what are his credentials? How did he arrange the elements of his own career? The prophet’s best book is his life. ‘When the manners of Loo are heard of,’ says the Chinese, ‘the stupid become intelligent, the wavering determined.’

In the present instance, then, we have to record a lamentable failure. The *Life of Moore* is not in these volumes. They give us at once too little and too much. Too much, for the quantity of printed matter is out of all proportion to the importance of the man. We don’t want all the facts, all the doings and sayings of any man. We want the characteristic facts. Nay, we don’t want facts at all, but as a way of showing character. Biography is not history. History professes to record events: its undertaking is to go through everything, to tell us what happened, and how. In biography, we do not look for what was done, but for the man, and only look at what he did for the sake of seeing the man there. There is too little, because all that of a man’s character which the recollection of friends only can supply,

which the skill of a friend only can select from the chaos of letters and writings, is here totally wanting. There are the pots of colours, but we may draw the lineaments for ourselves, if we can.

It is out of our power to supply this sad defect ; but we shall proceed to condense what is most illustrative in the poet's life and habits, by way of introducing some remarks on his poetry.

Thomas Moore was born in Dublin, 1779. His father kept a small wine store at No. 12, Aungier-street. He was fortunate in his home, and in both his parents, but more especially in his mother. His name must be inscribed in that catalogue of eminent men who owed, and owned, the best part of education to the mother's care. She did not teach him herself. He had such teaching as a Dublin day-school afforded, progressing through them in regular gradation up to the best that Dublin afforded. This was that presided over by Samuel Whyte, widely known as the master who, after several years' trial, had finally pronounced the verdict of 'incurable dunce' on Richard Brinsley Sheridan. This should never be told, however, without its being added, that he not only had the candour to confess his error, but would habitually refer to it as evidence of the rashness of prejudging the capacity of boys. The best school in Dublin was not a classical school ; but an usher gave Moore private lessons in Latin and Greek. These were learned all the faster, that they were lessons of love, the teacher having taken a great liking to his pupil. Other lessons, besides those of grammar, were communicated by the same facile entrance of sympathy. To this 'Latin usher' of Samuel Whyte, Tom Moore owed his inoculation with the boiling passions for 'Ireland's liberties,' and the hatred of the 'oppressor,' which epidemic was then raging with more than its ordinary fury. The boy was as eager and ardent at politics as at the classics, and the hours of lesson were divided pretty equally between the two subjects. His mother, though Irish, was a sensible woman, and wished to encourage the classics at the expense of the politics. She was not qualified to be his instructress herself, but she did better,—she pointed out the path, and sought by every means to stimulate the boy in it. She petted her boy, but only to induce him to learn. She petted his masters, but only for taking pains with him, not for treating him well. Like Margaret Fuller's father, she examined him daily in the lessons he had learnt at school, and would have him taken out of bed at two in the morning for this purpose if she returned late, but without the pernicious consequences to his nerves which made such havoc in the more sensitive organization of poor Margaret. This affectionate devotion and indulgence, aimed so steadily toward his

improvement, had such an effect that he would have thought no labour or difficulty too hard to gain her approbation. Her pride in his consequent progress was exhibited in a very marked way on one occasion. At a half-yearly school examination, in the presence of the boys' parents and friends, the class to which Tom belonged, and which he was at the head of, had shoved him to the bottom, the big boys in it not liking to have so little a fellow standing above them. Moore had none of the sharp and sensitive jealousy so often coupled with precocious talent, and was submitting in silence. What was his surprise to hear his fond mother's voice breaking the silence from the opposite gallery, and in a firm, clear tone (though, in reality, ready to sink with the effort), address the enthroned schoolmaster on the injustice about to be perpetrated. Such a mother was worth anything, especially as her fondness was under the control of her discretion. For when the editor of a trumpery illustrated magazine thought to win her favour by offering to have her boy's portrait taken, for engraving in one of his numbers, she judiciously refused.

Of one accomplishment, that to which he owed his fame, the foundations were laid thus early. For music he was born with a natural love; and, in proof of this, he taught himself, on his sister's pianoforte, after having been given up as a hopeless case by a teacher on the harpsichord. The natural gift was fostered and derived its special direction, by the habits of the circle in which the vintner lived. The 'oppressed and trampled-on' Celt spent—at least the night-hours—in a round of jollity and fun, a gay, supper-giving life, with a strong infusion of rollicking merriment. A strong contrast, surely, to the dull, uncheery gloom in which the Saxon 'oppressor' prides himself. Tom's mother, joyous and social, gave entertainments, which, for gaiety at least, could match with the best. Yoke and chains and all, they contrived to do what the 'tyrant' cannot do—enjoy themselves. Tom very soon became the hero of the musical part of the entertainment. The notice which this attracted to him would have spoiled a weak head, or precipitated a mere sensual nature into a lower depth of dissipation. And there was abundant scope for such inclinations in the brutalized and intemperate orgies which formed the rule of all Dublin society in those drinking days. He was preserved from ever degrading his talent to minister to those Bacchanalian carousals by his own finer tastes, and the sweet and wholesome influences of his own joyous home-circle. His natural disposition induced him to prefer women's society to men's. He had early formed the habit of never singing but to his own accompaniment on the piano; and throughout life, could scarcely remember ever to

have sung a song at a dinner-table. This is very noticeable, as giving a clue to the character of his lyrical poetry.

Another characteristic of his poetry was determined by those circumstances of his early life which have just been indicated. In his poetry, no less than in his own light and buoyant temper, we may trace the cheerful and kindly home, the bright and affectionate smiles which surrounded his happy youth. Social excitement was the educating influence which quickened the germs of poetical power into life. He was beset at the most combustible period of life by a great variety of such influence. Almost all the most intimate friends of his family were embarked in the great Irish conspiracy, which was then brooding like the thunder-cloud over that electric capital. The stirrings of literary ambition, with all the sense of pride and pleasure which the first exercise of power of mind affords; the delight with which his early attempts were welcomed by her whom it was his delight to please—his excellent mother; the bursting out of his latent passion for music; 'all this formed a combination of mental stimulants such as few at the same period of life have been surrounded by; nor can I conceive a youth more delightful and interesting to have fallen to any one's lot.'

We dwell much rather on these *primordia* of the poet than on those various boyish attempts at composition, which he has so carefully chronicled. He wrote verses, of course, to the usual number of *Delias*, or, as he would then have called them, *Dalias*, in the usual magazines. When he first arrived at the dignity of occupying a room he could call his own, he covered it with inscriptions in imitation, as he meant it, of Shenstone's at the Leasowes. Thinking it the grandest thing in the world to be at the *head* of some literary institution, he organized his father's two clerks into a literary and debating society, of which he constituted himself the president—an estimate of the worth of things, reminding us of somebody's saying of the Wordsworths, that Christopher was head of Trinity, and his brother head of the Lake School. His early emotions were less excited by books than is usually the case; the perceptive faculties were too fully occupied with life to leave much room for the silent sway of fiction, which fills so large a part of the boyish reminiscences of Scott. Nevertheless, he has recorded the effect of Mrs. Radcliffe's novels, and the impression made by the first reading of the 'Pleasures of Memory'; such 'that the particular type in which it was printed, and the very colour of the paper, are associated with every line of it in my memory.'

He entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1795, at that most lamentable period of the Irish University, when it would be difficult to say whether the tone of morals or of scholarship

among the Fellows was most degraded, when the Fellows' ladies were received in society under their maiden names, and when in the tutors' lecture-rooms the mysterious art of reading Latin according to syllabic quantity had been lost. Moore had not pretensions to much scholarship, but he was acute enough to see the ignorance and imbecility which sheltered itself beneath the M.A.'s hood and the pompous carriage, as well as the meanness and servility which was the foundation of the blustering professions of fidelity to the English Government. There were, indeed, exceptions. To Magee's taste and learning he pays the tribute justly due; the integrity and independence of Dr. Stokes, in that trying time when such virtues were only known as the sure road to disgrace and ruin, he passes too lightly over. Tom Moore's genial pen intends no satire in his sketch of his college days. Yet his faithful picture repeats once more that well-known system of pampered neglect, where college emoluments had by their overgrowth smothered outright all college duties—a system so loathsome in all its features, as to furnish but too much apology for the complicity of the generous and high-spirited among the students in the wild and anarchical conspiracies of the United Irishmen. To young and expansive intellect and energy, as it issues into life and becomes conscious of its own aims and capacities, it is the most galling of disappointments to find the posts of power and authority occupied by a race who know intellect and energy only as their own most dangerous foes; and the chairs to which they would fain look for guidance, instruction, and sympathy, erected into a barricade for the purpose of holding science, learning and their sympathies at bay. It was no wonder that spirits such as Robert Emmet, surrounded on all sides by the combustible materials of the Irish plot, should have been hurried all the more rapidly into the vortex of conspiracy by having keenly felt, in his brilliant university career, this preposterous divorce between high talent and its honours and rewards.

The academical disaffection was promptly met by the strong hand of power. Lord Clare, as vice-chancellor of the University, held a visitation. When authority has lost its moral weight, a vigorous effort of terror and coercion is its usual and its only resource. Our recent history affords no parallel to the inquisitorial character of the Visitation of 1798, in which the most fundamental principles of justice and the most ordinary rules of judicial procedure, were violated. Secret evidence was received, the accused not confronted with the accuser; suspected persons were examined on oath, and compelled to criminate themselves under penalty, for silence, of suffering the extremity of the law academical, viz. expulsion; and to crown all, this sum-

mary and irresponsible tribunal was presided over by one of the most bitter leaders of the Orange party, Fitzgibbon. Before this formidable tribunal Moore appeared in his turn. He had been much noticed by Emmet, Hudson, and other involved persons, and though not in their secrets, had much reason to fear disgrace, if not punishment, for his connexions. We are able to compare his account of his own behaviour when brought up before the dreaded Fitzgibbon, with that of another eye-witness of the scene :—

‘Among those who at first refused to take the oath was Thomas Moore. He was then an undergraduate in College, and already distinguished by the early indications of his poetic talents. The scene was amusing. The book was presented to him. He shook his head and declined to take it. It was thrust into his right hand. He hastily withdrew the hand as if he was afraid of its being infected by the touch, and placed it out of the way behind his back. It was then presented to his left hand, which he also withdrew, and held behind his back with his right. Still the persevering book was thrust upon him, and still he refused, bowing and retreating, with his hands behind him, till he was stopped by the wall.’—*Ireland Sixty Years Ago*.

This, the comic part of the scene, Moore had probably forgotten ; but his own interesting narrative is confirmed in all its chief points by this anonymous witness. He remembered the gloom that hung over his family circle the evening before, when his father and mother decided for him that however ruinous to his prospects and their hopes for him it might be, yet if any questions should be put to him tending to criminate his friends, he must at all risks refuse to answer them. On this resolution he acted ; but, with a frankness that might have been expected from him, and a tact and firmness beyond his years, he passed through the dangerous ordeal in safety. He was able to deny all knowledge, on his own part, of the treasonable associations, and came off not only without compromising any other, but won the approval even of the Visitor, by his honest and manly bearing. He could not himself feel quite assured till he had regained the lower end of the hall, and read in the looks of his young friends and companions *their* verdict on his conduct. On such a point they were certainly the best judges, and their unanimous congratulations were bestowed not so much for his acquittal by his judges, as for the manner in which he had acquitted himself. His reception by his trembling and anxious parents was all that such a home could furnish. He records, with great *naïveté*, that Lord Clare indicated his appreciation of his behaviour by the tone in which, when he met him (some time after) at dinner, he asked him to take wine !

From Trinity College, Dublin, he got a B.A. degree, and nothing else. The Relief Bill of 1793 had thrown open the doors of the University to the Roman Catholics. The more valuable

part of what the College had to confer—the exhibitions and scholarships—it did not communicate. To its instruction, as of less moment, the Romanists were welcome. With this barren title, with a packet of guineas, few enough, yet which had cost his poor mother much hoarding to get together, and a scapular sewed up in his clothes, he was embarked by his fond parents on the distant world of London. His name had been duly entered at the Middle Temple, the initiatory dinner got through by the kind intervention of a Templar, who invited his party for him, and he was settled in 44, Great George Street, Portman Square, in a two-pair room, for which he paid six shillings a-week. Here, while his professed business was to study for the bar, and his actual business to bring out a translation of Anacreon, he stumbled, by accident or by nature, on a vein which led much more rapidly to fame and popularity than either law or poetry have ever done. The musical talent which had hitherto delighted the tea and supper-parties in the little rooms over the shop in Dublin, had never been reckoned on in the outfit with which the young adventurer was sent off to the land of promise. But it soon made itself felt. He had, it is true, Irish friends and some few good introductions in town. But Irish friends, and introductions however good, would have produced for a plodding lawyer, had he been a lord chancellor in embryo, nothing beyond an occasional invitation, but for the delight which this all-overlooked accomplishment enabled him to dispense. Never was rise more rapid—success more signal, than our hero's. In two short seasons (1799—1800) the unknown youth, lodging among the poor French emigrants at six shillings a-week, and dining for ninepence, becomes the favourite guest of all the most brilliant *salons*. His circle gradually widens from the homely Irish friends, who received him with their national hospitality on his first setting foot in town, to the actors; from them to their patrons, the haunters of the theatres, and so upwards successively through Lord Moira, Carlton House, the Ancient Music Concerts, till he finally reached the crowning honour of a Devonshire House Ball. From that time his position was established, his name figures regularly in the 'Morning Post' lists, the Prince puts his hand on his shoulder, and nods to him a 'Howd'-ye-do, Moore?' He may be supposed to have had his own history in view when he makes his Epicurean say of his reception in Alexandria—'The usual novitiate of acquaintance was dispensed with in my favour, and not only intimacies but loves and friendships ripened as rapidly in my path as vegetation springs up where the Nile has flowed.' *Mais il faut vivre*. He was repaid for his singing by the notice and flattering distinction eagerly bestowed on him; but the necessities of life must be

found. The way to these by the bar is a long way round: the translation of Anacreon offered a readier. Publication by subscription, and a dedication to the Prince, were resources, of course. His new friends, most of them, cared probably little enough for Anacreon; but might be glad enough of the opportunity thus to repay some of the gratification which the young translator afforded them.

This publication formed an epoch in young Moore's life. It was his first, and its success, to whatever extrinsic causes owing, determined his resolution finally to renounce law, and to live by his pen and his friends. If we advert at all to the contents of the book which gave him a name in poetry—'Anacreon Moore' the Fashionable Intelligence began to call him—it will not be in the tone of grave rebuke. We shall not be suspected by our readers of any secret leanings in favour of the licentious, amatory, or convivial, even in verse. But it would be simply a waste of censure to wreak it on anything so feeble as the little songs going under the pseudonym of Anacreon. And as to Moore's labours on them, were we to express regret at so much labour and care having been bestowed on polishing such follies, it would be easy to retort the enormous expenditure of time and thought by grave and bearded critics on other frivolous Greek or Latin remains. If scholars, from Henry Stephens and Scaliger (the elder) downward, are allowed without blame to edit and to comment, it would be hard to say that a young Irishman of one-and-twenty should not be allowed to translate or to embroider them. We smile at the inconsistency when brought home in a practical way to the Board of Trinity College, Dublin. They refused their sanction to Moore's translation, which he requested. They accepted a copy of Spalletti's grand edition of the Greek Anacreon, presented to the University library by the Pope through the medium of the Roman Catholic archbishop, Dr. Troy. We will content ourselves with wishing that in collecting his Poems for the complete edition, Moore had thought proper to throw out the Anacreon, as he did, and with no sparing hand, many other of his juvenile levities. Yet we do so rather on the ground of the frivolity, than of the licentiousness of these verses. We recognise the '*amabilis insania*'—the

'Furor di poesia,
Di lascivia, e di vino,
Triplicato furore
Baccho, Apollo, ed Amore.'

We do not forget that Gregory of Nazianzum wrote Anacreontics—that the first poetical effort of the austere and melancholy W. Sidney Walker, as well as of the staid and discreet Elizabeth Carter, were translations from Anacreon. And perhaps the best

advice that could be given, was that given by the lenient provost of Trinity, Dr. Kearney, who, while he refused to sanction them, said, 'Publish them yourself; the young people will like them.'

Fame and popularity thus achieved, or rather London society having been taken by storm in two short seasons, the other consideration—the means of subsistence, became still more pressing. It seemed not unlikely that he might starve amid all this glitter of applause. The side which he had espoused in politics had a vast superiority in the social circles, but was *out*, and apparently hopelessly so. There was no Holland House on the Tory side of the question, but Lord Eldon and Lord Liverpool were in office. Lord Moira, however, as one of the Prince's 'friends,' was, of all the opposition, the man who might be supposed most likely to come into power; and Lord Moira seemed disposed to act as a self-constituted patron of Moore. Through Tierney he did procure for his *protégé* a registrarship in Bermuda. Moore's good sense never forsook him in his exaltation. Little as he might like expatriation, and that to the lonely, waterless rock of Bermuda, he never hesitated about accepting the offer. He was aware that he had acquired some solid friends at home, but he was also well aware that his marvellous blaze of popularity was too bright to be lasting. Absence even would be useful, supposing he should find it advisable to return to England in a short time. 'If I did not make a shilling by it,' he writes, 'the new character it gives to my pursuits, the claim it affords me upon Government, the absence I shall have from all the frippery follies that would hang upon my career for ever in this country, all these are objects invaluable in themselves, abstracted from the pecuniary.' He reached Bermuda in 1804. Here he quickly found, that however his expectations in other respects might be satisfied, in a pecuniary point of view it was not worth while his remaining. The profits of a registrar of prizes were contingent on a war with Spain. He went in January, in May he quitted the island. He was altogether fourteen months absent from Europe; the rest of the time was spent on the voyage to America, and in a tour in the United States. 'Curiosity was certainly not the motive of my voyage to America, yet the gratification of my curiosity was the only advantage I derived from it.' Both Bermuda and the States, short as his acquaintance was with either, left their indelible mark both on the man and the poet. The island that 'has no history, because it has had no vicissitudes,' gave him visions of natural scenery that harmonized with his own sunny and luxuriant fancy. 'Alleys of orange-trees and cedars, opening now and then upon the loveliest coloured sea, studded with little wooded islands, and all in animation with sail-boats.' These fairy scenes are embalmed in the volume of 'Odes and

Epistles,' which he published on his return. Of the descriptions here Captain Basil Hall bears testimony.

'The most pleasing and most exact description which I know of Bermuda is to be found in Moore's 'Odes and Epistles.' The reason why his account excels in beauty, as well as in precision, that of other men, probably is, that the scenes described lie so much beyond the scope of ordinary observation in colder climates, and the feelings which they excite in the beholder are so much higher than those produced by the scenery we have been accustomed to look at, that unless the imagination be deeply drawn upon, and the diction sustained at a correspondent pitch, the words alone strike the ear, while the listener's fancy remains where it was. In Moore's account, there is not only no exaggeration, but, on the contrary, a wonderful degree of temperance in the midst of a feast which to his rich fancy must have been peculiarly tempting. He has contrived by a magic peculiarly his own, yet without departing from the truth, to sketch what was before him with a fervour which those who have never been on the spot might well be excused for setting down as the sport of the poet's invention.'—Hall: *'Fragments.'*

But it is less as having furnished directly subjects for the volume of 1806, that the residence in Bermuda is adverted to, than for its indirect influence on the grounding and shading of the later songs and poems. In 'Lalla Rookh,' 'The Epicurean,' or 'Alciphron,' the picturesque element which enters so largely into their effects, the brilliant hues of colouring so subdued by the perfect proportions of the figures, may be traced to the Bermudan sea and skies. The inspiration is not that of far-off 'recollections of the Arabian Nights,' but from the registrar's rides through 'the thick shaded alleys of orange-trees and cedars' of the lovely Bermuda. 'In the short but beautiful twilight of their spring evenings,' he wrote at the time, 'the white cottages scattered over the islands, and but partially seen through the trees that surround them, assume often the appearance of little Grecian temples, and a vivid fancy may embellish the poor fisherman's hut with columns such as the pencil of a Claude might imitate.' Here we witness the dawning of the bright and gorgeous illumination which attends us wherever we follow him, through the temples of Memphis, or the rose-gardens of Persia. Up to this time an habitual resident in cities, Moore had seen less than most men of natural beauty. Highly susceptible of impressions from elegant forms, his sensations had been hitherto preoccupied by human grace and beauty. As part of the education of the poet, the Bermuda residence came in right time to draw off towards external nature some of that precious excitability, which was in danger of overflowing in the single direction of love.

The volume of 1806 contained, we believe, his last offence against perfect propriety. The sad productions previously published under the name of 'Little' we pass over with that indig-

nant silence which, perhaps, we ought to exchange for a heavier censure, on poems which are as little creditable to the author's artistic powers as disgraceful to the Christian and the man. Moore was never, strictly speaking, a gross poet; his poetry was never degraded into the bare expression of sensual appetite. But in that wide range of sentiments which lie between the appetites and the affections, and constitute the sensibilities of love, he ranged at times with a licence even yet more dangerous. He approached the passions too nearly, though the true range of his lyre was only within the tender sentiments. But a new and powerful diversion was given to the current of feeling, when the 'glorious brotherhood, Earth, Air, and Ocean,' were first let in, with all their power at once to stir, to satisfy, and to tranquillize, upon that most delicate and eager susceptibility. Hitherto stinted to but one diet, and that of far too stimulating a character, it throve and grew upon these, though but glimpses of a new range of impression, for which it had indeed a natural affinity. The love and admiration of nature, it has been well observed, 'is the safe outlet for every excess of sensibility, a security against frequent vicissitudes of feeling, against the excitement of the bitter or turbulent passions.' Bermuda not only offered enchanting scenery, but it afforded little else. Indeed, Moore, as usual, made the most out of its limited choice of social excitements. Calipash and Madeira, balls and suppers and flirtation are not absent. But you cannot dine with the same host or dance with the same partners every evening, and so Bermuda gaieties do leave one a little time for contemplation. The partners were, of course, better liked than the hosts, as the following lively sketch (in the notes to the 'Odes and Epistles') proves:—

'The women of Bermuda, though not generally handsome, have an affectionate languor in their look and manner which is always interesting. What the French imply by their epithet *aimante*, seems very much the character of the young Bermudian girls; that predisposition to loving, which, without being awakened by any particular object, diffuses itself through the general manner in a tone of tenderness that never fails to fascinate. The men of the island, I confess, are not very civilized; and the old philosopher who imagined that after this life men would be changed into mules, and women into turtle-doves, would find the metamorphosis in some degree anticipated at Bermuda.'

The visit to the United States is the least pleasing episode in Moore's life, and that one which is least in harmony with his otherwise consistent aspect and demeanour. He must have landed in America the wrong foot foremost. The ardent Whig, the friend of Emmet and admirer of Fitzgerald, sees nothing in American society and institutions but what he turns from with aversion. The truth is, he sees nothing; he lives in the

drawing-rooms of a small circle of persons of one way of thinking in politics; he slides over the outer surface of society there, and comes back sickened with republican institutions. The puerility of his judgment on America must be felt by every reader, of whatever colour of politics; and he himself seems in later years to have repudiated the conclusions he had then so hastily drawn, and which he had embodied in the 'Odes and Epistles' published on his return. The poems relating to America which he thought it worth while to include in his castigated edition of 1842, add nothing to his fame, and had much better have been consigned to oblivion.

Many have been the attempts, and some of them by no mean adepts in the poetical art, to bring North America on some side or other within the realm of the Muses, and to invest it with some of that imaginative colouring through which every part of the Old World, even in these iron days, may be looked at. If we choose to take up the Poet's kaleidoscope, we can, be it but a few minutes, see the smoke of our iron forges, or the cheerless deserts of agricultural Dorsetshire, subdued to the tints and gleams—the rainbow in the sky—through which the fancy feeds and refreshes the heart. Why is it that no poetical conqueror has yet been able to extend the sway of his art to that wonderful country, which so abounds in all that appeals most largely to the imagination; where the triumphs of man and the magnificence of nature are alike on a scale of grandeur that far surpasses anything which our 'few leagues of billow-beaten rock' have to show? The inquiry is beyond our present limits. But one of the few contributions which America has made to the higher realm of poetry was brought back by Moore on this visit. The Canadian boatmen's song was freight enough for the Poet's trip, and was alone worth the voyage. It is curious enough, that though the words and the music of this well-known glee were Moore's own composing, he having departed in almost every respect but the time from the original air, he himself was quite unaware that he had done so. He had become so strongly impressed with the notion that this was the identical air, as sung by the boatmen, that it was not till very many years afterwards that he was accidentally undeceived, a stranger having shown him the original pencilling by himself of the notes and a few of the words of the genuine song.

The volume of 'Odes and Epistles,' the produce of this voyage, had as its consequence the famous duel with Jeffrey, which ended so farcically, by making the two champions at once fast friends, and the standing joke of the day. Nothing, indeed, can more clearly establish the ineradicable hold of the time-honoured institution of the *duellum* on our barbarous

manners, than its surviving the ridicule of one or two such adventures as this. 'Particulars of my hostile meeting with Jeffrey in the year 1806,' is a 'Batracho-myo-machia,' which may well cool passion, and must be fatal to valour. The cause of challenge, an article in the Edinburgh, reproving the levities of the 'Odes and Epistles.' Retort to the article, which, of course, was anonymous, and in an anonymous publication, by a fire-eating letter to Jeffrey. 'Jurgia prima sonare, animis ardentibus.' *Ecce signum.* 'You are a liar, yes, sir, a liar; and I choose to adopt this harsh and vulgar mode,' &c. Then to Chalk Farm in the grey of a July morning; Jeffrey the small, under the escort of poor Horner, who had never had a pistol in his hand in his life; Moore the little, escorted by Hume, the first friend to whom he applied having been sensible enough to give his principal good advice.

First scene of the comedy,—Jeffrey and Moore walking up and down.—"What a beautiful morning!" exclaims the liar. "Yes," I answered, "a morning made for better purposes," responded to on the part of the challenged by an assenting sigh. Pistols take a long time loading or priming in the background; 'and as Jeffrey and I walked up and down together, we came once in sight of their operations, upon which I related 'to him what Billy Egan, the Irish barrister, once said, when as 'he was sauntering about in like manner while the pistols were 'loading, his antagonist, a fiery little fellow, called out to him "to keep his ground." "Don't make yourself unaisy, my dear fellow," said Egan; "sure, isn't it bad enough to take the 'dose, without being by at the mixing up?"'

Scene the second,—ground measured, pistols presented, 'All ready:' in rush the Bow-street officers, knock the pistols up into the air, and capture principals and seconds. Scene the third,—parlour in Bow-street. Jeffrey on his back on a form which happened to be in the room, delighting Moore, Horner, and the whole party—for several of Jeffrey's friends had been on the spot to see the fun—by 'pouring volubly forth his fluent diction, 'and dressing the subject of conversation out in every variety of 'way that an ever rich and ready wardrobe of phraseology could 'supply. He had taken a fancy to me from the first moment 'of our meeting together in the field; and I can truly say, that 'my liking for him is of the same early date.' Nothing was wanting to convert the comedy into farce, but the discovery, or pretended discovery, that only one of the pistols had been loaded, and the announcement by a wicked Irish reporter in the 'Morning Chronicle' next morning: 'In the pistol of one of the 'parties a *pellet* was found, and nothing at all in the pistol 'of the other.' 'Solvuntur risu tabulæ.'

This was a funny introduction, but it gave a piquancy to the liking which they would under any circumstances have conceived for one another as soon as they became acquainted. Jeffrey enlisted Moore as a contributor in the 'Edinburgh,' and himself many years after took an opportunity (the publication of 'Lalla Rookh') of making a graceful *amende* for the offence given by his former too well-merited castigation. 'In an early number 'of this work,' said the reviewer, 'we reproved Mr. Moore, 'perhaps with unnecessary severity, for what appeared to us the 'licentiousness of some of his youthful productions. We think 'it a duty to say that he has long ago redeemed this error, and 'that in all his later works that have come under our observation, 'he appears as the eloquent champion of purity, fidelity, and 'delicacy, not less than of justice, liberty, and honour.'

The next years of his life were spent in and about town life, enjoying the esteem as well as the smiles of those select circles in which his musical faculty had first gained him footing, but in which his good qualities and solid parts maintained him. But without a profession, he was without an object in life, and without means equal to his habits. It was unfortunate, though perhaps but natural in such circumstances, that he should cast his eye towards the Irish resource—place or pension. The miserable dependence of such a state of expectation has often been portrayed. The history of the connexion between Moore and Lord Moira is the old history over again, the story of Patron, and confirming the old moral. To the credit of Moore it must be said, that it was impossible for any man to carry off the situation of dependant with more of the spirit of independence. He never loses his self-respect; he never sinks into the parasite. For a man who has nothing, neither birth nor private means, to live at the tables of the great, to mix with them as their equal, claiming the rights of society, while you are expecting them to give you 'something,' is a position that must needs sap the spirit and lower the character. From these degrading effects Moore was in a great measure preserved by his hearty social qualities and his warm affections. He made himself a welcome guest, and he knew that he was so—for his own sake. The obligation was not all on one side.

Again, much obloquy has been thrown recently on Lord Moira for never having 'done anything for him.' But such blame is very much misplaced. Is it to be received as an established maxim of duty, that when we gratify our love of ease by declining a profession, and our love of good society by haunting the dinner-tables and the drawing-rooms of the rich and powerful, we thereby originate a claim upon them for compensation at the expense of the public service? Surely, the reciprocity which

the intercourse requires is sufficiently provided for, when the agreeable social qualities of the one party meet with hospitality, genial recognition, and a free ticket of admission within the charmed circle of fashion on the other. Lord Moira knew nothing of Moore till he was introduced to him by Mr. Atkinson's letter. This introduction procured Moore, over and above Lord Moira's personal acquaintance—whatever might be the value of that—free admission at all times to that nobleman's house and table, to a most *distingué* circle, to one of the best country houses then current, Donnington Park. To us it seems that 'old Joe Atkinson's' draft, payable to bearer, was honoured to the utmost margin, and beyond, by those privileges. Unless, indeed, a letter of introduction is like Monte Christo's letter of credit, for an unlimited and perpetual power of demand, or that a young Irish adventurer can receive from his friends in Dublin letters of marque licensing him to seize and appropriate to his own use any or all the places or offices of profit, emolument, or pension whatsoever, nominated in the indenture. But Lord Moira did more than bestow his friendship and open his house. He did what he was surely not in any way bound to do; he made Moore's father a barrack-master in Dublin, and so relieved Moore himself from the burden of maintaining his parents, and he procured the registrarship in the court of admiralty at Bermuda for Moore himself. All Moore's Irish friends then, and his English biographers now, cry out shame on Lord Moira for not giving him something better. We are more inclined to cry out shame upon—not Lord Moira individually—but on the system of dispensing public patronage, which could allow an office to exist of which the stipendiary holder knew nothing but by the remittances which reached him from his substitute. We cannot any more join in the compassion which is lavished upon him, when that substitute turned out a rascal, and Moore was involved in difficulties by his evasion. If Tierney is excused (as he certainly is) for such misappropriation of the office, by the corrupt state of opinion prevailing on such subjects, the poor substitute who absconded to America with what he could manage to embezzle, must be allowed the advantage of the analogous plea. The independence of literature will never be adequately secured in any country till it is distinctly recognised that literary merit does not constitute a claim, any more than it does a qualification, to fill any office where public duty and service is to be done, and public money paid for doing them. The pension direct, where literary merit is the value received, is a legitimate mode—whether it be beneficial or not, is not to our present purpose—of reward. But to saddle the inland revenue service with an inefficient exciseman in the shape of a poet, is a piece of mal-

arrangement which only makes the poet unhappy and the excisemen jealous. This is a point to which opinion in this country has been slowly tending since Addison's unhappy essay as Secretary of State. And it is much more clearly understood now than it was at the date we are now occupied with. Lord J. Russell, with his usual feebleness and rightness of thinking, chimes in here a little on both sides of the question. He mildly blames Lord Moira, but he adds, as a rider,—

'It may with truth be averred, that while literary men of acknowledged talent have a claim on the government of their country to save them from penury or unjust distress, it is better for literature that eminent authors should not look to political patronage for their maintenance. It is desirable that they who are heirs of fame should preserve an independence of position, and that the rewards of the Crown should not bind men of letters in servile adherence.'

If we look to the sentiments of the person principally concerned, Moore himself, we shall not find, as far as these letters are evidence, that he thought himself so hardly used by Lord Moira, as his biographers have chosen to think for him. He was disappointed, no doubt. He had formed expectations; Lord Moira had encouraged them; but these expectations were by both parties always understood as contingent on Lord Moira's own power of fulfilment. For many years Lord Moira had every reason, as the Prince's friend, to anticipate a time when he should be in a situation to reward his own friends and adherents in any number. In 1806, the sudden break up of the cabinet by Fox's death took him by surprise, before anything had turned up for Moore. In 1812, when the Regent turned his back on the 'friends' of the Prince, and Lord Moira went out, a disappointed man, as Governor-General to India, he did offer to do what he could for Moore. But the rapacity of the Percival cabinet had blockaded everything that could be filled up in England, beforehand. The manner of Lord Moira's apparent evasion of his client's expectations was awkward, and piqued Moore at the time. The Governor-General, on the eve of departure, came down to Donnington; but instead of the usual warmth of salutation, there was coldness, distance, reserve. Moore catches a glimpse of him out shooting, and only gets an audience at last after many fruitless endeavours. Forced to say something on the subject, Lord Moira unhappily blundered out the expression, "he had not been oblivious of me!"—*oblivious* 'of me! After this devil of a word, there was but little heart 'or good to be expected of him!' So felt Moore, not unnaturally, at the moment. The word rung in his ear for weeks and months, as the knell of his hopes. We are confident that he misinterpreted the feelings which that awkward word covered. Lord Moira disappointed Moore only because he was himself

disappointed. All his high hopes, his conscious talent, the peculiar favour of his sovereign, the long services, and the signal act of chivalry and devotion to that sovereign by which he had recently crowned them, had been requited by as cold and hypocritical an act of desertion as ever prince was charged with. Lord Moira had himself completed the humiliation by accepting, as the conclusion of a career of consistent Whig politics, splendid exile under a Tory cabinet. How bitter such a sacrifice of principle must have been to a high-minded man, may well be conceived. Seven years before, he had written to Moore,—

‘ Mine has been a life of effort, signifying nothing, and its unproductiveness has lasted so long that folks have made up their minds to consider the character as barren in its nature. At all events the time has gone by, so that I am only one of the out-of-fashion pieces of furniture, fit to figure in the steward’s room.’—Vol. i. p. 183.

Melancholy words! The man who felt thus in 1805, may well be conceived to have shrunk, in 1812, from facing the dependents who had built their hopes on his, who had hung on his skirts, and whom he now felt himself impotent to serve. Moore’s own generous judgment soon corrected itself, and in 1825 he took the opportunity, in the *Life of Sheridan*, of paying a graceful compliment to his old patron. He is speaking of his own first introduction to Sheridan ‘at Donnington Park, the seat of the Marquis of Hastings—a circumstance which the writer recalls, not only with those lively impressions that our first admiration of genius leaves behind, but with many other dreams of youth and hope that still endear to him the mansion where that meeting took place, and among which gratitude to its noble owner is the only one, perhaps, that has not faded.’

Moore was not of a temper to lose much time in brooding on a disappointment. He had recourse to his own resources, and the next years of life were spent ‘in a situation of retirement, cultivating literature and domestic happiness.’ He had before made an engagement with Power, the music-publisher, by which he was to receive 500*l.* a-year for seven years in return for a regular supply of songs and music. His retirement was occasionally broken into by short visits to town during the season, where he was received by his old friends with the same welcome, giving his songs life and vogue by singing them about. To this may be added a running fire of squibs and small satire, through the columns of the *Morning Chronicle*, and the occasional publication of small volumes of the same description. Some of these, the *Twopenny Postbag* for example, had a run of popularity unequalled by anything of the time. But his principal poem, and that which constituted his chief labour, begun in 1812 and completed in 1817, was *Lalla Rookh*. The

example of Scott and Byron had created, but not exhausted, a taste in the public for metrical romances—a taste which attained its acme in the eagerness with which Lalla Rookh was read. We see in the reception of Lalla Rookh the usual difference between the poet who originates, and the poet who caters for the public taste. Moore belonged to the latter class. By skilfully availing himself of the right kind at the right moment he carried off the honours. Such was now his vogue, and *célébrité de salon*, that anything he chose to write would command, it was felt, the most extensive sale possible over the then limited area of readers. Moore's own *naïve* confessions reveal the purely mercantile origin of his romance. No teeming fancy impelled him to its composition. The first conception out of which Lalla Rookh was born was a conception of a quarto volume of the dimensions which Scott had rendered popular. For the quarto in prospect was offered to Longmans in 1814. Longmans hesitated. Murray was then treated with. We have this fact on Moore's own authority now, though he had averred in his Preface to vol. v. of his collected works, published in 1842, that Longmans was 'the only house with which, from first to last, he had held any communication on the subject.' Murray offered 2,000*l.* Perry, editor of the Morning Chronicle, interposed. Moore should have the top price. A year or two passed by. Moore rose in celebrity, and his name became worth more. Perry insists that Moore shall receive the highest sum ever known to have been given for a poem. 'That,' said Longman, 'was 3,000 guineas.' 'Exactly so,' replied Perry, 'and no less a sum ought he to receive.' Longmans bid the three thousand, but wanted to stipulate that they should have a peep at the verses. But no, they were not only to give a fancy price, they were to deal on the most romantic footing, and this request implied suspicion. Such a bargain—so large a sum for a quarto volume, contents unknown, unthought of, by the author, was surely never made before or since, between author and publishers, and deserves to be recorded to the credit of the booksellers, whatever it may be in the case of the author. However, the agreement once made, the six thousand lines—a guinea a couplet—were written, published, reviewed,—Jeffrey straining a point here, evidently against his real judgment: 'Jeffrey,' writes Moore, 'pretty fair, though within an inch of being otherwise,'—sold, and we believe the publishers never had cause to rue their bargain.

The immense success of this poem led, of course, to further engagements, and Moore undertook to write the Life of Sheridan, whose brilliant career, and its melancholy close, had so recently formed one of those tragedies which make a profound impression on a world careless of less splendid sorrow. In an early stage

of the preparation for this work, the year 1819, the volumes before us break off, and we shall not follow the details of the poet's life further. The last thirty-five years of his life were passed, excepting a short expatriation caused by the failure of his agent in Bermuda, at Sloperton, a cottage near Devizes, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Bowood, on which he depended for society. Excepting that temporary pecuniary embarrassment, his life was sunny and tranquil, and perhaps yielded as much enjoyment as any on record. If political position or wealth be set up as the paramount object of existence, his was a failure. If poetical fame and social celebrity, the friendship and esteem of those circles of society which refuse to any other the title of 'good,' be a worthy object, then, comparing Moore's origin with his achievements, we may ascribe to him a most signal and triumphant success. If the indulgence of warm affections, the endearments of domestic life, a happy home and cheerful temper, be counted sufficient to make life worth living, Moore had all these in abundance. Lacked he anything yet? Let those say who have found it.

Moore's personal appearance in advanced life has been described by Gerald Griffin. 'A little man, but full of spirits, 'with eyes, hands, feet, and frame for ever in motion, looking as 'if it would be a feat for him to sit three minutes quiet in his 'chair. I am no great observer of proportions, but he seemed 'to me to be a neat-made little fellow, tidily buttoned up, young 'as fifteen at least, though with hair that reminded me of "Alps 'in the sunset"; not handsome, but with something in the 'whole cut of him that pleased me,' &c.'

Another Griffin, Edmund Griffin, an American, has left a notice, which Lord J. Russell has overlooked, or not thought worth quoting:—

'I dined yesterday with a distinguished party, consisting of Moore, Lockhart, Washington Irving, Smith, Mitchell (the translator of Aristophanes), and others of less note. The first is certainly a most unpoetical figure. Nor is his countenance at first sight more promising than his person. When you study it, however—when you consider the height of the bald crown, the loftiness of the receding pyramidal forehead, the marked yet expanded and graceful lines of the mouth—above all, when you catch the bright smile and brilliant eye-beam which accompany the flashes of his wit and the sallies of his fancy, you are ready to disavow your former impressions.'²

We will add Alison's note³ on his conversation:—

'The author met Moore only once, but that was under very interesting circumstances. After an evening party at Paris, in the Rue Mont Blanc,

¹ Griffin's *Life of Griffin*; quoted by Lord John Russell, vol. i. p. 34.

² Remains of Edmund Griffin; by Dr. MacVicar. New York, 1831.

³ *History of Europe*, vol. i.

in 1821, when he charmed every one by singing his own melodies, they walked home together, and, falling into very interesting conversation, walked round the Place Vendome in constant talk for three hours. They separated at three in the morning, with regret, at the foot of the Pillar of Austerlitz, and never met again. His conversation was very sparkling; and as it abounded in the rapid interchange of poetical ideas, it impressed the author more than the more amusing and discursive anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott.

To pass from Moore's life to a few brief sentences on his genius. The transition is an easy one, and involves no change of subject. For as a poet's life is best studied in his works, so the best and only fit introduction to his poems is by his biography. They should never be treated apart. Johnson was right in prefacing each poet's works by his Life. But then it should be a very different record from that of which these two volumes are an instalment. Fifty pages would be enough in every instance for all that is wanted. It should give the whole man; it should keep back nothing that is characteristic; but should attempt to include nothing besides. It should aim at satisfying the philosophic inquiry; it should not lay itself out to cater for vulgar curiosity. Too many details do for our conception of character, what too many words do for our apprehension of meaning—*διαλύει τὸ σαφὲς τῷ ἐπισκοτεῖν*. 'If the record of the 'poet's life,' says Mr. Derwent Coleridge in his admirable sketch of that of his brother, 'were to be supplied by the ordinary 'materials of the biographer, by a meagre outline of every-day 'facts, filled in by such anecdotes as the vulgar most commonly 'collect and remember, it had better remain a blank.' It is in the interests of biography itself that we deprecate that fulsome overwriting under which the memory of every man of note is now invariably buried out of sight.

Moore's life will furnish us with an adit by which we may have direct access to the lode of poetry imbedded in the man. Arrived, by this approach, at the vein, and having followed the vein of ore upwards and downwards, we shall briefly report on its extent in each direction, and on the quality of the precious metal there contained. Every poetical creation is separable into two distinct portions: the ideal, that which is due to the poet's own mind exclusively; that which comes from him as poet; that which is original, not only because it has not been thought or said before by any other man, but because it is self-derived. This element of his conception is drawn from the inner nature of the thing, by virtue of his own individual thought, and is stamped with all his own modality. The other element of poetry is that part of his conception which the poet has in common with all the rest of his race, the result of common-sense and observation; better sense, perhaps, and more keen observation, in him,

than in the many, but still capable of bringing in no honey to the store but that which every opening flower, equally open to all, can supply. The first portion we have called the ideal, and the faculty that produces it is often distinguished as the Imagination. The latter element is the real, and is said to be the product of Fancy or of Wit. It is in the combination of these two into a harmonious and effective whole that the poetic faculty is shown. It is by embodying his idea in the form of familiar fact that the poet is an artist. With respect to the new compound thus formed, he is a creator (*ποιητής*); with respect to the ideal element originated, he is a producer (*γεννητής*). The latter is drawn out of his own self, and is consubstantial with his own being and mind. The former is taken up from the common stock of matter external, but not by chance or arbitrarily, but on some principle of selection, which is determined by the character of his fancy. The poet thus 'half sees and half creates.' He has his perceptions, more lively, delicate, and various perhaps, but still only of this common sun, and earth, and stars; he has his intuitions of

The springs of life, the depths of awe,
— The law within the law,

in a region which he possesses to himself. Herein is shown how the knowledge of the life and character of the man helps towards a comprehension of his works. What Madame de Staël said of Schiller is universally true, 'Ses écrits sont lui.' The original element, as wholly an emanation from himself, so far as it admits elucidation at all, can only receive it through acquaintance with the character. The poem is but one, out of many, channels, through which the soul of his thought has overflowed. The adapted portion of his poems receives its explanation when we understand how the will and character governed and directed the attention and accumulation of fact in one plane of fancy rather than in another. Most remarkably, the poet's life also constitutes an infallible meter of the proportions in which the ideal and the actual are combined in his writings. If we take six poets of the last poetical era, and try them by this test, we may see that in Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth, the imaginative, in Scott, Byron, Moore, the real, preponderated. In Shelley, on the one hand, the abstract, or intuition of what *ought to be*, was so much in excess, and so little counterpoised by a true judgment in the concrete, or acquaintance with what *is*, that his poetry evaporated in the mysterious, the visionary, and the unintelligible. Instead of the ideal we have nakedly the unreal. Beauty without severity is not Art. In Shelley there is no delineation—all is mist, gorgeous vapour, sublime chaos. If we have made our-

selves understood thus far, the reader is now ready for the introduction of Thomas Moore *ex opposito*, as the poet in whom the preponderance of the actual is so great as to drag the poetical pinion down to the lowest sphere of air, and bring it into dangerous proximity with the earth. The other poets we have named occupied, with more or less happiness, the middle region, none of them being precisely poised and trimmed by that absolute perfection of artistic aim which the highest poetry exemplifies, never soaring long out of sight, never diving into muddy depths, never within sight of earth, yet not exiled from heaven. Byron, Scott, Moore, were, beyond competition, the popular poets of their day. They are not those to whom we now turn for instruction.

There will probably be no dispute about the propriety of classing Moore as has now been done. It is more likely that objections will be taken to our allowing *any* spiritual ingredient in the poems of the translator of Anacreon. Such ingredient, however, there is. Yet it is difficult to know how to establish this point against a gainsayer. Quotation cannot do it. Were we asserting the presence of sublime imagery or grand thought, we might transcribe the passages which expressed them, and leave the verdict to taste. But the imaginative characteristic is subtle and pervasive. It is in infinitesimal quantity, but everywhere diffused. It is not local in particular passages, but is a general character of the mind that traced the whole. Further, in all poets who have it at all, this imaginative element is always rather a tendency than a performance. It is an aspiration after something not possessed. As the spirit of inquiry is the true inspiration of the inductive philosopher—as life is the pursuit, not the fruition, of enjoyment—so the highest exercise of the poetical imagination is an indication of the invisible rather than a representation of the visible. The idea of 'the good' is indefinable. Its direction can be suggested, and there ends the poet's power.

' And as I watch the line of light that plays
Along the smooth wave tow'rd the burning west,
I long to tread that golden path of rays,
And think 'twould lead to some bright isle of rest.'

Again:—

' Go wing thy flight from star to star,
From world to luminous world as far
As the universe spreads its flaming wall;
Take all the pleasures of all the spheres,
And multiply each through endless years.
One minute of heaven is worth them all!'

Here the imagination is in hope; take the same in despondency.

'I saw from the beach when the morning was shining,
A bark o'er the waters move gloriously on;
I came when the sun o'er that beach was declining,—
The bark was still there, but the waters were gone.
Ah! such is the fate of life's early promise,
So passing the spring-tide of joy we have known,
Each wave that we danced on at morning ebbs from us,
And leaves us at eve on the black shore alone.'

But the great bulk of Moore's poetry is confessedly not of the suggestive species; no one would ever claim for him

'The eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep might of joy
To see into the life of things.'

not the product of the imagination, but the collection of the understanding, wit, fancy, sentiment, and feeling. And it is in the blending and interchange of these various faculties and sources of appeal to the corresponding faculties in the reader, that one great charm of his poetry lies. A great deal of cant may easily be written about 'those beauties which defy analysis;' but this is literally true of Moore, and is the only way of describing the exquisite charm of some of his songs. Of thought or reflection he has little; and yet a general air of reflectiveness hangs about the sunniest and most glowing of the melodies. The national characteristic—a pensive conviviality, rapid alternations of smiles and tears, comes out in Moore with peculiar truth and effect. The fleeting nature of pleasure is never forgotten, but it is recalled, not as in the Epicurean Horace, to give an edge to gratification, but to lead the heart beyond the hour. This contrast between the earthly *enjoué* mortal, and the rapt ethereal bard, is his delight, and it is sustained not only in the songs, but through the longer poems. The contrast is a forcible one, as he describes it himself in the words of 'The Epicurean,'—'One of those wild passionate songs to which this mixture of mirth and melancholy, in a spirit so buoyant, naturally gave birth.' Insincerity is the vice which is fatal to our sympathy with Irish pathos; and it is impossible quite to banish the suspicion even while we are listening to Moore. Here the Life comes in to his vindication. It at least defines the limits of that suspicion of the genuineness of such sentiment, which would otherwise have been generally destructive of our confidence. He reconciled himself, we there learn, comfortably enough to the Saxon oppressor. Yet we also see unmistakeably that he did feel the national degradation deeply. Therefore while we read with the contempt which it deserves the apology, in the prefatory letter to the Irish Melodies, for the introduction of

stimulating political allusion, we yet know that the minstrel's own heart went along with the spirit-stirring lines—

'O'er the ruin her children in secret must sigh,
For 'tis treason to love her, and death to defend!'

Even now, when Conciliation Hall has damaged the effect of such bravuras, this fine song cannot be heard without emotion; we can easily believe in its thrilling effect at a time when the memory of Grattan was still fresh.

But if the few flashes of inspiration which gleam from time to time across the earthly horizon of his poetry, have this scent of resin, the stuff and staple of the poetry is also very largely adulterated with a base alloy. The *spiritual* is in small quantity, and that quantity not free from the suspicion of spurious and theatrical contrivance. The *material* is plentiful, but neither rich nor rare. The tender sentiments are the favourite field; love and woman the unvarying topics. But how narrow the range within which he has any power over the former! How common the character of the sentiment he does touch! Of love he expresses nowhere more than one sort, and that sort is, with all its warmth, but cousin-german to the most vulgar Irish species. His love is love-making—true, only not to Nature, but to a Wicklow pic-nic; the euphuistic froth and foam, the vapouring of Gascon gallantry transferred to Ispahan and Cashmere.

'To be near the loved *one*—what a rapture is his,
Who in moonlight and music thus sweetly may glide
O'er the lake of Cashmere, with that *one* by his side!'

How ludicrous the italicised word in a nation where polygamy is customary! Moore, in fact, in this grand mistake imitated Scott, who has marred his most picturesque romances by foisting into them pretty Julias, interesting Ediths, and all the namby-pamby of modern courtship. Moore's offences in this way are still worse, inasmuch as his beat is more limited. This kind of common material,—the conventionalities of the drawing-room,—seems to have become the public property of all the bards of the time, with Scott and Moore at their head. It had in them succeeded to the place which the district of Olympus, and the classical draperies, had occupied in the previous century in the pages of those 'whose All-father was Jove, whose Mediator was 'a Cupid, and whose inspiration was borrowed of those ladies that 'haunt the garrets of Parnassus.' Here again Moore's life lifts the veil. What else could be expected from the mint in which his poetry was struck? Too much stress is often laid on the indestructible power of genius. In Moore's case it was not so. He began with genius and lost it. "Ἐξέως μετὰ λόγου λήθη ἔστι. We see the process by which the divine spark was trodden

out, by which the poet was gradually educated into the practical man of the world. Not only age, but society, is fatal to the higher functions of the imagination. Wordsworth is laughed at for retiring to his native mountains, and the scornful critic points triumphantly to the superior popularity of Scott and Moore. Genius, it is averred, 'can sustain itself on the agitated surface of society, as well as on the bosom of the most tranquil lake.' All the seeming instances of this in the poetical annals, will be found to be that of men who, like Virgil, were in the court, but not of the court, who detested the chains that bound them, and ever and anon retired into the wilderness to refresh their withering sources of inspiration. There is no exception to the law that the highest poetry requires a devotion of the soul which cannot be given by any whose pole-star in life is the ordinary, and for common men blameless one, of self-aggrandizement. 'Me vero dulces ante omnia Musæ,' must be the choice of the true poet. A London *salon* is not the place to foster or develop that degree of aberration from the commonplaces of life and understanding which constitutes the originality of the poet or the artist. How could the spoiled pet of the boudoir, the gay cavalier of the piano, hear the midnight voices of nature—be free of the mysteries of the universe? As well expect Bibiche, my lady's spaniel, to bring the stag to bay. He had received the poetical commission, but was unfaithful to it. Moore's career recalls the moral education of Horace rather than that of Burns. Like Horace, sprung from the people, and thus having his roots in the vigorous soil of nature, he was early advanced to be the companion of the aristocracy. This transplantation from the genial sun and air to the artificial atmosphere of hot rooms, matured the fruit, but destroyed its raciness and flavour. Moore's own downward course was not unsuspected by himself. He was writing from experience when he described in the Epicurean 'the melancholy history of the soul. Tracing it gradually from the first moment of earthward desire to its final eclipse in the shadows of this world, he dwelt upon every stage of its darkening descent with a pathos that sent sadness into the very depths of the heart. The first downward look of the spirit towards earth, the tremble of her wings on the edge of heaven, the giddy slide at length down that fatal descent, and the Lethean cup midway in the sky, of which when she has once tasted, heaven is forgot,—through all these gradations he traced mournfully her fall, to that last stage of darkness, when, wholly immersed in this world, her celestial nature becomes changed, she no longer can rise above earth, nor even remember her former home!' This discourse of the Egyptian hierophant is but an allegory representing too faithfully the writer's own history.

In the same way, it seems to us that the 'Loves of the Angels,' Moore's last and his brightest poem, shadows out substantially the same sad history. If our conjecture is true, it lends an interest to a romance otherwise, with all its sparkle, greatly deficient in that quality.

'To earth, to earth, each thought was given,
That in this long-lost soul had birth,'

is the key-note of the sentiment of this poem. This germ of true human feeling underlies and sustains its somewhat artificial fervours. Nothing could be more ill-chosen than the machinery of the romance. This splendid failure ought—it *has* not—to have convinced everybody that celestial spirits are not fit subjects for fiction. They are not even possible subjects. The author may call them angels, but they are only shining men with wings. Men spoiled, not sublimed into better beings; humanity, with all that interests us in hearing about it abstracted from it. The same unmeaning grace, the same characterless beauty, the same soft languishing physiognomy, wherever we turn. Besides, Moore was very poorly qualified to grapple with difficulties which are insuperable. He had not dwelt enough on the conditions of the invisible world. The celestial hierarchy were only seen by him through the prismatic medium of a very material fancy. He was not familiar with them. He had not been nurtured in youth in even those distorted representations of them which the northern sagas embody in rude but sublime disproportion. He used no received mythology, but extemporised a flimsy one for the occasion. No wonder the facile brush has left nothing on the canvass but a thin, washy, indistinct watercolour. It is vague without being grand. Nor is it the paucity of materials which the heavenly sphere furnishes, but the imperfection of the poet's vision, which is to blame. Lucretius' poetical *supellex* is of the scantiest; yet the philosophic poet had so profoundly meditated his clouds, ether, and atoms, that he is able to give his unpeopled infinite more design and body, than is to be found in all the populous starry zones of the Loves of the Angels. Lucretius' *rerum simulacra* have, after all, more life and soul than Moore's seraphs.

If, however, his spirits are gross, we gladly admit that they are not indelicate. They are sensuous, not sensual. If Moore had erred in this respect in his younger poems, his later are thoroughly purged not only from all that is impure, but from all that is seductive. The love by which these spirits fell is as ethereal a passion as becomes such unsubstantial personages. Indeed, as has been already said, notwithstanding the obloquy to which 'Thomas Little, Esq.' not undeservedly exposed him, Moore was at no time of his life to be classed among vicious

men. Though he was not one of those 'whose heart the holy forms of young imagination have kept pure' from being degraded by the appetite for strong stimulants, yet his good sense, his good taste, and strong domestic affections, were still, to a great extent, his preservatives. How he recoiled from coarse society, is seen in his intuitive repugnance to Peter Pindar, to whom he was introduced at an age when the notice of a man so celebrated might have flattered his vanity. He says, with an obvious allusion to himself, in his *Life of Sheridan* :—

'If the same oblivion had closed over the levities of other young authors, who in the season of folly and the passions have made their pages the transcript of their lives, it would have been equally fortunate for themselves and the world.'—*Life of Sheridan*, vol. i. p. 31.

But his own beautiful recantation, in his 'Ode on his Birthday,' should earn his pardon, if not his acquittal on this score. After referring to a saying of Fontenelle, that if he had his life over again, he would live it exactly the same, he says,—

'Ah, 'tis not thus the voice that dwells
In sober birthdays speaks to me;
Far otherwise—of time it tells,
Lavish'd unwisely, carelessly:
Of counsel mock'd; of talents, made
Haply for high and pure designs,
But oft, like Israel's incense, laid
Upon unholy, earthly shrines;
Of nursing many a wrong desire,
Of wandering after love too far,
And taking every meteor fire
That cross'd my path-way for his star!'

Of his more serious poems the worst is that on which himself and his contemporaries would have been most inclined to base his poetical reputation—*Lalla Rookh*. It is, perhaps, the most signal instance on record of the disproportion between contemporary favour and solid merit. Its prodigious success from London to Ispahan, the sum paid for the copyright, (the largest that had ever been given for any one poem,) and its great vogue, may dazzle at first the critical eye, but cannot reverse the verdict. Its popularity at the time may be accounted for by many considerations, besides the beauties which it really contains. The fashion of the author, his personal repute gained by his music, and his credit in society, earned wholly by his genius; the very romantic sum given by the publishers for the poem unseen and unwritten, as in the case of the American rage for Jenny Lind, stimulated curiosity, and predisposed readers in favour of that which everybody seemed to be disposed to prize so highly. The beauties which it has would not perhaps have created, but they were sufficient to justify this ready-made

public favour, and its many defects were easily overlooked. Not however that the critics, even then, were taken in. Jeffrey, having heard that the bargain with Longman was 'for a poem of the length of *Rokeby*,' presciently hopes that it will 'resemble *Rokeby* in nothing but the length.' It resembled it in too many points. One fatal flaw pervades the whole, viz. that the sentiments, manners, and tone are glaringly not those of the times and country in which the scene is laid, but of the author's own time and country. The personages go under Turkish or Arab names, but they are English by blood and language. Reversing the trick of the essayists of the last century, who used to give us the diary of a Chinese in London, or a Persian in Paris, Moore has put young English men and women at Delhi, or Lahore. Nay, they are not men and women,—that might be borne; they are gentlemen and ladies: all the young ladies are charmers, and all the young gentlemen there adore them. It is a fancy-ball at which the dresses have been got up by Sale and D'Herbelot; but 'the language of love' has, in this instance, a very suspicious smack of the brogue. With all this there is imagery, but in overprofusion; there is splendour, but of wearying uniformity; and we are sated and fatigued by a never-ending series of glittering images, dazzling fancies, unsustained by either reflection or character. It is not nature, but a bewildering pyrotechnic show, in which our wonder is chiefly raised by the wasteful expenditure of a power without purpose. As for the 'orientalism' for which Moore crammed so laboriously, the testimonies collected to prove its truthfulness are worth nothing. Colonel Wilks, the historian, when told that Moore had never been in the East, said, that 'showed that reading D'Herbelot was as good as riding on the back of a camel.' Better, we should say, for observers such as Moore showed himself during his tour in America. To sum up in the words of W. S. Walker, 'it is a rich cloying composition, very brilliant, and 'voluptuous, and dazzling, like King James's vest of changeful 'satin sheen in Marmion, but not satisfying. There is a lack 'of worthy, dignified moral sentiments to render it great, and 'of lively characters to make it interesting. It is all Persian 'pinks, and tulips of Cashmere, very good of their kind, but 'nothing but pinks and tulips.'

The extreme diffuseness of the composition might lead to the conclusion that Moore wrote fast and did not revise. But this was not the case. A stanza of a song would cost him days, and would be corrected and recorrected till the last moment of the engraver's work. In *Lalla Rookh*, where the great stake risked by others on his chance of success added to his own fastidious-

ness, he wrote hundreds of lines as beginnings of tales, which were thrown aside as failures. Yet all this elaboration did not produce vigour or concentration. Moore, copious as he was, would have joined with Burns in professing 'no faith in the 'boasted pretensions to unlaboured elegance. The rough 'material of fine writing is certainly the gift of genius; but I 'as firmly believe that the workmanship is the united effort of 'pains, attention, and repeated trial.'—(*Burns's Letters*.)—The interest Moore takes in tracking the slow and patient elaboration with which Sheridan was used to polish and prepare his wit, is enough to prove how necessary he felt such a practice. Yet the nature of his own style is such that labour with him never seemed to produce condensation. We see no traces of that slow distillation of thought so well described by himself, (*Life of Sheridan*), as 'efforts to reduce the language of the 'thought to that condensed and elastic state in which alone it 'gives force to the projectiles of wit.' He sometimes rises to a thought above his apparent range, but he cannot leave it till he has written it almost away. Take an instance from *The Light of the Harem*.

' Alas! how light a cause may move
Dissension between hearts that love!
Hearts that the world in vain had tried,
And sorrow but more closely tied;
That stood the storm when waves were rough,
Yet in a sunny hour fall off,
Like ships that have gone down at sea
When Heav'n was all tranquillity!
A something light as air—a look,
A word unkind or wrongly taken,
Oh! love that tempests never shook,
A breath, a touch like this hath shaken.
And ruder words will soon rush in
To spread the breach that words begin;
And eyes forget the gentle ray,
They wore in courtship's smiling day,
And voices lose the tone that shed
A tenderness round all they said;
Till fast declining, one by one,
The sweetnesss of love are gone,
And hearts, so lately mingled, seem
Like broken clouds, or like the stream
That smiling left the mountain's brow
As though its waters ne'er could sever,
Yet ere it reach the plain below
Breaks into floods that part for ever.'

There is a gem spoiled in the setting! As it is, it reads like a poetical paraphrase of some two lines of Shakspeare. Yet, so beautiful is each line in itself, that once called into being we know not how to wish any of them away, and cannot wonder

that the author should have been unable to bring himself to strangle his own offspring. This is an example where probably the thought was originally conceived in these excessively attenuated and expanded dimensions, and could not be grasped in a less circuit. It is an instance of refraction. In the following we seem to have a case of double vision :—

‘Namouna, the enchantress, one
O'er whom his race the golden sun
For unremember'd years has run,
Yet never saw her blooming brow
Younger or fairer than 'tis now.
Nay, rather,—as the west wind's sigh
Freshens the flower it passes by,—
Time's wing but seem'd in stealing o'er
To leave her lovelier than before.’

Here the poet seems to have had two different views of the same figure, and in his hesitation which to choose, to have ended by throwing them both in. A way of settling the difficulty to which the temptation must be very great, when one has engaged for a poem ‘of the length of Rokeby,’ and three thousand guineas are awaiting the completion of the task.

But popular as Lalla Rookh was at one time, had Moore been only the author of the most widely read poem of his day, he might not have earned all the commemoration he is now obtaining. It is as a song-writer that he stands preeminent. This is a part of the subject that we have avoided hitherto, and would gladly have declined altogether. Gray used to say that ‘even a ‘bad verse is a better thing than the best observation that was ‘ever made upon it;’ and it would be but thankless officious pedantry to follow in the rear of songs which have charmed and entranced all the world, and to demonstrate why they should have been written otherwise than they are. This was the earliest development, and is the least disputable triumph of his genius. He had not the constructive imagination equal to a composite epic, nor simplicity of conception for a tale, nor the dramatic faculty for the representation of character. Hence his ambitious efforts were comparative failures. But of the song he was a master. He was aware of the limited extent of his own power, and has often passed on himself the sentence which it will always be his critic's duty to affirm. ‘My poetic ‘talent is merely the effort to translate into words the different ‘feelings and passions which melody seemed to me to express.’ (Vol. i. p. 60.) That contains the whole secret of the power of the Irish Melodies. It is the united charms of thought and sound which gives the music its complete triumph over the soul—the reason, and the senses, alike. Others may have equalled or surpassed Moore in the ingenuity, the point, the

poetry, of the thought—none have approached him in the art of interpreting the emotion, in recognising the associations of thought which a given air conveys. He first read the history of Ireland in its music. Many of the tunes he found associated with vulgar or rollicking songs, the poetical expression of the wandering harper or minstrel not having been equal to his musical expression. He could vent a feeling in melody, but could not hit it off in words. Moore interpreted his meaning. He penetrated for the melodist the thought which had unconsciously inspired the strings of his harp. ‘The tone of defiance succeeded by the languor of despondency, a burst of turbulence dying away into softness, the sorrows of one moment lost in the levity of the next, and all that romantic mixture of mirth and sadness which is naturally produced by the efforts of a lively temperament to shake off or forget the wrongs which lie upon it;—such are the features of our history and character which we find strongly and faithfully reflected in our music. There are many airs which, I think, it is difficult to listen to, without recalling some period or event to which their expression seems peculiarly applicable.’ (*Letters on Music*, prefixed to *Irish Melodies*.) ‘I am delighted,’ he writes to Power, ‘to have written something to Savourna Deilish, which though it may not supplant Campbell’s words in singing, has stuff enough in it to bear some comparison in the reading.’ (Vol. ii. p. 46.) This peculiar art of translating music into sense, of giving voice to the inarticulate language of melody, of not merely finding words to an air, but of drawing out in words the hidden meaning which that air had always indefinitely conveyed—this is an art of which Moore may almost be said to have the monopoly. He seems to describe his own skill in this passage:—

‘from a wood
That crown’d that airy solitude
They heard a low, uncertain sound,
As from a lute that just had found
Some happy theme, and murmur’d round
The new-born fancy with fond tone,
Scarce thinking aught so sweet its own!
Till soon a voice that match’d as well
That gentle instrument, as suits
The sea air to an ocean shell,
(So kin its spirit to the lute’s),
Tremblingly follow’d the soft strain,
Interpreting its joy, its pain,
And lending the light wings of words
To many a thought that else had lain
Unfledged and mute amongst the chords.’

Lines of the Angels.

This ‘following the soft strain—interpreting its joy, its pain,’

was almost a revolution in this department of poetry—song-writing.

'When I first tried my novice-hand at the lyre,' he says in one of his prefaces, 'the divorce between song and sense had reached its utmost range; and to all verses connected with music, from a birthday ode down to the *libretto* of the last new opera, might fairly be applied the solution which Figaro gives of the quality of the words of songs in general—"Ce que ne vaut pas la peine d'être dit, on le chante." Dryden has happily described music as "inarticulate poetry;" and I have always felt in adapting words to an expressive air, that I was but bestowing upon it the gift of articulation, and thus enabling it to speak to others all that was conveyed in its wordless eloquence to myself.'

And when to this novel combination was added his own most expressive intonation and accompaniment, we can well believe the rapturous and thrilling effects which are universally witnessed to. The editor of these volumes has quoted one such description:—

'With a great deal of difficulty he was taken to the piano. . . It is well known that the effect of his singing is only equalled by the beauty of his own words; and for one, I could have taken him into my heart with delight. He makes no attempt at music. It is a kind of recitative, in which every shade of thought is syllabled and dwelt upon; and the sentiment of the song goes through your blood, warming you to the very eyelids, and starting your tears, if you have a soul or sense in you. I have heard of a woman's fainting at a song of Moore's; and, if the burden of it answered by chance to a secret in the bosom of the listener, I should think from its comparative effect upon so old a stager as myself that the heart would break with it. We all sate round the piano, and, after two or three songs of Lady Blessington's choice, he rambled over the keys awhile and sang "When first I met thee," with a pathos that beggars description. When the last word had faltered out, he rose and took Lady B.'s hand, said "Good night," and was gone before a word was uttered. For a full minute after he had closed the door no one spoke.'—Vol. i. p. 36.

Griffin's (Edmund) description is to the same effect:—

'I cannot describe to you his singing—it is unique. The combination of music and of poetic sentiment, emanating from one mind, and glowing in the very countenance, and speaking in the very voice which that same mind illuminates and directs, produces an effect upon the eye, the ear, the taste, the feeling, the whole man, in short, such as no mere professional excellence can at all aspire to equal. His head is cast backward, and his eyes upward, with the true inspiration of an ancient bard. His voice, though of little compass, is inexpressibly sweet.'—*Remains of Edmund Griffin*.

But here again he has himself described his own magical influence in his own exquisite language:—

'For mine is the lay that lightly floats,
And mine are the murmuring, dying notes,
That fall as soft as snow on the sea,
And melt in the heart as instantly.

'Mine is the charm whose mystic sway
The spirits of past delight to obey;
Let but the tuneful talisman sound,
And they come, like genii, hovering round.

'And mine is the gentle song that bears
From soul to soul the wishes of love;
As a bird that wafts through genial airs
The cinnamon seed from grove to grove.

'Tis I that mingle in one sweet measure
The past, the present, the future of pleasure;
When Memory links the tone that is gone
With the blissful tone that's still in the ear;
And Hope from a heavenly note flies on
To a note more heavenly still that is near.'

Lalla Rookh.

In close connexion with this power of adapting thought to sound should be noticed his exquisite felicity in adjusting, in point of accent and articulation, the words to the air with which they are associated. Harmony of versification is a very safe measure of poetic power. Moore never attains in thought to the fervid lyrical sweep of Gray or Collins; so also his muse could never reach the deep-rooted harmonies of rhythm which correspond to the nobler movements of the imagination. Search the six hundred pages which his verses fill, from end to end, and you will not find such a cadence as in these two lines, for instance, of Shelley:—

'And silence, too enamour'd of that voice,
Locks its mute music in her rugged cell.'

On the other hand, Moore's rhythm is as much more delicate, various, and flexible to all the sinuosities of the meaning, than is the monotonous chime of the ordinary song, as his thought is, in general, forcible, dignified, and natural by comparison with the disguised and distorted commonplace, the tawdry and tinsel smartness, of the swarm of 'charming songs.' Grace of language is always attendant on grace of thought. Genius clothes itself naturally in harmonious forms; and a sweet fancy is under an imperious necessity of linking itself with whatever is most congenial in metre.

'In Moore's hands the English language is no longer that jargon (*quel gergo*) which Alfieri declares it to be, but becomes a soft and tunable tongue, conveying sentiments the most tender and the most spirited, the gayest and the most melancholy, in expressions the most appropriate.'—Vol. i. p. 28.

Having endeavoured, though faintly, to add our tribute of admiration of effusions which have been, and are still, the delight of thousands, it may be permitted us to advert to their deficiencies. Our praise of the 'Irish Melodies' is not so superfluous as to be liable to the objection which the Spartan brought against the encomiums on Hercules—that 'nobody had ever blamed him.' We shall, however, not insist on minor faults, on the occasional slips, on casual errors of judgment, or of lapses attention. When one has composed songs 'a thousand

and one,' it would be wonderful if some of the fancies were not far-fetched—if the wit was not now and then perverse—if the words did not sometimes refuse to flow in their usual current. Among so many brilliants it would be captious to pick out the paste and glass beads which may undoubtedly be found among them. But it is impossible to overlook one grave and fatal defect—the same as that which has been before pointed out in his longer and more ambitious efforts. This radical vice of Moore's poetry is its want of nature. Art in him is more than artistic, it is artificial. There is a perpetual *false* in the tone of thought. He is always pretty, plausible, and ornamental, but not cogent. When his appeals reach the heart, as they do, it is by some access of refinement, by some of the channels of cultivated association—not by the broad highway of natural human feeling. It is, indeed, no slight tribute to his power that, even into the frozen zone of conventionality and affectation, he carried with him so much warmth, so much power to move and thaw. The comparison between Moore and Burns—between the Scotch and the Irish song—is almost forced on every critic of the 'Melodies.' Inferior as Burns is to Moore in every department of the *art*—wholly unskilled in music, untaught, rough, rugged, often grossly offensive—the rough, unpolished ploughman can yet touch a sphere of feeling which the man of fashion never can approach. Moore has sentiment and pathos—Burns, thought and passion. It is the curious grace of Horace, after the vehement and passionate outpouring of the soul of Alcæus! Moore has indeed, as has been said, interpreted the Irish airs, but he has interpreted them into the language lisped in the drawing-room. Just as it is in the music of the 'Melodies' themselves, in which he has been not unjustly charged with having allowed his composer (Sir J. Stevenson) to overlay the simplicity of the airs with 'the chromatic richness of his symphonies, and the elaborate variety of his harmonies.' The pathetic simplicity which nature prompts is lost in the many 'intricacies of laborious song.'

'Now, good Cæsario, but that piece of song,
That old and antique song we heard last night;
Methought it did relieve my passion much,
More than light airs and recollected terms
Of these most brisk and giddy-pated times.'

Plato would allow the lyre, though he had reason to prohibit the cithara. If one wishes to feel the hearty, bracing effect of Scotch mountain air, let him take it at the close of the London season, after its late hours and its hot rooms. If one would imbibe all the vigour and mighty heart that still beats in the songs of Robert Burns, let him first diet himself to the full on the

perfumed prettinesses, the delicate sentimentalities of Thomas Moore. Refinement has spoiled, not educated this man. Who does not feel a sense of moral invigoration in all his faculties when, from the luscious sweets of the Irish Melodies, he opens (at random) on some such burst of rude strength as this, for example :—

‘ My pen I here fling to the door,
And kneel, ye powers, and warm implore,
Though I should wander terra o’er,
 In all her climes,
Grant me but this, I ask no more,
 Aye rowth o’ rhymes.

Gi’e dreeping roosts to countra lairds,
Till icicles hing fra their beards;
Gi’e fine braw claes to fine Life-guards
 And maids o’ honour,
And yill and whiskey gi’e to cairds
 Until they sconnor.

A title, Dempster merits it;
A garter gi’e to Willie Pitt;
Gi’e wealth to some beledger’d cit,
 In cent. per cent,
But gi’e me real sterling wit,
 And I’m content.’

Such thoughts are not confined to one age, one country, or one section of society: they are of universal currency; they are dependent on no fashion, and can never be out of date; they will live when Moore is as Shenstone, and Byron as Rochester.

ART. II.—1. *Histoire abrégée de l'Eglise Métropolitaine d'Utrecht.* Par M. G. DUPAC DE BELLEGARDE, Ancien Comte de Lyon. Troisième Edition, corrigée et augmentée. Utrecht: J. A. van Woestenbourg.

2. *La Hollande Catholique.* Par le R. P. DOM PITRA. Paris: 1850.

3. *De Imitatione Christi Libri Quatuor.* Tornaci: e Preliis J. Casterman et Filiorum. 1852.

4. *Meditations on the Canticles: translated from the Mystic Theology of* HENRY HERPH. London: J. Masters. (In the Press.)

A YEAR ago we laid before our readers the Annals of the Church of Utrecht, since the overthrow of the Catholic faith in Holland, and more especially since Ultramontane aggressions, and the intrigues of the Jesuits, cut it off from the communion of Rome. We are not surprised that the facts which we then brought forward,¹ and which are but too little known in England, were not at all pleasing to certain Ultramontane contemporaries; and we feel thankful to have been the means of exciting some degree of sympathy for the present state of the so-called Janse- nists, their energy, their perseverance, and their afflictions. Our present subject leads us back to an earlier period of the history of the same church. We shall not, indeed, concern ourselves so much with its outward relations, as with the inner life of its members. We shall not so much describe its external glory, as dwell upon the deep treasures of devotion which its children were storing up for future generations.

The fourteenth century is that age of the Church in which we seem to expect less tokens of her spiritual life than in any other. It was one of those phases of slumber which seem almost periodical in her existence,—a slumber from which she was only aroused by the Great Schism, to pass, notwithstanding the noble efforts of Constance and Basle, into that deeper lethargy which bore the bitter fruit of the sixteenth century. In the fourteenth, the deepening corruption of manners, the more glaring abuses introduced by the pretensions of Rome, the

¹ Since the article in question was written, we have been enabled, by the kindness of the Archbishop of Utrecht, to procure a book scarcely known in England, and of which we had previously only seen extracts: Kemp's 'Kort Historisch Verhael van 't genede Kerke van Utrecht wedervaren is.' It is in nine (bound in three) volumes, 12mo., pp. 1587, and carries down the history to the year 1727. The deeds, bulls, protests, and other documents, when given at length, make out even a stronger case of cruel oppression on the one side, and forbearing resistance on the other, than we laid before our readers when reviewing the subject.

fearful height attained by non-residence and pluralities, the decay of the religious orders, the miserable distractions of Guelphs and Ghibellines in Italy, the wars of France and England, the last gasps of the Eastern Empire, the rapid approach of the Turks—all these were tokens of the evils about to burst so shortly over the Church; and yet precisely in this century it was that a deep and pure devotion sprang up, surpassing all that had been known before in intensity, superior to all that was to come after in purity. No dreamy, sensual imaginings of the Sacred Heart—no novel, impulsive fancies of the patronage of S. Joseph—no pretty, sentimental fashions of the Month of Mary—but a real, earnest, mystic ecstasy of meditation—how deep, how earnest, how holy, it will be our business to show in the following pages.

In Holland, the corruption was greater, perhaps, than in any other part of the Western Church. Nor could it well be otherwise. Consider that the most cultivated, the most luxurious, the most independent, the most commercial kingdom, was also that in which there were fewer prelates than in any other part of Christendom; that the seventeen provinces were under the spiritual rule of the bishops of Utrecht, except such small portions as fell to the sees (most of them far distant) of Liège, Tournay, Cambray, Cologne, Terouenne, Münster, Paderborn, and Osnaburg; and the enormous extent of diocese, and the frightful want of pastoral superintendence, comes out in the strongest colours. Nor is it only that when the Church awoke—alas! too late—fourteen new sees and three new archbishoprics were created by a penstroke of Paul IV. We must also take into account the further complications of those conflicting political influences which made the Low Countries the debateable land of Europe, and which gave such vast temporal importance to many of the sees. The Elector of Cologne, the Prince Bishops of Liège, Utrecht, Münster, fought and conquered like any other temporal sovereigns; they did what little they did at all by the means of suffragans *in partibus*, and threw their whole energies into the quarrels of France and the Germanic Empire—into the factions of the *Hooks* and the *Codfish*—as, in after years, into the squabbles of the *Grignoux* and the *Chiroux*. If as late as 1660 Bishop Galen, of Münster, could employ himself in battering down the houses of his flock to revenge himself for an insurrection, we may form some conception of the utter forgetfulness, in times anterior to the Council of Trent, of the duties of a pastor, which characterised the warrior prelates of those superb yet truly miserable sees. Again: the difference of language must have formed an almost insuperable difficulty as regarded the efficient working of the Church in the seventeen provinces. Walloon, with its two

great varieties, Liégeoise and Montoise, pure Flemish, pure Dutch, Dutch of Guelderland, Dutch of Overysse, Frisic, with its countless varieties—how must they have stood in the way of any united movement on the part of bishops, parish priests, and religious orders! Dr. Bosworth tells that the small town of Molquerum, in Friesland, is divided into seven little islands, joined by as many bridges; and that some sixty years ago the dialect of any inhabitant marked out at once to which of the islands he belonged.

But, physically impossible as it would have been, under any circumstances, for the Church of Utrecht to grapple with the difficulties of so enormous a diocese, its internal quarrels, arising from the prize of temporal sovereignty that it offered to the most ambitious candidate, rendered it utterly inefficient. As presenting a melancholy spectacle of that worldliness which, in northern and central Europe, brought about the disasters of the sixteenth century, its annals in the fourteenth are deeply instructive.

The see being vacant in 1322, James Oudshoorn,¹ Dean of the Cathedral Church, was elected by the larger part of the Chapter. In order to obtain his bulls—his competitor, James, Bishop of Suda *in partibus*, having appealed to Rome—he was forced to expend so enormous a sum of money, that his family, one of the most ancient in Holland, was ruined. Pope John XXII., however, at length confirmed the election; but Bishop Oudshoorn had no sooner obtained the object of his wishes than he was seized with a mortal illness, occasioned, it was said, by poison, administered to him by his rival. While he lay on his death-bed, James de Suda demanded of the Pope that the see of Utrecht should be reserved to the Apostolic Chamber, according to the new practice then beginning to be timidly brought forward by the Court of Rome. His aim was to obtain that dignity by the gift of the Pope which he felt he could never reach by the election of the Chapter. The proposal was graciously accepted at Avignon, but the proposer did not gain the recompense he had hoped. On the death of Oudshoorn, the Chapter, acknowledging no Apostolical reserves, elected John, Baron of Bronkhorst. John XXII. declared the election null. On this, the Duke of Brabant and the Counts of Holland and Guelderland offered to support the Papal pretension, provided their candidate, John, Lord of Diest, were nominated to the bishopric. The Pope, delighted with such support, willingly consented, and the Bishop-designate was introduced into his Cathedral under a good military guard. His

¹ Batav. Sacr. i. 181.

episcopate corresponded with its commencement. He mortgaged a good portion of the estates of the Church; and, after reducing himself by his lavish expenditure to poverty, lived on a pension assigned him. On his death, in 1341, he left the ecclesiastical revenues overwhelmed¹ with debt.

John of Bronkhorst,—became a candidate for the second time,—and John of Arckel divided the votes of the Chapter. Benedict XII. claimed the nomination to the see, and appointed Nicolas de Caputiis,² auditor of the Rota, to that dignity. This ecclesiastic, finding that he should be compelled to residence, abdicated; and—no doubt for a consideration—recommended John of Arckel to the Pope. Clement VI., for another consideration, raised him to the See of Utrecht. This prelate was a most distinguished warrior, and was regarded as unconquerable. In the contests of the Hooks and the Codfish he took an active part; at the same time he was a zealous supporter of the external discipline of his Church.³ He was translated to Liège⁴ in 1364.⁵

It was during the events which we have just been chronicling that the great founder of the mystic school of theology began to distinguish himself.

Among the hosts of our countrymen who annually pour out to Brussels, those that happen to have gone *viâ* Tournay, will remember the Ruysbroek station. It is a kind of signal to them to get cloaks, umbrellas, and Murrays together—to see that their passports are all safe, and to prepare for the *debarcadère* at the Boulevard de France. It was with somewhat different feelings that, on a fine August evening, we visited that pretty village, the birthplace of the 'ecstatic doctor.' The singularly uneventful annals of the life of John de Ruysbroek, peaceful and lovely in the midst of a turbulent and luxurious generation, were not, we thought, ill typified by the sunshiny repose of that little Belgian hamlet, so near the din and turmoil of a corrupt metropolis. Long after he was considered the first ascetic divine of his age, John contented himself with the post of a vicar in the Collegiate Church of S. Gudule, in Brussels, whence he was the

¹ Anton. Matth. ii. 700.

² This patron of non-residence was, however, to do him justice, very charitable. Created Cardinal, he founded a college at Perugia, expressly reserving it to exhibitions for natives of Utrecht. His epitaph may be seen in S. Maria Maggiore:—

'Habere quod potuit pauperibus ipse dabat:
Sed migravit ad Christum ejus anima beata,
Mille ter anno, sexaginta et duo quater.'

³ Van Henssen gives sixteen of his letters on various points of discipline.—Bat. Sac. i. 187—197.

⁴ He died there in 1378, but his remains, at his own wish, were translated to Utrecht.

⁵ It is worth noticing that, though the title *Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratiâ* occurs in some of the documents of earlier Bishops of Utrecht, John of Arckel never employs it. He always writes himself *Joannes Dei gratiâ Ep. Trajectensis*.

director of all the communities far and near that were most distinguished for holiness and discipline. He was the reformer of the Abbey of S. Severin, at Chateau Landon; mediately, it is believed, of the great Convent of Rhynsberg; and of the Collegiate Church of Val-Vert, where the last years of his life were spent. But what his influence must have been is rather to be gathered from the tone at once taken by all his scholars—that intense love to God—that overwhelming devotion to the Passion—which characterises the mystic school of Holland, from Ruysbroek to De Neercassel. While the competitors for the See of Utrecht were persecuting each other, and ruining their families by gratuities to the Pope,—while, later, the rivals for the chair of S. Peter were fulminating their anathemas against the person and the faction of their opponents,—were availing themselves of every engine that intrigue, simony, and corruption could supply,—it is pleasant to turn aside to the writings and the labours of these pious monks, and to see in them, and in such as they were, the seven thousand that had not bowed the knee to this Baal of papal worldliness.

Of those beyond the borders of Holland, Henry de Kalkar and Henry Herph were the most remarkable. The former, a Carthusian, was successively head of the houses of that order at Arnheim, Ruremonde, Cologne, Strasburg. The library of the last-named city possesses his correspondence from 1370 to 1407, the year of his death. Its ramifications are astonishing; and any scholar who would give an edition, with the necessary notes and explanations, would render ecclesiastical history a most essential service.

Henry Herph was the reformer of the Franciscan houses in Flanders. His ‘Mystical Theology’ is, to our thinking, nearly, if not quite, equal to the *Imitation*, especially¹ its first book, which consists of a collection of short comments on detached passages of the Song of Songs. An English translation would, we are persuaded, be appreciated.²

But the most remarkable among the disciples of Ruysbroek, was undoubtedly *Gheert*—that is, Gerard—*Groot*. He was born at Deventer, in 1340: his father was the Consul of that place. He studied at the Sorbonne, without any further aim, it would seem, than acquiring reputation and riches. When he

¹ We will quote one rather remarkable passage on confession, because it really seems to express the same idea which is conveyed by the English Prayer Book on that subject. Though the assertion about the ‘Greeks’ is of course a mistake, this does not affect the sentiments of Herph. In his seventh chapter he is discussing the blessed effects which flow from the use of confession, and laying down that, absolutely speaking, it cannot be called necessary in all cases. He adds:—‘*Ergo necessaria est confessio mortalium apud nos, non autem apud Græcos; quia talis traditio non emanavit apud eos, sicut nec conficiunt in azymis, sed in fermentatis.*’

² We are glad to see that such a translation is announced by Mr. Masters.

had taken his master's degree, 'since,' says Thomas à Kempis, 'he had a brilliant intellect, and was puffed up with secular pride, he obtained ecclesiastical benefices; among others, he procured a canonicate at Aix-la-Chapelle. But, not as yet inspired by the Spirit of God, he walked along the broad ways of this world, until, through God's loving kindness, he became changed into another man.' The pious writer goes on to tell us how Gerard was convinced of the vanity of the world by the prior of a Carthusian monastery, near Arnheim. 'At that time,' says he, 'the state of the world appeared everywhere most lamentable; there were few who preached the Word of Life, either by their lips or their lives,—fewer who observed continence—and, grievous to say, the name of holy religion and the state of devotion did, for lack of the Holy Ghost, exceedingly fall away from the footsteps of the fathers. Yet among the Carthusians the light of celestial life remained hidden.' This is another testimony to the truth of the proud motto of that order—*Never reformed, because never deformed*. Thomas goes on to describe the alteration effected in Gerard—his resignation of his canonicates at Utrecht and Aix, and finally his pilgrimage to Val-Vert, to receive instruction from John Ruysbroek. On his return to Deventer, he laid the foundation of that order which afterwards became so famous—the Brothers of the Common Life. At that time none of his disciples were in priests' orders. There was a priest, by name John Gronde, a native of Ootmarsum, but then living at Amsterdam, to whose memoirs Thomas has devoted a brief chapter. At the request of Gerard, he took up his abode in the new house, but became also a popular preacher in the great church of Deventer, which, it is especially recorded, his voice filled. We confess to taking a certain interest in such minute details; they seem to make us realize the position of that little order and its every-day difficulties. It is recorded of this priest that on a Good Friday he preached more than six hours on the Passion, stopping only for a few minutes in the middle of his discourse, and that the effect on his hearers, whose attention he retained to the last, was almost incredible. His favourite exhortation was, 'Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation.' He now rests by the side of Gheert Groot, in that same church; and in that most interesting city we thought that simple stone not the least interesting place of pilgrimage.

In looking back from a point of view which his contemporary biographers could not even imagine, it is impossible to avoid expressing our amazement at the intuitive—we had almost said the prescient—sagacity of Gheert's conception. Profane learning was then just beginning to revive. It is as though Gerard had foreseen the near approach of that fierce devil, unsanctified

human intellect, and the chief means by which it would prevail—an ignorant priesthood; and the almost total proscription of Holy Scripture. The order, then, was designed to teach the young, to send out preachers, and to recommend the study of Holy Scripture: in short, it was a true and holy reform, and was therefore certain to find bitter opposition. Deventer was the centre of the movement. Gerard procured the best MSS. from neighbouring abbeys and collegiate churches; he collated, he corrected, he introduced a true criticism; and his fellow-labourers distinguished themselves by the beauty of their calligraphy and the correctness of their text. This was the commencement of that reputation which Holland retained for her learning when she lost her faith. The Universities of Leyden, Utrecht, and Groningen—the Graevii, the Gronovii, the Heinsii, the Valckenaers, the Kusters, the Burmanns, the Hemsterhuis, all owe their name and their fame to the impulse given by the scholar-monk of Deventer.

But this was the least important part of his labours. At that time, between the troubles that we have related, and those fiercer dissensions which were about to rend the Church of Utrecht, she possessed a Prelate capable of appreciating and determined on supporting the enthusiastic reformer. This was Florentius de Wevelinchoven. Of him it is recorded,¹ that such was his ardour in prayer, as to expose him to the ridicule of his Clergy; and that his only reply was, 'What wonder is it, seeing I have many sheep, that I should make many prayers?' This Prelate gave Gerard—though only a Deacon—permission to preach through his whole Diocese, after he had in vain endeavoured to persuade him to receive the Priesthood. 'No,' replied he; 'not for all the gold of Arabia would I have the cure of souls, even for one night.' On receiving his licence, he created the same sensation in Holland that Whitfield did in England, or Simão Rodriguez in Portugal. We find him at Utrecht, at Deventer, at Zwolle, at Zutphen, at Kampen, at Amersfoort, at Gouda, at Amsterdam,² at Haarlem, at Delft, at Leyden. Crowds hung upon his words; the ordinary business of life ceased where he preached. It were to be wished that, instead of a mystical explanation why he might be fitly compared to a

¹ Batav. Sacr. i. 203.

² An expression in Thomas's account is worth notice: '*Prædicavit autem in principalioribus civitatibus diocesis Trajectensis: . . . et in Amsterdamo primum sermonem Teuthonicum.*' Does this mean that there had never been a vernacular sermon in that city before; or simply that, though Gerard might have preached in Latin previously, he had never before done so in Dutch? We think that the former is the true explanation, as cohering better with the intense interest he occasioned, and the permission given to a Deacon to exercise an office of which, it would seem, the Priests were utterly incapable.

'cedar of Lebanon,' or to a 'flourishing palm,' Thomas à Kempis had given us some particulars of the wonderful conversions he is said to have wrought. He frequently preached two sermons in the same day,—and they not unusually were of three hours length. Whatever popularity he might win among the common people, the Clergy were jealous and offended. The curious regime of mediæval Holland, which supplied the want of Episcopal efficiency by a reticulation of enormous Collegiate churches,—such as those of Oldenzaal, Zutphen, and Zwolle,—must also have occasioned a swarm of exactly that kind of dignitaries who have always approved themselves most bitterly opposed to earnestness, in whatever shape. Complaints were despatched to Rome; but Gregory XI., in 1376,¹ approved the institute.

It is instructive to contrast Gerard Groot with his contemporary, John Wickliff. The quiet, self-denying, affectionate reform of the one: the blustering, political, turbulent destructiveness of the other. Both saw abuses: both probably set out with an earnest desire to correct them. The one established an institute which exhibited in itself the characteristics of a true reform; which enriched the treasury of the Church with writings unrivalled in their kind, and the influences of which may be seen in Over Yssel to this day: the other fell from abuse into error, from error into heresy, and from heresy, it is more than to be feared, into open blasphemy; leaving followers who assailed things which were not abuses, and left unassailed things which were, and but for the firm conduct of Henry V. might possibly have made London at the commencement of the fifteenth, what Münster was at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Notwithstanding all his labours, Gerard found time to compose between twenty and thirty works, or rather tracts; only a few of which have been printed. In the month of August, 1384, when at Deventer, he was seized with the plague, then raging in that town. Thomas à Kempis gives a touching account of his last moments. He commended his followers to the charge of his favourite disciple Florentius, the only one among them whom he had permitted to be raised to the priesthood. 'Then,' continues the biographer, 'there came to him some pious scholars, who were struck with the pestilence, hoping to receive

¹ Thomas à Kempis gives, at the end of Groot's life, an anonymous '*Epistola ad Ep. Trajectensem pro magistro G. Groot, quando erat ipsi interdictum ne publice predicaret.*' Are we to gather from this, that Gerard had commenced preaching without especial licence, and had been stopped; or that, while the affair was pending at Rome, he had been laid under a temporary interdict? Another letter follows, addressed by William de Salvavilla, a doctor of Paris, to Urban VI., supplicating that Gerard may be allowed to preach all through the Province of Cologne, or at least in the Diocese of Utrecht.

‘from him some salutary word for the remedy of their souls. To whom he spake kindly: “If ye have a good will of always serving God, ye may die serenely. Let all the lessons that ye have learned be considered by you as it were the Lord’s Prayer, by reason of the pious disposition which in your studies ye have had to God-ward.” When they had heard these things, the young men were consoled; and returning to their dwellings, they died in a good confession; having recommended their souls, redeemed by the blood of Christ, to God and to His holy angels.’ Gerard himself died, ‘the sun now drawing towards evening, between the fifth and sixth hours,’ on the 20th of August—S. Bernard’s day—a saint to whom he had always professed great devotion.

Gerard Groot had desired that his institution should not be fettered with vows; nor was it till eleven years after his death that the Brothers of the Common Life consented to receive them. It was this, and his extraordinary veneration for Holy Scripture, and his desire that it should be read by every one, which distinguished his own career and that of his early followers. On the latter point we shall have more to say presently.

As he had desired, his favourite disciple, Florentius de Radevin, succeeded him in his charge. He was a native of Leerdam, but had studied at Prague. This fact, though mentioned by his biographers, is scarcely made so much of as it deserves to be. The avidity with which the Bohemians had, as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, received a vernacular translation of the Bible, might well have impressed Florentius; at the same time he must have noticed the growing heresies which, after he had left Bohemia, found an organ and a mouthpiece in John Huss. How far he influenced Gerard,—how far they both saw that the increasing Wickliffism in England and Bohemia would avail itself of the new development of feeling, and of the demand for the vernacular Scriptures, and that the Church should employ, instead of endeavouring to suppress, both,—is a point which may excite curiosity, but which must be left in doubt.

In 1393, the House of Deventer received a young student whose name was destined to eclipse the other lights of the order. This was Thomas Hammercken, better known as a Kempis, from the place of his birth. It was while he was pursuing his studies there that the Brothers of the Common Life took the vows as Canons Regular of S. Augustine, and established their principal seat at Windesheim, the church of which was consecrated at the same time by Hubert, Bishop of Yppusa *in partibus*, and suffragan of Utrecht. Florentius presided over

the congregation till his death, in 1400. His life has been written by Thomas à Kempis, with all the pious naïveté which characterises his other works. The labours of Florentius in preaching equalled those of Gerard Groot; and he wore himself out before he had attained the age of fifty. Indeed, over exertion and over austerity mowed down the early Brothers of the Common Life. Gerard de Zerbolt, another of their labourers, only reached the age of thirty-one: he had distinguished himself especially by two treatises, written in Dutch, on the benefit of reading Holy Scripture, and the use of vernacular prayer.

The Sisters of the Common Life, known, as others who had not taken any vow, by the name of Beguines, were long domiciled in the house that had been Gerard Groot's. Thomas has a curious story respecting John Brinckerink, their confessor, and one of the most distinguished among the early members of the order. 'He was once preaching on the Circumcision, and treating most pleasantly and sweetly of the name of Jesus; exalting this blessed and delicious name above all things in heaven and earth. At length he condescended to rebuke the irreverence and familiarity with which some foolish men of this world treated the name of Jesus. "Why," said he, "there are some who say, with a contemptuous sneer, "Oho! Jesus is the God of the Beguines!" Fools and miserable men! Jesus the God of the Beguines? Then, pray, who is your God? Truly it is the devil. To us this holy name is a great honour and a singular joy; over and over again our brethren name Jesus: above all other things they worship Jesus: before and above the names of all the saints, they love and adore Jesus, the Son of the living God, whom you deride and despise. True it is, the Brothers and the Beguines do name Jesus willingly, do laud Him devoutly, do salute each other in His name. And woe to you who have the devil in your mouths oftener than Jesus: He is too lowly and despised to please you." Thus speedily,' adds Thomas, 'he gladdened the lovers of Jesus, and confounded his deriders according to their deserts.'

These little sketches of a good preacher in a Dutch country town, of the fourteenth century, are surely not without their value; and the relater was, no doubt, present on this occasion, as he certainly was on some others that he describes.

Another of the early brethren was Lubert ten Bosche, whose life, under the name of Lubertus Bernere, Thomas à Kempis has also given. He died of the plague; and Brother Amilius, who was with him, has given a most graphic account of his death-bed. We should spoil it by attempting to translate it.

'Et viribus quibus potuit, raucam et fractam vocem recolligens exclamavit, "In gloria, in bonitate tua, in misericordia tua, suscipe, suscipe. In gloria, in gloria; in bonitate, in bonitate; in misericordia, suscipe, suscipe, suscipe." Et dum erectus edens hæc sæpius iteraret, tandem reclinatus ad lectum, bina vice eisdem moribus et gestibus eadem replicans, se iterum erexit. Qui ultima vice reclinatus, videbatur jacere in magno stupore et admiratione. Ego vero inquirens alloquebar eum dicens, "Luberte frater, quid est? quomodo est tecum?" Ipse autem, quasi cum magna admiratione, respondit,—"Mira, mira: mirabilia, mirabilia, magna mirabilia vidi quando me erexi." Quo dicto, statim subjunxit,—"Vocate fratres; vocate fratres!" Quibus convocatis, statim modicum agonisando expiravit, et feliciter in Domino obdormivit, plenus virtutibus et bonis operibus: de quo sit benedictus Deus in secula.'

This plague scattered the brothers from Deventer; but they carried the seeds of death with them. Henry Brune, one of their most zealous priests, was cut off by it at Zutphen; and has also found a biographer in Thomas. But, though thus scattered, they only increased the more rapidly, and took the firmer hold of Holland. Before the death of Florentius, they numbered seventeen Collegiate Churches in the Netherlands; of which, next to Windesheim, the most famous was Mount Saint Agnes, near Zwolle. Here it was that, in 1400, Thomas à Kempis was transferred; his brother John being then first prior of that newly established House. Here, for seventy years, he occupied himself in all the exercises of a pious monk; and more especially in the transcription of books. A Bible of his writing is still extant, in four volumes, folio; begun in 1417, and finished in 1459. The epigraph is, 'Finished and completed by the hands of brother Thomas à Kempis.' The same words may be seen in a Missal, which he completed in 1414. It is beyond our design to enter at length into the question, whether the *Imitation* has been rightly ascribed to him; that work which, next to the Holy Scriptures, has probably been read more widely than any other in the Western Church,—and which has, it is said, gone through as many editions as there have been months since it first appeared. It is now, however, almost a settled point among ecclesiastical scholars, that Thomas was not its author. The arguments against his claims are briefly these:—

1. The simple fact, that the only reason for ascribing it to him, consists in the epigraph, 'Finished and completed in the year of our Lord 1441, by the hands of brother Thomas à Kempis, of the monastery of Mount Saint Agnes, near Zwolle.' The same reason might make him author of the Bible itself.

2. The account given by his contemporaries that, in writing the *Imitation*, Thomas employed the most ancient MSS. he could find.

3. The fact that, in the very rare Editio Princeps of the works of Thomas, printed by Keteleer about 1475, and edited by the brothers of his own order, *the Imitation is not to be found.*

4. Nor is it to be found in *any Dutch edition* for fifty years after.

5. It is said in Holland,—and the assertion has never been contradicted,—that M. Van Vree, President of the College at Warmond, has fragments of the Imitation in Flemish, written in the fourteenth century.¹

6. Any one who will study the undoubted works of Thomas, —‘The Valley of Lilies,’ ‘The Book of the Three Tabernacles,’ ‘The Sermons to the Novices,’—will be morally convinced that he did not write the ‘Imitation.’ The style is as different as is that of S. Bernard from S. Augustine. And the quotations he makes from the ‘Imitation,’ prove the same thing. Who ever thus quoted his own works? Nor do we ask the reader to take this assertion on our credit only; though we make it without the least hesitation. M. Kamper, who lately published a translation of the undoubted works of Thomas, gives it as his settled opinion, that, *either* these, *or* the ‘Imitation,’ are not from his pen. M. Holtropp, of the Hague, has published a most convincing pamphlet on the subject. The only modern ecclesiastical scholar of eminence who supports the opposite side, is, we believe, the present excellent Bishop of Bruges; and he writes with a warmth which betrays a secret mistrust of his cause. The reader who wishes to read the sum and substance of all that can be said on the question, is referred to the eleventh volume of Dupin’s ‘*Bibliothèque*,’ and to Gregory’s ‘*Histoire du Livre de l’Imitation de Jésus Christ*.’ After all, a far more edifying point of consideration than that of its authorship, is the comfort and blessing which, for nearly four hundred years, the ‘Imitation’ has been to every Christian nation. Thus, the countless German, French, and Italian translations, the frequent English reprints, are known to every one. The Spaniard reads it in the venerable Luis de Grenada’s version,—the best of all; the Bohemian, in Balthazar Osthowne’s; the Hungarian, in Peter Pazmany’s; while the Turkish, the Arabian, and the modern Greek, have their respective translations.

We return to the course of the history. The seventy years which Thomas à Kempis spent in Mount S. Agnes were, for the most part, years of fierce dissension for the Church of

¹ Desirous of obtaining the most authentic information on the subject, we wrote to M. Van Vree. Either our letter miscarried, or he forms a remarkable exception to the usual courtesy of foreign ecclesiastics, for we received no answer.

Holland. On the death of Frederic de Blanckenheim, fifty-first Bishop of Utrecht, there were three candidates: Rodolph de Diephold, Sweder de Culemburg, Dean of the Cathedral, and Walraff de Morsan. The right of election, as we observed on a former occasion, lay in the five Chapters of the city. As the Canons were in deliberation, a Burgomaster of Utrecht broke into the conclave, and threatened his nephew, the Dean of S. Peter's, with death, if he gave his vote for any but Rodolph. On this, the Cathedral Chapter protested, that any election made under a threat would be invalid, and retired. The other Chapters continued their deliberations.¹ Sweder, finding himself without any chance, gave his votes to Rodolph,—who was thus elected by the four Chapters; the Cathedral Chapter elected Walraff. Rodolph, however, who was a layman, having the immense majority of suffrages, was enthroned, and took possession; and then requested his bulls from Martin V. This demand was supported by the city, and by the Duke of Cleves. Martin, at the end of two years, declared the election null; and in the plenitude of his power, named Raban, Bishop of Spire, to the See. This Prelate took the precaution of inquiring, whether he should have any chance of entering his Cathedral without bloodshed. On learning that his Episcopate must undoubtedly be purchased by a battle, he sold all his right to Sweder, the disappointed candidate, in return for Sweder's deanery, '*and other things.*' It was two years before this arrangement was ratified by the Pope, and Sweder, having obtained his bulls, marched upon Utrecht. With very great difficulty, and after having been tied up by the most solemn oaths, he was enthroned; while Rodolph, for his part, fled into Brussels, maintained his rights, and appealed to the Pope better informed. Oaths, however, were nothing to Sweder. Bernard Proeys, the burgomaster, who had distinguished himself for his zeal on behalf of Rodolph, was found murdered in his bed. Arrests, imprisonments, executions, followed in such quick succession, that the three estates of Utrecht (Aug. 21, 1425) forbade any one to obey (that is, as a temporal lord) the so-called Bishop. Shortly after, the partisans of Rodolph obtained possession of the Palace, and, Sweder was driven from the city. Rodolph was recalled; and, under the title of Bishop Postulate, took the charge of the Church; and the *Postulaets gulden* which he struck are esteemed by virtuosi as among the rarest of Dutch coins. Sweder assembled the few ecclesiastics that adhered to him at Arnheim, and laid the diocese under an interdict. The Three Estates appealed to the Pope;

¹ Batav. Sacr. i. 213; Aut. Matth. v. 411; Heda. 285.

and as Martin V. looked down on the whole proceedings with a lofty unconcern, they next appealed to the Future Council. The interdict was but partially observed: we regret to say that the Brothers of the Common Life obeyed it. Dom Pitra, in his 'Hollande Catholique,' lauds them to the sky, *forgetting to state* that by the successor of Martin V. the interdict, and all other proceedings of Sweder, were quashed as invalid. So much for the consistency of Ultramontaniam.

When Eugenius IV. succeeded to the Papal chair, the Estates implored his assistance. He could not afford to treat the matter with the unconcern of his predecessor, for the Council of Basle was sitting. After despatching the Bishop of Macon to make inquiries on the spot, he, by a bull of Oct. 13, 1433, declared that his predecessor had been mistaken in refusing to confirm the election of Rodolph; that the crimes of Sweder were of the most gross and glaring character; he annulled all the acts of that intruder, and confirmed the election of Rodolph. And yet, in spite of all this, Dom Pitra has the *impudence* (for, with all our respect for his learning, we can call it nothing else) to talk of 'the *schism* of Robert'—he means Rodolph—'Diephold!' That Bishop survived the pacification twenty-two years, and governed his Church with great prudence. Sweder, after having vainly appealed to the Council of Basle, from whom he could obtain nothing but the empty title of Archbishop of Cæsarea, died of a broken heart in that city. His partisans chose Walraff, his early competitor, as his successor. He obtained the confirmation of the Duke of Savoy, called Felix V. in his obedience, and returned to Arnheim; and, more fortunate than his predecessor, he obtained the bishopric of Münster as his reward for ceasing to vex the Church of Utrecht.

The successor of Rodolph, Gisbert de Brederode, had a cruel war to maintain against David of Burgundy, the natural son of Philip the Good. This personage partly forced Gisbert, partly brought him to consent, to abdication. His arbitrary government, supported as it was by the authority of his brother, Charles the Bold, roused the citizens to revolt, and a long war was the result. David, however, maintained himself till his death in 1496. He is praised for some good qualities, especially for insisting on the necessity of learning in his clergy. Having heard great complaints of the laxity of the episcopal examinations, he once went through them himself, and only admitted three out of three hundred candidates.

Amidst scenes of worldliness like these, the Institution of Gheert Groot continued to propagate itself. By the end of the fifteenth century, it numbered seven provinces, a First and Second Belgic, the Germanic, the Genoese, the Italian, the

Portuguese, the Gallican; and possessed about one hundred and forty houses. It, however, fulfilled the prophecy of one of its early ecclesiastics: 'The first generation will be devoted; the second, learned; the third, relaxed.' Yet, in the second generation it produced a writer who has been called the second to A Kempis—Gerlach Petersen. He was received very young at Windesheim by Florentius; and, while he was distinguished for his gift of meditation, he was also distinguished by his determined opposition to the austerities which had brought so many of the brethren to an early grave. 'And from that time,' says the chronicler of the order, 'it has been a custom among us to demand, whenever any clerk presents himself for admission, these three points: whether he can eat well; whether he can sleep well; and whether he is willing to obey; because we know that on the answers to these three questions depends, in great measure, the likelihood of his perseverance.' Petersen, however, was as short-lived as the others, dying at the age of thirty-three, in 1414. He is known by his work, *Ignitum cum Deo soliloquium*, which has been translated into Flemish and French, and which was a great favourite with the Port Royalists. Some consider it the masterpiece of mystic theology.

Thomas à Kempis himself died on the 25th of July, 1470, and was buried in the Church of Mount S. Agnes. But in 1672, his remains were translated to Zwolle, where they are preserved with great veneration. Although we certainly are not to call him the author of the 'Imitation,' yet we may well place him in the very first rank of writers in that school. We are not aware that any of his works have been translated into English, with the exception of 'The Valley of Lilies,' or rather, portions of it; but his 'Garden of Roses,' and 'Book of the Three Tabernacles' (i.e. poverty, humility, and patience), would well repay a translation. The most interesting, however, are the memoirs to which we have already so often referred. Although we cannot call him a great hymnographer, we will take the liberty of quoting a few of the verses which close his works.

'Patiendo promereri,
Bona multa consequeris.
Nam Deum honorificas,
Et Angelos lætificas;
Coronam tuam duplicas,
Et proximos ædificas.
Labor quidem parvus est, atque brevis vita;
Merces autem gravis est, quies infinita.
Toties Dei martyr efficeris,
Quoties pro eo pœnam pateris.'

With the death of Thomas the 'learned generation' may be said to have commenced. Overijssel and Guelderland were

undoubtedly, at the epoch of the invention of printing, the most learned countries in Europe; and the first leading colleges were at Deventer, Zutphen, Zwolle, and Kampen. The Cardinal Cusa and Pope Hadrian VI. owed their erudition to these institutions; and in 1476, a young lad named Gerard was received at Deventer, who afterwards became known to all the literary world as Desiderius Erasmus. From these, as from a centre, radiated schools into every part of north-western Europe. Rodolph Lang established that of Münster; Louis Dingenberg that of Schelstadt; here he had for pupils, Murrho (founder of the college at Colmar), Wimpheling, and Simler, the master of Melanchthon. Rodolph Agricola was the master of Beatus Rhenanus, the first editor of Tertullian, and one of the most eminent scholars of the fifteenth century.

Such an order naturally seized with avidity the invention of printing. The wooden blocks of Laurence Jansz, commonly called Coster, at Haarlem, may have familiarised them with the idea before John Gutemberg invented his movable metallic types at Mayence. Certain it is, however, that among the most valuable volumes to be found in the *Incunabula* of German libraries, the Canons of Windesheim have their full share. In 1474, those of Val Sainte Marie, near Mayence, printed a psalter and a breviary; and those of S. Michael, at Rostock, the *Editio Princeps* of Lactantius; in 1476, those of Nazareth, at Brussels, the '*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*'—the first work printed in that city.

It may be truly said, that the stimulus to the revival of ecclesiastical learning came from Windesheim, as that to profane learning from Rome. And it should be a humbling thought for educated, wealthy, intellectual Holland that, in her Catholic times, the north-eastern provinces were immeasurably superior to their present condition in that mental culture which Protestantism is usually supposed to foster.

The congregation of Windesheim had a golden age of about one hundred years. After 1500, we hear little of it. Swept out of Holland by the whirlwind of the Reformation, it had not the vitality to propagate itself in more happy countries. Though it continued to exist, it did not continue to spread, and became, as it were, a mere fragment in the institute of Canons Regular. In this respect, the well-defined existence which the Beguines have kept up is not a little remarkable; and the wisdom of Gheert Groot in avoiding any close assimilation to, or amalgamation with, the Canons Regular, will, perhaps, be acknowledged.

We have on another occasion taken up the history of the Church of Utrecht from the point at which we now leave it. It will be sufficient to say that the work which stands first on our

list is that which we then announced as forthcoming. It is a most valuable enlargement of M. de Bellegarde's History, published from the MSS. of that author himself. The death of the editor, the Abbé Van der Hoeven (December 30, 1851), unhappily prevented the promised continuation from its termination in 1778 to the present time. We trust, however, that some one of the faithful sons of the Church of Utrecht will carry on her annals during the seventy years of which a full account yet remains to be written.

The 'Hollande Catholique' of Dom Pitra is a collection of letters addressed to various ecclesiastical friends during a tour in that country. The Ultramontanism of the writer is as well known as his learning; but we were scarcely prepared for the extreme distortion of facts, and the almost savage bitterness of tone, which characterises his account of the Church since its disestablishment. The letters devoted to its history in Catholic times, though sketchy, are interesting, and derive additional life from being written on the spots of which they treat. Any one, however, who will read Dom Pitra's narrative, will be convinced of the justice of the cause for which the Church of Utrecht has suffered so much—an attack in such a spirit carrying as much conviction as the most laboured defence.

ART. III.—*The Life and Epistles of S. Paul; comprising a complete Biography of the Apostle, and a Translation of his Letters inserted in Chronological order.* By the Rev. W. J. CONYBEARE, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Rev. J. S. HOWSON, M.A., Principal of the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool. London: Longman & Co.

WE are inclined to welcome the historical part of this work, as containing a retractation, in great measure, of the somewhat extravagant claims which have of late years been urged at times in favour of the critical study of the Holy Scriptures. There is, we doubt not, a sense in which 'criticism' of the Holy Scriptures is by no means un-English or alien. If the term is so defined as to be almost synonymous with accurate study and careful investigation, proceeding on in orderly development from the known to the unknown, neglecting no hint or indication, thinking nothing too trivial or unimportant to be searched into, and loving to view each part as connected with the whole, and illustrated by the ideas which pervade the whole, then we venture not only to adopt criticism as an English science, but even to claim it as in a great degree indigenous to our own soil. The countrymen of Hammond, Paley, Lightfoot, Macknight, and others, have no need to go abroad in search of a science of which the principles are those which we have described. We consent to discuss, with Origen and S. Jerome, the authorship of the books of Holy Scripture. We do not shrink, any more than S. Chrysostom would have done, from examining into and illustrating the rhetorical force of the divine writings. The very question of inspiration, dangerous though it be, is one which we feel cannot always be safely declined. It is one about which every Christian teacher ought to have an opinion, reverently conceived and cherished, which he is to defend against gainsayers. Indeed, it is not too much to hope that English writers, by the help of the deliberate reason and gravity which their daily occupations without have a tendency to form in them, may yet do more good Christian work in unfolding the meaning and urging the importance of Holy Scripture, than those of any other nation at present existing.

But there is a science, or rather pursuit, laying claim to the

name of criticism, which proceeds on widely different principles from those just described. Here the critic makes himself at once a judge rather than a student of Scripture—classifies facts according to individual notions of his own conceiving, simplifies till all fulness is gone, limits truth by truth till there is no residuum, claims to abstract the authoritative part of the Bible, first from its chronology, then from its history, then from its doctrines; has a scale and measure of spirituality, and knows to a nicety, by applying it, at what period of an apostle's religious life any text or passage cannot but have been written. We are, happily, as a nation, very little imbued with this method; but still there is room for self-congratulation when we see that an author may, as in the present work, make the widest collection of illustrative facts bearing on the life of S. Paul, without attempting to measure him by a philosophical standard, or affecting to see his history in an entirely novel point of view; and may bestow what must have been the work of years, mainly in carrying out and completing what is already in some degree familiar to us all.

It should be noticed at the outset of these remarks, that the responsibility for this work is divided among two, or rather three, individuals. The body of the work is written by Mr. Howson, with the exception of a chapter on the Constitution of the Primitive Church. This chapter, along with the translation of the Epistles, Discourses, &c., is the work of Mr. Conybeare. And if, as we suppose, the publisher has much to do with the *form* in which a work appears, then we cannot much commend the choice here made of a cumbrous quarto form, equal in size with the plates; and of a serial mode of issue, which is notoriously expensive and troublesome, as well as disparaging to the work so issued.

In writing the history, Mr. Howson seems possessed with an idea which pervades all his work. It is, that the life of S. Paul requires *illustration*; and that we know too little of him if we are not familiar with all the scenes among which he lived and moved. Beside the history of the fervent Apostle, we ought, he thinks, to have visible to our mind's eye, the picture, as far as may be, of the great world in which he did his work. No pains nor diligence are spared in this task. Details of the method of ancient education, as conducted in S. Paul's time, and topographical descriptions of the places in which he lived in youth, are called in to supply, as far as may be, the total absence of details upon that time of his life. Then the state of the Roman empire, in its Greek, Roman, and Jewish sections, is sketched with fulness and rapidity. S. Paul's coming to study at Jerusalem under Gamaliel introduces a notice of the sects and philosophies of the Jews; and after this, throughout the whole

course of the apostolic preaching, every journey is described and discussed with extraordinary precision, the works of every modern traveller being taxed for the most recent information. It is, of course, difficult to speak with unsparing commendation of this course. While we commend the industry which it displays, and are glad to have such a book by us for reference, a doubt will arise whether, save in some very marked and well-known instances, the Apostle of the Gentiles was much influenced by outward scenes. We certainly should not imagine him as passing unconsciously through the midst of a glorious landscape, as S. Bernard is said to have done; but still is it not remarkable that his writings are almost destitute of any allusion to *details* of natural beauty? The majesty of the universe considered as a whole, he certainly felt; and we owe to this feeling one of the noblest chapters ever written by him. But where do we find any proof that sunsets and forest-tints, 'the oleanders of Damascus,' or the oakwoods of Mount Olympus, made much impression upon his fancy, or remained on his memory? His interest was, we may say, solely for that living, fallen, suffering 'creature,' which his theology viewed in the light of Christian hope. Holding this opinion, we will pass by this portion of Mr. Howson's work with a few extracts; and dwell, more to our own gratification, on the parts which seem to us more really valuable; those, namely, in which new points of evidence are investigated and arranged.

The following remarks on S. Paul's early life must, we think, be interesting to our readers, and are illustrative of Mr. Howson's manner:—

'If we turn now to consider the social position of the Apostle's father and family, we cannot on the one hand confidently argue, from the possession of the citizenship, that they were in the enjoyment of affluence and outward distinction. The *civitas* of Rome, though at that time it could not be purchased without heavy expense, did not depend upon any conditions of wealth, where it was bestowed by authority. On the other hand, it is certain that the manual trade, which we know that S. Paul exercised, cannot be adduced as an argument to prove that his circumstances were narrow and mean; still less, as some have imagined, that he lived in absolute poverty. It was a custom among the Jews that all boys should learn a trade. "What is commanded of a father towards his son?" asks a Talmudic writer. "To circumcise him, to teach him the law, to teach him a trade." Rabbi Judah saith, "He that teacheth not his son a trade, doth the same as if he taught him to be a thief;" and Rabban Gamaliel saith, "He that hath a trade in his hand, to what is he like? he is like a vineyard that is fenced." And if, in compliance with this good and useful custom of the Jews, the father of the young Cilician sought to make choice of a trade, which might fortify his son against idleness or against adversity, none would occur to him more naturally than the profitable occupation of the making of tents, the material of which was hair-cloth, supplied by the goats of his native province, and sold in the markets

of the Levant by the well-known name of *cilicium*. The most reasonable conjecture is that his father's business was concerned with these markets, and that, like many of his dispersed countrymen, he was actively occupied in the traffic of the Mediterranean coasts: and the remote dispersion of those relations, whom he mentions in his letter from Corinth to Rome, is favourable to this opinion. But whatever might be the station and employment of his father or his kinsmen, whether they were elevated by wealth above, or depressed by poverty below, the average of the Jews of Asia Minor and Italy, we are disposed to believe that his family were possessed of that highest respectability which is worthy of deliberate esteem. The words of Scripture seem to claim for them the tradition of a good and religious reputation. The strict piety of S. Paul's ancestors has already been remarked; some of his kinsmen embraced Christianity before the Apostle himself, and the excellent discretion of his nephew will be the subject of our admiration, when we come to consider the dangerous circumstances which led to the nocturnal journey from Jerusalem to Cæsarea.

But, though a cloud rests on the actual year of S. Paul's birth, and the circumstances of his father's household must be left to imagination, we have the great satisfaction of knowing the exact features of the scenery in the midst of which his childhood was spent. The plain, the mountains, the river, and the sea still remain to us. The rich harvests of corn still grow luxuriantly after the rains in spring. The same tents of goat's-hair are still seen covering the plains in the busy harvest. There is the same solitude and silence in the intolerable heat and dust of the summer. Then, as now, the mothers and children of Tarsus went out in the cool evenings, and looked from the gardens round the city, or from their terraced roofs upon the heights of Taurus. The same sunset lingered on the pointed summits. The same shadows gathered in the deep ravines. The river Cydnus has suffered some changes in the course of 1800 years. Instead of rushing, as in the time of Xenophon, like the Rhone at Geneva, in a stream of two hundred feet broad through the city, it now flows idly past it on the east. The Channel, which floated the ships of Antony and Cleopatra, is now filled up; and wide unhealthy lagoons occupy the place of the ancient docks. But its upper waters still flow, as formerly, cold and clear from the snows of Taurus: and its waterfalls still break over the same rocks, when the snows are melting, like the Rhine at Schaffhausen. We find a pleasure in thinking that the footsteps of the young Apostle often wandered by the side of this stream, and that his eyes often looked on these falls. We can hardly believe that he who spoke to the Lystrians of the "rain from heaven," and the "fruitful seasons," and of the "living God who made heaven and earth, and the sea," could have looked with indifference on beautiful and impressive scenery. Gamaliel was celebrated for his love of nature: and the young Jew, who was destined to be his most famous pupil, spent his early days in the close neighbourhood of much that was well adapted to foster such a taste. Or if it be thought that in attributing such feelings to him we are writing in the spirit of modern times; and if it be contended that he would be more influenced by the realities of human life than by the impressions of nature,—then let the youthful Saul be imagined on the banks of the Cydnus, where it flowed through the city in a stream less clear and fresh, where the wharves were covered with merchandize, in the midst of groups of men in various costumes, speaking various dialects. S. Basil says, that in his day Tarsus was a point of union for Syrians, Cilicians, Isaurians, and Cappadocians. To these we must add the Greek merchant, and the agent of Roman luxury. And one more must be added—the Jew—even then the pilgrim

of Commerce, trading with every nation, and blending with none. In this mixed company Saul, at an early age, might become familiar with the activities of life and the diversities of human character, and even in his childhood make some acquaintance with those various races, which in his manhood he was destined to influence.—*Life and Epistles of S. Paul*, pp. 51—53.

We have at p. 66 a sketch of his education as a Pharisee:—

‘It has been contended, that when S. Paul said he was “brought up” in Jerusalem “at the feet of Gamaliel,” he meant that he had lived at the Rabban’s house, and eaten at his table. But the words evidently point to the customary posture of Jewish students at school. There is a curious passage in the Talmud where it is said, that “from the days of Moses to Rabban Gamaliel, they stood up to learn the Law; but when Rabban Gamaliel died, sickness came into the world, and they sat down to learn the Law.” We need not stop to criticise this sentence, and it is not easy to reconcile it with other authorities on the same subject. “To sit at the feet of a teacher” was a proverbial expression; as when Mary is said to have “sat at Jesus’ feet and heard His word.” But the proverbial expression must have arisen from a well-known custom. The teacher was seated on an elevated platform, or on the ground, and the pupils around him on low seats or on the floor. Maimonides says:—“How do the masters teach? The doctor sits at the head, and the disciples surround him like a crown, that they may all see the doctor and hear his words. Nor is the doctor seated on a seat, and the disciples on the ground; but all are on seats, or all on the floor.” S. Ambrose says, in his Commentary on the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians (xiv.), that “it is the tradition of the synagogue that they sit while they dispute; the elders in dignity on high chairs, those beneath them on low seats, and the last of all on mats upon the pavement.” And again, Philo says, that the children of the Essenes sat at the feet of the masters, who interpreted the Law, and explained its figurative sense. And the same thing is expressed in that maxim of the Jews—“Place thyself in the dust at the feet of the wise.”

‘In this posture the Apostle of the Gentiles spent his schoolboy days, an eager and indefatigable student. “He that giveth his mind to the law of the Most High, and is occupied in the meditation thereof, will seek out the wisdom of all the ancient, and be occupied in prophecies. He will keep the sayings of the renowned men; and where subtle parables are, he will be there also. He will seek out the secrets of grave sentences, and be conversant in dark parables. He shall serve among great men, and appear among princes: he will travel through strange countries; for he hath tried the good and the evil among men,”—such was the pattern proposed to himself by an ardent follower of the Rabbis; and we cannot wonder that Saul, with such a standard before him, and with so ardent a temperament, “made progress in the Jews’ religion above many his contemporaries in his own nation, being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of his fathers.” Intellectually, his mind was trained to logical acuteness, his memory became well stored with “hard sentences of old,” and he acquired the facility of quick and apt quotation of Scripture. Morally, he was a strict observer of the requirements of the Law; and, while he led a careful conscientious life, after the example of his ancestors, he gradually imbibed the spirit of a fervent persecuting zeal. Among his fellow-students, who flocked to Jerusalem from Egypt and Babylonia, from the coasts of Greece and his native Cilicia, he was known and held in high estimation as a rising light in Israel. And if we may draw a natural

inference from another sentence of the letter which has just been quoted, he was far from indifferent to the praise of men. Students of the Law were called "the holy people;" and we know one occasion when it was said, "This people who knoweth not the Law are cursed." And we can imagine him saying to himself, with all the rising pride of a successful Pharisee, in the language of the Book of Wisdom: "I shall have estimation among the multitude, and honour with the elders, though I be young. I shall be found of a quick conceit in judgment, and shall be admired in the sight of great men. When I hold my tongue, they shall bide my leisure; and when I speak, they shall give good ear unto me."

While thus he was passing through the busy years of his student-life, nursing his religious enthusiasm and growing in self-righteousness, others were advancing towards their manhood, not far from Jerusalem, of whom then he knew nothing, but for whose cause he was destined to count that loss which now was his highest gain. There was one at Hebron, the son of a priest "of the course of Abia," who was soon to make his voice heard throughout Israel as the preacher of repentance; there were boys by the Lake of Galilee, mending their fathers' nets, who were hereafter to be the teachers of the World; and there was ONE at Nazareth, for the sake of whose love—they, and Saul himself, and thousands of faithful hearts throughout all future ages, should unite in saying,—“He must increase, but I must decrease.” It is possible that Gamaliel may have been one of those doctors with whom JESUS was found conversing in the Temple. It is probable that Saul may have been within the precincts of the Temple at some festival, when Mary and Joseph came up from Galilee. It is certain that the eyes of the Saviour and of His future disciples must often have rested on the same objects,—the same crowd of pilgrims and worshippers,—the same walls of the Holy City,—the same olives on the other side of the valley of Jehoshaphat. But at present they were strangers. The mysterious human life of JESUS was silently advancing towards its great consummation. Saul was growing more and more familiar with the outward observances of the Law, and gaining that experience of the “spirit of bondage” which should enable him to understand himself, and to teach to others, the blessings of the “spirit of adoption.” He was feeling the pressure of that yoke, which, in the words of S. Peter, “neither his fathers nor he were able to bear.” He was learning (in proportion as his conscientiousness increased) to tremble at the slightest deviation from the Law as jeopardizing salvation: “whence arose that tormenting scrupulosity which invented a number of limitations, in order (by such self-imposed restraint) to guard against every possible transgression of the Law.” The struggles of this period of his life he has himself described in the seventh chapter of Romans. Meanwhile, year after year passed away. John the Baptist appeared by the waters of the Jordan. The greatest event of the world's history was finished on Calvary. The sacrifice for sin was offered at a time when sin appeared to be the most triumphant. At the period of the Crucifixion, three of the principal persons who demand the historian's attention are—the Emperor Tiberius, spending his life of shameless lust on the island of Capreae,—his vile minister, Sejanus, revelling in cruelty at Rome,—and Pontius Pilate at Jerusalem, mingling with the sacrifices the blood of the Galilæans. How refreshing is it to turn from these characters to such scenes as that where S. John receives his Lord's dying words from the cross, or where S. Thomas meets Him after the resurrection, to have his doubts turned into faith; or where S. Stephen sheds the first blood of martyrdom, praying for his murderers!'

—*Ibid.* pp. 66–69.

A curious remark occurs on the retirement of Saul to Tarsus,

after his conversion. After saying that on this and his subsequent visit to the Church in Cilicia the idols still held their wonted places in public, but that a silent revolution had begun, which was to cast them to the 'moles and the bats,' the author adds in a note,—

'These remarks have been suggested by a recent discovery of much interest at Tarsus. In a mound which had formerly rested against a portion of the city wall, since removed, was discovered a large collection of terracotta figures and lamps. At first these were thought to be a sherd-wreck, or the refuse of some Ceramicus or pottery-work. But, on observing that the lamps had been used and that the earthenware gods (*Dei fictiles*) bore no trace of having been rejected because of defective workmanship, but, on the contrary, had evidently been used, it has been imagined that these terracottas must have been thrown away, as connected with idolatry, on the occasion of some conversion to Christianity. The figures are such as these,—a head of Pan, still showing the mortar by which it was set up in some garden or vineyard; the boy Mercury; Cybele, Jupiter, Ceres crowned with corn, Apollo with rays, a bull devouring a lion, with other symbols of general or local mythology. There are, moreover, some ears, legs, &c., which seem to have been votive offerings, and which, therefore, it would have been sacrilege to remove; and a great number of lamps or incense burners, with a carbonaceous stain on them. The date when these things were thrown "to the moles and bats" seems to be ascertained by the dressing of the hair in one of the female figures, which is that of the period of the early emperors, as shown in busts of Domitia, or Julia, the wife of Titus, the same that is censured by the Roman satirist, and by the Christian Apostle. Some of them are undoubtedly of an earlier period.'—*Ibid.* p. 275.

An interesting and probable reason is suggested, it appears, by a modern traveller, to account for the fact that the Gospel was apparently preached at Perga, not immediately on S. Paul's landing, but on his return thither towards the close of the year :—

'Now we may well suppose that he might sail from Seleucia to Salamis at the beginning of spring. In that age and in those waters, the commencement of a voyage was usually determined by the advance of the season. The sea was technically said to be "open" in the month of March. If S. Paul began his journey in that month, the lapse of two months might easily bring him to Perga, and allow sufficient time for all that we are told of his proceedings at Salamis and Paphos. If we suppose him to have been at Perga in May, this would have been exactly the most natural time for a journey to the mountains. Earlier in the spring, the passes would have been filled with snow. In the heat of summer the weather would have been less favourable for the journey. In the autumn the disadvantages would have been still greater, from the approaching difficulties of winter. But again, if S. Paul was at Perga in May, a further reason may be given why he did not stay there, but seized all the advantages of the season for prosecuting his journey to the interior. The habits of a people are always determined or modified by the physical peculiarities of their country; and a custom prevails among the inhabitants of this part of Asia Minor, which there is every reason to believe has been unbroken for centuries. At the beginning of the hot season they move up from the plains to the cool basin-like hollows on the mountains. These

yailahs, or summer retreats, are always spoken of with pride and satisfaction, and the time of the journey anticipated with eager delight. When the time arrives, the people may be seen ascending to the upper grounds, men, women, and children, with flocks and herds, camels and asses, like the patriarchs of old. If then S. Paul was at Perga in May, he would find the inhabitants deserting its hot and silent streets. They would be moving in the direction of his own intended journey. He would be under no temptation to stay. And if we imagine him as joining some such company of Pamphylian families on his way to the Pisidian mountains, it gives much interest and animation to the thought of this part of his progress.—*Ibid.* pp. 177, 178.

These, then, are specimens of the method in which outward illustration is furnished on the events as they arise in the history. We think that, in proportion to the size of the volume, such facts occupy too large a place. Every reader is grateful for a careful portraying of the scene which was before S. Paul at Athens, when his heart burned within him at the sight; and probably this work has never been more carefully and fully done than by Mr. Howson. But we confess that somewhat like rebellious feelings arise within us when we find that Amphipolis, Apollonia, and the like—cities not connected, except in the most general terms, with the history of the Apostle—are still allowed to check the flow of the narrative until their topography and history is disposed of. The general effect is too much as if that which had been found available and instructive, in lessons given one by one to pupils, were on this ground assembled into a volume for general use, to the great detriment of method and proportion in the composition. The part of the work in which this strikes us most ungratefully, is in the description of S. Paul's last voyage to Jerusalem. The author, it is true, intends a contrast between the cheerfulness of the scene and S. Paul's depression of spirits; but still, this is no reason why that moment should be chosen for a description of the constitution of the islands of Chios and Cos. We quote the passage as illustrating most clearly the discursive manner of which we complain:—

'The narrative of the voyage is now resumed in detail. It is quite clear, from S. Luke's mode of expression, that the vessel sailed from Miletus on the day of the interview. With a fair wind she would easily run down to Cos in the course of the same afternoon. The distance is about forty nautical miles; the direction is due south. The phrase used implies a straight course and a fair wind; and we conclude, from the well-known phenomena of the Levant, that the wind was north-westerly, which is the prevalent direction in those seas. With this wind the vessel would make her passage from Miletus to Cos in six hours, passing the shores of Caria, with the high summits of Mount Latmus on the left, and with groups of small islands (among which Patmos [Rev. i. 9.] would be seen at times) studding the sea on the right. Cos is an island about twenty-three miles in length, extending from south-west to north-east, and separated by a narrow channel from the mainland. But we should rather conceive the

town to be referred to, which lay at the eastern extremity of the island. It is described by the ancients as a beautiful and well-built city; and it was surrounded with fortifications erected by Alcibiades towards the close of the Peloponnesian war. Its symmetry had been injured by an earthquake, and the restoration had not yet been effected; but the productiveness of the island to which it belonged, and its position in the Levant, made the city a place of no little consequence. The wine and the textile fabrics of Cos were well known among the imports of Italy. Even now no harbour is more frequented by the merchant vessels of the Levant. The roadstead is sheltered by nature from all winds except the north-east, and the inner harbour was not then, as it is now, an unhealthy lagoon. Moreover, Claudius had recently bestowed peculiar privileges on the city. Another circumstance made it the resort of many strangers, and gave it additional renown. It was the seat of the medical school traditionally connected with Æsculapius; and the temple of the god of healing was crowded with votive models, so as to become in effect a museum of anatomy and pathology. The Christian physician St. Luke, who knew these coasts so well, could hardly be ignorant of the scientific and religious celebrity of Cos. We can imagine the thankfulness with which he would reflect—as the vessel lay at anchor off the city of Hippocrates—that he had been emancipated from the bonds of superstition, without becoming a victim to that scepticism which often succeeds it, especially in minds familiar with the science of physical phenomena.—*Ibid.* pp. 225—227.

We now proceed to what in our view is a far more valuable part of the book—the chapters which bear most strongly on the evidences of Christianity. Among these we select the history of the voyage and shipwreck of S. Paul, as being the part of the apostolic history on which recent information and examination have thrown more light than on any other. The result appears to us to be, that a passage preeminently obscure and puzzling has become, by the application of a proper amount of local and technical knowledge, not only in itself clear, decided, and interesting, but a complete document of evidence, deeply affecting the whole subject, now so much canvassed, of traditionary names and localities, and the credit which they deserve as affecting historical points.

The basis of the narrative is here found in the remarks made by Mr. Smith in his late work on the same subject. Still, Mr. Howson has brought to bear on the subject so much research of his own, and so many contributions from private sources, especially the journals of Admiral Penrose, that his account deserves to be considered original. We would extract the whole passage, but that the unavoidable absence of the carefully drawn maps and plates of the work would necessarily make it obscure and uninteresting. It is therefore better to give a summary, quoting as opportunity occurs.

Sailing in a ship bound from Cæsarea to Adramyttium, and intending to touch only, as far as we can see, at Myra in Lycia, the question arises at the outset, why S. Paul and his companions had to make a coasting voyage to the north of Cyprus,

instead of striking across the entire corner of the Mediterranean, and holding a straight course. S. Luke, of course, remarks the unfavourableness of the wind; but the wind must have been more than unfavourable to induce the sailors to take so long a voyage round. There must have been reason to expect that it would not change. Referring, then, to the narrative, (vol. ii. p. 320,) we find that 'westerly and north-westerly winds constantly prevail in the Levant at this season' (the autumn). 'The wind continues to the westward,' says Lord de Saumarez, in his journal for July the 4th. 'I am sorry to find it *almost as prevalent as the trade-winds*.' Again, in the entry for Aug. 19th—'We have just gained sight of Cyprus, nearly the track 'we followed six weeks ago; so invariably do the west winds 'prevail at this season.' And Aug. 28th,—'Our present course 'is to the northward of Candia, the wind having set in so strong 'from the westward that I was compelled to bear up.' By going, then, along the coast of Asia, they would have the advantage of the wind drawing off the coast. Another advantage of this course was, that from Syria to the Archipelago,—

'There is a constant current to the westward, slightly felt at sea, but very perceptible near the shore, along this part of which (Lycia) it runs with considerable but irregular velocity: between Adratchan Cape and the small adjacent island we found it one day almost three miles an hour. . . . The great body of water, as it moves to the westward, is intercepted by the western coast of the gulf of Adalia; thus pent up and accumulated, it rushes with augmented violence towards Cape Khelidonia, where, diffusing itself in the open sea, it again becomes equalized.'

Carried thus rapidly to the coast of Lycia, and transferred at Myra to an Alexandrian vessel, the voyagers passed, as we know, under the same shelter, as far as the peninsula of Cnidus. The same winds still prevailing, and making a westward course impossible after leaving Asia Minor, they apparently endeavoured to repeat a similar process of navigation under the lee of Crete, which island there would, of course, be no difficulty in making, as it lay nearly south-west, or on a course at right angles with the wind. The evident approach of bad weather makes them desirous, if possible, to winter in the safe harbour of Phenice. In this hope they pass Cape Matala with a south wind, and venture into the open sea beyond, where the coast falls away to the north-west.

Within an hour they are caught by a tremendous gale, which hardly allows them to undergird the ship, and get their boat on board. This was evidently from a quite different quarter from the severe weather experienced before. 'It is plain,'¹ says Mr.

¹ There is considerable authority in the MSS. for the reading *Εὐρανόλων*,—the 'Euroaquilo' of the Vulgate; which, if adopted, would of course settle the quarter at once.

Howson, 'even apart from etymological considerations as to the meaning of the name Euroclydon, that they were blown off the island towards Clauda, and were in danger of falling on the quicksands on the African coast.' An inspection of the chart will therefore suffice to show us that the point from which the storm came was north-east, or a little east of it. Clauda is about twenty miles south-west of Cape Matala, and the greater and lesser Syrtes lie accurately in continuance of the same line of direction. It was therefore necessary to make, as quickly as possible, some arrangements for opposing the violence of a north-easterly gale.

No mere interpretation of the text can show us what the course adopted really was. But we have nautical authority in abundance to prove that, in default of an anchorage, only one scheme of escape from the danger was practicable. This was by the manœuvre of 'laying to,' or bringing the ship's head as close round to the wind as possible, and setting just enough canvas to steer by, and keep the vessel from falling off into the trough of the sea. 'This plan,' says Mr. Howson, 'is constantly resorted to where the object is not so much to make progress as to weather out a gale.' The *angle* which her head would make with the wind would be different in different vessels; in those of the ancient construction, it might average seven points, or nearly a fourth of the compass-card. When laid in this direction the vessel would make no headway, but fall off at an angle from the direction of the wind, which may be estimated at *thirteen* points (147°) from the direction of the wind's approach. Reference to a compass-card will show that this gives to the vessel a course in the direction of west-by-north. And with what speed?

'All seamen would agree that under the circumstances a mile and a half in an hour, or thirty-six miles in twenty-four hours, may be taken as a fair average. Besides the authorities quoted by Mr. Smith (p. 84), the same estimate is given in the manuscript of Admiral Penrose. "Allowing," he says, "the degree of strength of the gale to vary a little occasionally, I consider that a ship would drift at the rate of about a mile and a half per hour."—*Ibid.* p. 340.

Thirteen days, as the narrative in the Acts informs us, were spent drifting in this way on Adria, which in the language of the time meant the 'natural division of the Mediterranean, which lies between Sicily and Greece.' Supposing the daily average to be as stated, 468 miles would be accomplished in these thirteen days. 'The distance,' says Mr. Howson, 'between Clauda and Malta is rather less than 480 miles. This coincidence is so remarkable, that it seems hardly possible to believe that the land to which the sailors on the fourteenth

'night "deemed that they drew nigh, the certain island" on which 'it was prophesied that they should be cast, could be any other 'place than Malta.'

The force of these arguments appears to us unquestionable. Until refuted by fresh evidence, they may be considered as decisive of their conclusion; for the features of the voyage, as thus described, will be found to agree very well with the text of Acts xxvii. The *spreading* of the single sail may very well be expressed by the *χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος*.¹ They cannot have 'struck sail,' as the English version has it; this would only have sealed their fate at once. We may add to the argument of Mr. Howson, that the word *διαφερόμενοι* is remarkably suggestive of the 'alternate coming up and falling off' of a vessel struggling to keep her head round to a heavy gale. And the description given by S. Luke of the place in which the vessel finally struck, has many points of striking coincidence with the features of the spot traditionally called S. Paul's Bay. This is the part of the island which would be first reached by a vessel drifting west-by-north. The water in it shoals exactly in the manner described, and in the direction of the vessel's drift. The shore there is soft and clayey, and so far from the ordinary resort of vessels bound to Melita, that the seamen would not recognise it. And finally, this very bay is marked in the English 'Sailing Directions' of the present day as affording so firm and excellent a bottom, that '*while the cables hold there is no danger, as the anchor will never start.*' They hold now as they held on through the long hours of the night, when the apostolic voyagers had cast four anchors out of the stern, and were waiting 'for the day.' And we may see in their tenacity an emblem of the firm hold taken by traditions of locality on the minds of men, when all other historical links have long been broken. Several independent inquirers of the present day, agreeing only in the extent of their technical knowledge, have, it appears, come to the same conclusion as to the authenticity of the opinion which connects the apostle's shipwreck with Malta and S. Paul's Bay. Considering, then, with what comparative feebleness tradition has raised her voice here, how her report has been derided by the learned, and how hopeless it has appeared till lately to prove her in the right, it must be a plain duty to pay more respect to the older views in cases where the evidence on which they rest is manifestly stronger. We may put more trust in the accuracy of names and localities in Jerusalem and the Holy Land in general, when it is made so pro-

¹ We here acknowledge an obligation to the *English Review*; which, in an article on Mr. Smith's work on the Voyage and Shipwreck of S. Paul, has proved that this accords with the use of the word *χαλάω* in the Septuagint.

bable that obscure spots in the island of Malta have retained their true names without the combined care of bishops, nobles, and emperors to keep the tradition alive by any express and careful investigation.

The Epistles of S. Paul are in these volumes newly translated (by Mr. Conybeare, as we are informed), and inserted in chronological order at the places of the Acts to which they belong. The translator professes that his object is to give a faithful version, as near to the original words as may be consistent with the full expression and easy understanding of their sense in English; and considers that entire re-translation is a better course to adopt than any mere correction of the authorized version, as not interfering with associations or creating notions of rivalry. 'It would have been,' he says, 'a rash experiment to provoke such a contrast between the matchless style of the authorized version and that of the modern translator, placed side by side. The style,' he proceeds, 'is not antiquated, and ought not to be; for S. Paul was writing in the style used by his Hellenistic readers in every-day life. Paraphrase is employed mainly to fill up the gaps in S. Paul's highly elliptical style, and to trace clearly the transitions from one step of argument to another. But nothing has been added by way of paraphrase which is not virtually contained in the original.'

It will be at once apparent what a difficult task is assumed by a translator who adopts these conditions. Precluded from all the traditional sources of beauty in expression by his respectful resolution to keep clear of the authorized version, he is bound to work out and methodise the text as far as his own taste and knowledge may enable him; while at the same time he is peculiarly open to mistakes and misrepresentation of the true sense, derived from his own logical or meditative associations. We must say that, in considering these difficulties, Mr. Conybeare does not seem well to have understood his own powers and disposition when undertaking so important a task. His translation is too strict for a paraphrase, and far too loose to be a fair representation of the Greek original. Of verbal inaccuracies it will be our duty presently to give instances; but there is in the translation what is worse than these—a want of breadth in conception, and an enfeebling elaborateness and diffuseness. The earnest brevity, for instance, of Rom. xii., and many similar passages, is completely sacrificed to a habit of translating one Greek word by two English ones. Paraphrastic expressions, put in for the purpose of explanation, are sometimes enclosed in brackets to show their origin; but this precaution is too often neglected. The changes of the text on the authority of MSS. are capricious, an alteration being made or not, as it

makes the translation easy or the reverse. Additional words and thoughts are frequently thrown in as logically implied in an unnecessary and disturbing way. And lastly, there are some signs of that most serious of all exegetical mistakes, the unwillingness to admit apparent contradictions, which the Christian student well knows to be not such in reality. A few extracts shall be made to substantiate these allegations, principally from the Epistles to the Corinthians.

We give the entire translation of 1 Cor. v. 1—8:—

'It is commonly reported that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not so much as named even among the heathen, that a man should have his father's wife. And you, forsooth, have been puffed up with arrogance, when you ought rather to have been filled with shame and sorrow, and so have put out from among you the man who has done this deed. For me—being present with you in spirit, although absent in body—I have already passed sentence as if I were present with you, upon him who has thus sinned; and I decree, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you convene an assembly, and when you, and my spirit with you, are gathered together, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you deliver over to Satan the man who has thus sinned, for the destruction of his fleshly lusts, that his spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus. Truly you have no ground for boasting; know ye not that "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump?" Cast out, therefore, the old leaven, that your body may be renewed throughout, even as now (at this Paschal season) you are without taint of leaven; for Christ Himself is our Paschal Lamb, who has been slain for us; therefore, let us keep the feast, not with the old leaven, the leaven of vice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of purity and truth.'—*Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 34, 35.

There are several points deserving of notice here. How, in the first place, can *ἵνα ἁρθῇ ἐκ μέσου ὑμῶν* refer to anything that the Corinthians were to do? It is, as the commentator most quoted by Mr. Conybeare remarks, what the apostle considers *would have followed* from their mourning. Instead of glorying in the offence, they ought to have mourned that it might be visited on the offender by God, and not on them. The words are synonymous with the 'cutting off' mentioned in Gal. v. 12, which, as Lightfoot has fully shown by examples, is used by Hebrew writers only of the judgment of God, and most expressly contrasted with all ecclesiastical censures whatever. The man who is not to be subjected to any ecclesiastical censure at all is declared 'guilty of cutting off;' that is, left to the Divine judgment. Mr. Conybeare admits the parallelism; but then he singularly renders the passage in the Galatians by the words, 'Would that they would execute *upon themselves* not circumcision only, but excision also.'¹

¹ We should explain that, in Mr. Conybeare's view, there is an understood antithesis between *περιτέμνεσθαι* and *ἀποκόπτεσθαι*. This is as unnecessary as it is impossible. The reference, so far as any exists, is, as Bengel points out, to v. 7: *τίς ὑμᾶς ἐνέκοψε, κ.τ.λ.*

Then what shall we say of the words, 'Even as now, at this Paschal season, ye are without taint of leaven?' The translation is founded, as a note informs us, on the apparent contradiction that is between the rendering familiar to us of *κάθως ἄζυμοί ἐστε*, and the preceding words, *ἐκκαθάρατε οὖν τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην*. That is, the Corinthians cannot be called 'unleavened,' because they are also told to purge out the old leaven; and therefore S. Paul is probably alluding to the season of Easter. If this is contradiction, we should have to reject, as not genuine, such passages as Phil. ii. 12, and Eph. ii. 10, with many others; for there is a similar self-contradiction in the precept, 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do;' and in the assertion, 'Ye are saved, not of works lest any man should boast; for we are His workmanship; created in Christ unto good works.' But there is critical and grammatical reason enough against Mr. Conybeare's interpretation. S. Chrysostom has no idea that such can be the meaning; and this is just one of the places in which the *feeling* of a born Greek is a strong argument. And even we, in our generation, may consider that some particle, at least, of time would have been used, if what was to be expressed was in this way an occurrence of the time. Also, that the phrase *εἶναι ἄζυμος* cannot mean 'to have put away leaven,' inasmuch as *a* makes a word negative,¹ not privative, when connected with the verb *εἰμί*. *Εἶναι ἄζυμος* must therefore mean, as the English version has it, 'to be without leaven.' It is almost superfluous to remark on the difficulty in supposing either that S. Paul meant that they were without leaven at the time of his writing, or that he reckoned on the bearer's journey being so exactly timed as to bring him to Corinth precisely at the season alluded to.

Another passage, 2 Cor. v. 3, is erroneously translated, from the same want of logical and grammatical clearness. *Εἶγε καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὐρεθησόμεθα* is paraphrased in the text; and a note is subjoined—'Literally, "If, indeed, I shall be found clad, and not stripped of my clothing."' It is strange that the writer should consider *ἐνδυσάμενοι* as an attributive verbal adjective, in spite of the definiteness of time in the first aor. participle. Strange, too, that he should have taken the *οὐ* in the only connexion which is utterly impossible—in fact, in the sense of 'clothed and not-naked.' We adhere entirely to the English version of the place; for Hermann's celebrated rule is as applicable to Hellenistic as to any other Greek, as an examination of the Concordances will show. Mr. Conybeare, we

¹ Imagine the phrase changed to *κάθως ἐστὲ ἀσπλοι, ἀχρήματοι*, or the like, and the force and meaning of our remark will become obvious.

suppose, founds his translation on the assumption that εἴγε must mean 'If, that is.' Not to mention that περ is read instead of γε by many MSS., it is plain that this assumption cannot be maintained in the face of such an instance as Acts xvii. 27, ζητεῖν εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφείησαν, κ.τ.λ. Though, indeed, we may go farther, and say that respect to a shade of meaning in a particle, even if the fact of its existence were established, would be too slight a ground for the solecisms which we have noticed.

In 2 Cor. xi. 10, this translation gives us the words 'As the truth of Christ is in me, no deed of mine shall rob me of this boasting in the regions of Achaia. And why? Because I love you not? God knows my love. But what I do I will continue to do, that I may cut all ground from those who wish to find something on which they may rest a slander; and let them show the same cause for their boasting as I do for mine.' Surely the English version is, except in punctuation, perfectly right, and gives in a much simpler way the sense which appears to be here expressed by so much paraphrase and addition. Removing the semicolon, we have the simple sense—'The false apostles wished, if possible, to be justified in *taking money*, that privilege in which they gloried, by S. Paul's example.' S. Paul says here that by refusing to take money himself, he deprived them altogether of this argument.

We have not space, nor is it necessary, to follow up our criticism through the Epistles to the Galatians and Romans, far less to discuss any points in the yet later Epistles. Still we cannot help inquiring whether ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἅγιός ἐστιν, οἷτινές ἐστε ὑμεῖς is rightly translated by 'the temple of God is holy, and *holy therefore are ye*';—whether κατέχειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ means, 'to keep down the truth which they know by the wickedness wherein they live';—whether ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι εἰς ἡμᾶς, and δοῦναι εἰς ἡμᾶς, are respectively, 'to be revealed to us,' and 'to give to us';—whether εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς signifies literally or originally, 'the mould of doctrine into which ye were poured';—and, finally, whether allusions to S. Paul's short-sightedness are to be found in his mention of the 'large, clumsily-shaped letters (πηλίκους γράμμασι, may we remind our readers), in which he had written to the Galatians; and in his calling God to witness that they would, as new converts, have given him even their eyes if possible?

With these questions we must close, fearing that not much has been done by the present translation to promote agreement among Christians as to the sense of S. Paul's writings. To do this, the language should be more accurate and more elegant, and the connexion of the thoughts grasped with a logic far less imperious and obtrusive, but much broader and more convincing

than that which has imposed its law on the present work. Authors should remember in undertaking labour of this kind that the results must be estimated by their weakest part. We might easily have quoted better and more forcible specimens of translation than those given above: indeed the later Epistles seem to be to a great extent better done by Mr. Conybeare than the earlier ones. But what has guided us in our selections is the plain duty and necessity of showing clearly to all who may be within the field of our influence, that none but men possessed of a very extraordinary degree of scholarship, and endowed with a very rare conjunction of qualities besides, should send forth a translation of Holy Scripture *entirely* on their own authority. If Mr. Conybeare's work had passed before publication through the hands of a few well-informed persons, able and willing to revise it and correct its faults, it must at any rate have been shorn of many of the individual singularities which are found in it, and might have been much more useful than it is now likely to be, as a guide to the student, and as a storehouse of religious knowledge for men of earnest and humble, though uninstructed, zeal and faithfulness.

ART. IV.—*Notes and Emendations to the Text of Shakspeare's Plays ; from early MS. Corrections in a Copy of the Folio 1632, in the Possession of J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., F.S.A.* Whittaker & Co. Ave Maria Lane, 1853.

'READER,' says Fielding in the first chapter of the tenth book of his great work, 'perhaps thou mayest be as learned in human nature as Shakspeare himself was, and perhaps thou mayest be no wiser than some of his editors.' What the novelist says of editorial ignorance as to human nature, he might have extended to the infelicity of some individuals at least of that learned body in textual criticism, and especially to their determined adoption and defence, supported by this authority or that, of particular readings, often meaningless and often palpably absurd; of incompetency in which latter department more than one remarkable instance has arisen since his day. But we must on the present occasion dismiss the works of those labourers in the vast Shaksperian field to whom the author of the *History of a Foundling* then made allusion, and come down to their living representatives.

The chief editions of Shakspeare's works in our own times are those of Messrs. J. Payne Collier and Charles Knight. The former aims chiefly at the restoration of the text, the latter with its restoration also unites its illustration. With Mr. Collier's edition we have at present little to do, because the misprints and errata which he had adopted as genuine readings are now virtually corrected by him; but of Mr. Knight's we can truly say that for his critical notices and pictorial illustrations of each play, we are very greatly his debtors, and that he has so far done more, perhaps, than all the other editors put together to familiarise the minds of his readers with the *res ipsæ* of his author. He has also, in several instances, most successfully exposed the presumption and incorrectness of Dr. Farmer's conclusions as to Shakspeare's want of learning. Had he done no more, indeed, than merely rescue the poet's memory from the odium which had previously attached to it from his having made no other mention of his wife in his will than to leave her his second best bed, by the proof that she, as the widow of a freeholder, was entitled, without bequest, to dower, he would have done a national service, and one which future ages would not suffer to be forgotten. Of his text we wish we could speak as highly; but in truth we can only say, from long

acquaintance with and frequent comparisons of it with others, that we conceive it to be one of the most faulty in existence. You can scarcely take up a well-known passage in any play but you find in the middle some grievous marring of the sense, which but for his really valuable illustrations, would speedily consign his book to the fire. It would probably surprise Mr. Knight himself were we to insert a digest which we have made of the numberless instances in which, from blind reliance on the authority of the old edition, and in defiance of the context and common sense, he has printed for Shakspeare's genuine composition, what it is impossible, on the very face of the matter, that any author, to say nothing of Shakspeare, could possibly have penned; adopting readings which, as Mr. Dyce says, 'if the folios were forty instead of four, could not be right.' We shall, as we proceed, have abundant means of making good our assertion; and we speak thus strongly, because it is now in Mr. Knight's power, by removing these many and serious blots in his work, giving up some of his favourite theories, and deleting many of his foot-notes, to superadd, to the best illustrations, the most perfect text, and thus offer to the world what would then be by far the most valuable of all the editions of Shakspeare.

This he may do by simply following, instead of his own judgment, that great means of correction of the Shakspeare text which is now in almost every one's hands, the authority of which is so self-evident, and the truthfulness of its suggestions as a whole so unmistakeable, as to render it impossible for any one to pretend to edit the author's works in future without noticing it, and, we will add, implicitly adopting by far the greater number of its emendations. Our readers will easily imagine that we allude to what may justly be termed one of the most singular literary discoveries ever made; one, which at this time of day could neither have been expected nor hoped for,—the corrected copy of the 1632, or second folio, edition of the works of Shakspeare, lately brought to light by Mr. J. P. Collier, in which there are, as he informs us in the volume of selections which he has published from it, and the title of which heads our present article, at least 20,000 corrections of the text of the folio, of all kinds, from the correction of a comma, up to the interpolation of omitted lines, and the addition of many hundreds of what the old editions are notoriously deficient in, stage directions. Mr. Collier, in his very interesting account of his discovery of this volume, tell us that he purchased it of the late Mr. Rodd, bookseller, of Great Newport Street, in the spring of 1849, with some other works that arrived with it from the country, and that he thought

nothing more of his purchase till the spring of 1850, when he discovered some marks in the margin which eventually led to his subjecting the book to a thorough investigation, the result of which shall be stated in his own words:—

‘The ink was of various shades, differing sometimes on the same page, and I was once disposed to think that two distinct hands had been employed upon them; this notion I have since abandoned, and I am now decidedly of opinion that the same writing prevails from beginning to end, but that the amendments must have been introduced from time to time, during perhaps the course of several years. The changes in punctuation alone, always made with nicety and patience, must have required a long period, considering their number; the other alterations, sometimes most minute, extending even to turned letters and typographical trifles of that kind, from their very nature could not have been introduced with rapidity, while many of the errata must have severely tasked the industry of the old corrector.

‘Then comes the question, why any of them were made, and why such extraordinary pains were bestowed on this particular copy of the folio, 1632? To this inquiry no complete reply, that I am aware of, can be given; but some circumstances can be stated which may tend to a partial solution of the difficulty.

‘Corrections only have been hitherto spoken of; but there are at least two other very peculiar features in the volume. Many passages, in nearly all the plays, are struck out with a pen, as if for the purpose of shortening the performance; and we need not feel much hesitation in coming to the conclusion, that these omissions had reference to the representation of the plays by some company, about the date of the folio, 1632. To this fact we may add, that hundreds of stage-directions have been inserted in manuscript, as if for the guidance and instruction of actors, in order that no mistake might be made in what is usually denominated “stage-business.” It is known that in this respect the old printed copies are very deficient; and sometimes the written additions of this kind seem even more frequent, and more explicit, than might be thought necessary. The erasures of passages and scenes are quite inconsistent with the notion that a new edition of the folio, 1632, was contemplated; and how are they, and the new stage-directions, and “asides,” to be accounted for, excepting on the supposition that the volume once belonged to a person interested in, or connected with, one of our early theatres? The continuation of the corrections and emendations, in spite of and through the erasures,’ (for Mr. Collier had said in a foot-note, that some of the alterations are made upon erasures, as if the corrector had either altered his mind as to particular changes, or had obliterated something that had been written before, and possibly by some person not so well informed as himself,—p. viii.) ‘may show that they were done at a different time, and by a different person,—but who shall say which was done first; or whether both were not, in fact, the work of the same hand?’—Pp. viii.—x.

There are, then, two points, as Mr. Collier tells us, which bestow a peculiar value on these emendations. First, they were evidently made about the time the book was printed; and are therefore the work of some one very nearly, if not quite, contemporary with Shakspeare; and, secondly, the corrector was plainly a person who must have been connected with one of the theatres of the time. ‘He may,’ to use Mr. Collier’s own words,

‘have been a manager or a member of a company; and as an admirer of Shakspeare, as well as for his own theatrical purposes, he may have taken the trouble from time to time to set right errors in the printed text, by [for?] the more faithful delivery of their parts by the principal actors. This might have been accomplished by him as a mere spectator, and he may have employed the edition nearest his own day as the receptacle of his notes; he may, however, have been aided by the prompt-books; and the whole appearance of our volume seems to afford evidence that the work of correction was not done speedily, nor continuously, but as the misprints became apparent, and the means of correcting them occurred. Thus a long interval may have elapsed before this copy of the second folio was brought to the state in which it has reached us.’—P. xv. The volume which contains the emendations, is in fact to be regarded something in the light of a proof corrected after, instead of before, publication.

At the risk of repeating what has been already said, and what our readers are perhaps well aware of, we must be permitted, before proceeding more immediately to the subject of our article, and in order to a better appreciation of the real value of Mr. Collier's discovery, to give a short account of the different early editions of Shakspeare's Works.

Shakspeare was born in the year 1564; and ‘in 1589 he was established in London,’ says Mr. Knight, ‘as shareholder in the leading company of players.’

In 1591, Spenser, at a time when the stage had undergone a temporary eclipse, thus complains, in his ‘Tears of the Muses,’ of the silence of one who, it is self-evident, even if Mr. Knight had not, with an almost unnecessary diligence, proved it,—could have been no other than Shakspeare:—

‘And he, the man whom Nature self had made

To mock herself, and truth to imitate;

With kindly counter under mimic shade;

Our pleasant Willy, ah! is dead of late:

With whom all joy and jolly merriment,

Is also deaded and in dolor drent—

‘Instead thereof, scoffing scurrility

And scornful folly with contempt is crept;

Rolling in rhymes of shameless ribaldry,

Without regard or due decorum kept;

Each idle wit at will presumes to make,

And doth the learned's task upon him take.

‘But that same gentle spirit from whose pen

Large streams of honey and sweet nectar flow,

Scorning the boldness of such base-born men,

Which dare their follies forth so rashly throw,

Doth rather choose to sit in idle cell,

Than so himself to mockery to sell.’

But, although Shakspeare's first plays were written thus early, it by no means follows that they were also published,—at least that there were any authentic copies of them,—partly, (and here we leave Mr. Knight for Mr. Collier,) because the associations of actors who bought dramas of their authors were averse to their publication, under the idea that the number of readers would diminish the number of auditors; and partly, lest rival companies might thus have the means of acting their plays.

It is also supposed that when Shakspeare, in or about the year 1612, returned to Stratford, he took no further thought about his works, but left them to their fate, either as caring nothing about them, or as supposing them to belong to the Theatre, and therefore to be beyond his control. It may have been so; and certainly he seems to have felt, of his superlative genius, that even the best productions of his pen were far below what they might have been; hence we find him speaking in his sonnets slightly, and even sorrowfully, both of them and of himself as their author: for example,—

'Oh! lest the world should task you to recite
What merit lived in me that you should love;
After my death, dear love, forget me quite,
For you in me can nothing worthy prove,
Unless you should devise some virtuous lie.
To do more for me than mine own desert,
And hang more praise upon deceased I
Than niggard truth would willingly impart,
Oh, lest your true love may seem false in this—
That you for love speak well of me untrue,
My name be buried where my body is,
And live no more to shame or me or you.
For I am shamed by that I do bring forth,
And so should you to love things nothing worth.'

And again,—

'Oh, for my sake, do you with Fortune chide,
The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
Who did not better for my life provide
Than public means, which public manners breeds,
Thence comes it that my name receives a brand,
And almost thence my nature is subdued
To what it works in—like a dyer's hand,' &c.

He whose ideal conceptions of the perfect were so surpassingly high as to induce him to set such a very slight value—if any at all—on the works which should, in truth, become the delight and admiration of all ages, may have felt no great concern as to what eventually became of them; but we should remember that after all it is possible that he may have intended to revise and give them to the world at some future time; and that his intention may have been frustrated by his untimely death, at a

period when he had scarcely entered upon the autumn of his days. Be this as it may, certain it is that up to the year 1622—six years after his death—but eighteen of his plays had found their way into print, and that in a surreptitious manner; the text being formed, not from any trustworthy manuscripts, but simply from the transcriptions of short-hand writers, made either at the time of their being acted, or through the agency of inferior performers, who, having no share in the theatre, had no interest in preserving the dramas as private property; and, therefore, as might be expected, abounding in typographical mistakes. These were the following:—

Henry VI. Part 2	1594
Henry VI. Part 3	1595
Richard II. and III.	1597
Romeo and Juliet	—
Love's Labour's Lost	1598
Henry IV. Part 1.	—
Henry IV. Part 2.	1600
Henry V.	—
Merchant of Venice	—
Midsummer Night's Dream	—
Much Ado about Nothing	—
Titus Andronicus	—
Merry Wives of Windsor	1602
Hamlet	1604
Lear	1608
Troilus and Cressida	1609
Othello	1622

But in the year 1623, John Heminge and Henry Condell, who had been actors and sharers with Shakspeare in the Blackfriars Theatre, and who are honourably mentioned with Burbage in his will, published an edition of his plays, in folio, which is commonly known as 'the first folio.' In it were contained thirty-six plays in all—the eighteen previously printed in quarto, of which their preface complains as 'copies maimed and deformed 'by the frauds and stealths of injurious impostors who exposed 'them,' and eighteen then first printed; viz.—

The Tempest.	King John.
Two Gentlemen of Verona.	King Henry VI., Part 1.
Measure for Measure.	King Henry VIII.
The Comedy of Errors.	Coriolanus.
As You Like It.	Timon of Athens.
The Taming of the Shrew.	Julius Cæsar.
All's Well That Ends Well.	Macbeth.
Twelfth Night.	Antony and Cleopatra.
The Winter's Tale.	Cymbeline.

We should say that 'Pericles, Prince of Tyre,' appeared first in 1609, in quarto; and, after having run through four editions, was incorporated into the third folio of 1644, which also contains

'The London Prodigal' and the 'Life and Death of Lord Cromwell,' 'Sir John Oldcastle,' 'The Puritan Widow,' 'A Yorkshire Tragedy,' and the 'Tragedy of Locrine.'

Eighteen of these plays, then, were never printed before the folio; four were then first printed correctly, and of seven others of the quarto editions—viz., 'Richard II.,' 'Henry IV., Parts 1 and 2,' 'Richard III.,' 'Love's Labour's Lost,' 'Much Ado,' 'Romeo and Juliet,'—Heminge and Condell had the use in forming the folio, from having admitted their publishers to a share in that edition. Over the remaining seven—'Merchant of Venice,' 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' 'Troilus and Cressida,' 'Titus Andronicus,' 'Hamlet,' 'Lear,' 'Othello,'—they do not seem to have had any control, although they used the first four as the text of the folio.

We now approach the question of the probable value of the corrections in Mr. Collier's volume. These are made in a copy of the *second* folio, which is a mere reprint from the first. But we must remember that the latter was published by two of Shakspeare's own personal friends, who were also actors together with him and sharers in his theatre, and they state in their address to readers that, 'the office of their care and pain has been . . . so to have published them (the plays), that where before you were abused with divers stolen and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealth of injurious impostors that exposed them, even those are now offered to your view cured and perfect of their limbs, and all the rest absolute in their numbers as he conceived them.' Here, then, arises the question how, allowing for typographical mistakes peculiar to the second edition, could there have been room, in such an edition, for the vast multitude of corrections made by this unknown hand in the essential matter and body of the work? and, consequently, which of the two are now to be received—the old readings, authoritative as they appear to be in so great a degree, or these 'Emendations?' We know on what grounds the folio claims to be considered an authentic edition, viz., as having been published by those who, and who alone, if any, could have had the autograph copies of the author; but we do not know anything positive of the anonymous emendator, or of the sources from whence he derived his readings, and whether they are true in part only, or in whole, or not at all. In other words—are we henceforth to regard the first folio as an edition of much less value as to correctness than has hitherto been supposed, or are we to reject the labour of the unknown corrector, because it so greatly impugns the authority of that edition?

We wish to state the question plainly, and to put it strongly, that our readers may have a clear idea as to how the case really

stands, and of our reasons for rejecting, as we do, the authority of the first folio—prepared, as it was, by two of Shakspeare's own friends, and hitherto thought so highly of—for the work of a nameless individual.

In truth, much of the authority hitherto attached to the first folio is illusory, and greatly diminishes on a closer view. Though the names of Heminge and Condell appear as the guarantees of the work, it is not at all certain, but rather the contrary, that they exercised any such personal editorial supervision over it as would have insured the absence of many and serious typographical mistakes,—it omits everything appertaining to 'stage-business;' and, indeed, in its omission of 'Pericles'—a play which, if not wholly Shakspeare's, yet bears most plain and undoubted marks of his hand in more than one of its characters—it would even seem that the work is untrustworthy as a whole.

Again, it is notorious that the text of this edition was not formed in such a manner as to protect it against verbal mistakes; but, on the contrary, if any plan could have been devised above another to insure the presence of the most errata possible, that was the one pursued in this case. As to the quartos which were published before the first folio, Mr. Collier says that all Heminge and Condell did was to put the latest editions into the hands of their printers; and, in the case of the plays first published in that edition, instead of autograph or corrected MSS. being supplied to the transcriber, the text—no doubt to save time—was read to him, and what he heard, or thought he heard, he committed to paper; hence the many whimsical verbal mistakes in the quartos and folios. Nor is there any proof whatever that the superintendence of an editor, or any officer resembling him, was thought at all necessary; so that there would evidently be ample room for the corrections of one who was in a position to be able to afford them, to a work, of which the wonder rather is that it has come down to us as perfect as it is, or in fact, that it is legible at all, than that it should contain the errata that it does—numerous as they are.

Since the final decision, then, as to the reception or rejection of the emendations contained in Mr. Collier's volume must rest on their own intrinsic value, we will now turn to the book itself; and, from the few extracts which our space will allow us to offer, we think our readers will agree with us in regarding it as a priceless acquisition to the Shakspeare library—a thing to rejoice over, as he would who, in Wordsworth's phrase, should—

‘Seize
Some Theban fragment, or unroll
Some simple, tender-hearted scroll
Of pure Simonides.’

Yet, at the same time that as a whole we regard this volume as a priceless gem, we must say plainly—and Mr. Collier agrees with us—that it is impossible to receive every one of its emendations. The author, whatever were his accidental advantages as a corrector, appears from numberless instances to have been a man of prosaic mind—one who would take infinite trouble in correcting the minutiae of missing stops, inverted letters, and the like; but who may have been wholly unable to appreciate the higher flights and bolder metaphors of him who was at once poet, philosopher, and metaphysician, and the first of each; and, in consequence, when unable to understand or feel the peculiar force of a word or metaphor, knowing that the text was, as a whole, excessively corrupt, and having perhaps no formal means adequate to its correction, he has endeavoured, under the influence of a critic's vanity, to attempt to set it right by conjectures of his own; and consequently, in many cases his conjectures may be merely his own, and as such, comparatively valueless. It appears, too, in places, as if he had omitted or forgotten to refer to the MSS., and contented himself with correcting the text to the version which was used by the actors, and that they were either deceived by their memories or, more likely, by the MS. from which they studied.

To glance at a few of the chief of his emendations, in doing which we will follow the order in which the plays stand in the first folio and in Mr. Collier's volume.

First on the list is the ‘*Tempest*,’ for the text of which, as there was no quarto edition of it, the folio is the sole authority. It has been the custom with some of the editors to place the scene of this play at the Bermudas, (although Prospero was Duke of *Milan*,) and thence to infer that the play itself was written some time between 1610 and 1611; but as Mr. Knight justly observes, ‘If Bermuda were the scene, Ariel must have outdone himself to convey the rest of the fleet over the Atlantic to place them upon the Mediterranean, for in the first act he replies to the inquiry of Prospero, that

“Safely in harbour
Is the King's ship
And for the rest o' the fleet
Which I dispersed, they are all met again,
And are upon the Mediterranean flote.”

A passage, by the way, which, from its peculiar use of the word ‘flote,’ has greatly perplexed the editors, but which

Mr. Collier's volume makes clear by the alteration of the second 'are' for 'all'—'And all upon the Mediterranean flote.' In fact, we agree with Mr. Knight that the poet probably 'had' no locality whatever in his mind, just as he had no notion 'of any particular storm. Tempests and enchanted islands are 'the oldest materials of poetry.'

The chief verbal corrections of this play are the change, as might have been expected, of the word 'butt' into 'boat,' in Prospero's description of his flight from Milan—

' They hurried us on board a bark,
Bore us some leagues to sea, where they prepared
A rotten carcase of a *boat*, not rigged
Nor tackle, sail nor mast; the very rats
Instinctively have ' ('had' in corrected copy) 'quit it'—

in which, from a printer's mistake, the editors have persisted in reading 'butt,' though, as Mr. Knight observes, 'whether the idea of a wine-butt' (a wine-butt elaborately described as not rigged—nor tackle, sail, nor mast,' and which the rats had instinctively quit!) 'was literally meant to be conveyed was questionable.'

Next, the perplexity as to the cause of Miranda's sudden sleep, after Prospero's narrative, is completely done away, and the meaning of his words to her—'I know thou canst not choose' (but sleep), explained. The stage directions in the folio are, as we said before, notoriously deficient, and Prospero is made, by the corrector, at the words 'Now I arise,' to put on again the magic gown which he had laid aside at the beginning of the narrative, 'And thus,' as Mr. Collier says, 'just before' he was to produce somnolency in Miranda by the exercise of 'preternatural influence, he resumed it.' Next, the hitherto unexplained expression of Ferdinand to Miranda, when employed in his labour of piling the logs, 'Most busy-less when I do it,' is put right by the simple addition of one letter to the last word—'Most busy blest,' the meaning of which is obvious.

In Alonzo's address to Ferdinand—

' Whe'r thou be'st he or no,
Or some enchanted *trifle* to abuse me,'

the alteration of the word 'trifle' to devil does not recommend itself so much as in the description of Lycorax,—

' That could control the moon, make flows and ebbs,
And deal in her command *without* her power,'

does that of 'with all' for *without*.

To the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' Johnson, among other things, objected that the author had, by mistaking places, left his scene inextricable. That is, Speed once welcomes Launce to Padua instead of Milan, and Verona is twice used for the same place, by the Duke in the third act, and by Valentine in the fifth. All these mistakes the former possessor of Mr. Collier's volume has corrected, only reading in the two last instances, where a trisyllable is necessary to the metre, Milano instead of the additions of later editors.

In the speech of Eglamour to Sylvia there is an emendation equally necessary and important—the interpolation of a missing line between the following—

'Madam, I pity much your grievances,
Which since I know they virtuously are placed,' &c.—

of the folio, and which are unintelligible; the corrector has inserted a third, which at once gives the sense—

'Madam, I pity much your grievances;
And the most true affections which you bear,
Which since I know,' &c.

We must refer our readers to Mr. Knight's preliminary notice of the 'Merry Wives of Windsor' for an account of the great difference between the original version of that play, as printed in quarto, and the mature version which appeared for the first time in the first folio. The chief points in the corrected copy are, that the assumed name of Master Brook, which is printed in the folios Broome, is corrected to Bourne, a synonyme of the word Brook,¹ and which therefore preserves the point of the knight's words at his first introduction with the pottle of burnt sack—'Such Brooks are welcome to me, that o'erflow such liquor;' but which 'Broome' loses.

The annotated copy gives, as a stage direction, when Falstaff gets into the buck-basket—'gets in the basket and falls over,'—meaning probably, as Mr. Collier says, 'that in the eagerness of his haste he fell over on the other side of the basket, and occasioned still greater ludicrous confusion.'

Coleridge, who is on the whole the best of our Shakspeare critics, says of 'Measure for Measure,' that it is the single 'exception to the delightfulness of Shakspeare's plays. . . . Our feelings of jealousy are grossly wounded at Angelo's escape, 'Isabella herself contrives to be unamiable, and Claudio is de-

¹ Bailey defines the word Bourn, 'a town hard by a Bourn,' i.e. a river. And Johnson, 'a brook, a torrent.'

'testable.'¹ We think that almost every one of these criticisms is false, because it strikes us that Shakspeare's meaning in the whole piece was very different to what Mr. Coleridge imagined it to be. We think that the dramatist had a much deeper view of human nature than his critic, great as the latter undoubtedly is. In a word, does not Shakspeare mean to tell us that it is not enough for female perfection to be free from the fault of Juliet alone, but that a woman may also err as much in another direction? It is part of our case that Isabella is unamiable: she is slow to go to Angelo, and slow to plead for her brother, in the first place; and we think that her concluding words to Claudio in the prison might have been described in terms much stronger than the above of Coleridge. However worthy Claudio was of rebuke, and whatever allowance is to be made for Isabella's being in a passion when she spoke, (which, by the way, if at all approaching to perfection, she never could have been at such a time and in such a place) she, a sister, could suffer herself to speak in terms of such bitter and unmeasured vehemence to a brother whose very hours were numbered:

'O you beast!
O faithless coward! O dishonest wretch!
Wilt thou be made a man out of my vice?
Is't not a kind of incest, to take life
From thine own sister's shame?
Take my defiance:
Die; perish! might but my bending down
Reprieve thee from thy fate, it should proceed:
I'll pray a thousand prayers for thy death.
No word to save thee.'

This Isabella was a novice of a religious house, yet who, on reading these lines, especially the last four—which are not even womanly—can help thinking how very grossly she contradicted, in this instance at least, the spirit of her profession, and that, to whatever other virtues she might lay claim, she had little indeed of that compassion and forbearance to sinners which marked her great Exemplar.

With this conduct contrast the manner in which Juliet received the exhortations of the disguised Duke,—

Duke. Repent you, fair one, of the sin you carry?
Juliet. I do; and bear the shame most patiently.
Duke. I'll teach you how you should arraign your conscience,
And try your penitence, if it be sound,
Or hollowly put on.
Juliet. I'll gladly learn.
Duke. Love you the man that wrong'd you?
Juliet. Yes, as I love the woman that wrong'd him.

¹ 'Table-talk.'

- Duke.* So then, it seems, your most offenceful act
Was mutually committed?
Juliet. Mutually.
Duke. Then was your sin of heavier kind than his.
Juliet. I do confess it, and repent it, father.
Duke. 'Tis meet so, daughter: But lest you do repent,
As that the sin has brought you to this shame,
Which sorrow is always toward ourselves, not heaven;
Showing, we'd not *spare*¹ heaven as we love it,
But as we stand in fear,—
Juliet. I do repent me, as it is an evil;
And take the shame with joy.
Duke. There rest,

And say if the penitent did not, as such, act in more real accordance with the law of their common religion than Isabella.

What lesson, then, is to be learnt from the character, as Shakspeare has drawn it, of Isabella? Clearly, as we think, that the bitterly virtuous among women, those who can, under any circumstances, forget the dictates of natural affection, or who are devoid of humility, rank in truth amongst the least excellent and the least amiable of their sex. Nor is it easy, after all, to see how purity can, in anything like a perfect sense, be attributed even to Isabella; for surely that sarcasm so gross in itself, so gratuitously conceived, and conveying such an unjustifiable insult to the memory of her own mother—

‘What should I think?
Heaven shield, my mother play'd my father fair!
For such a warped slip of wilderness
Ne'er issued from his blood'—

could never have stained the mind, nor the words in which it is uttered have defiled the lips of a Marina, a Hero, or a Rosalind!

As to the sensualist, Claudio, the near approach of death appalled him too much to enable him to set any great store by a virtue, in which it was part of the punishment of his offence that he did not and could not really believe: and he was therefore willing to buy his life at the price of his sister's disgrace. Angelo, too, might have been thought to have had hard measure had he really suffered according to the strict letter of the law, for the abuse of a power which he only came to possess through the weakness of one who thought to secure happiness or perfection to himself, by retiring from his own proper sphere of duty, and resigning the cares of state and the powers of a ruler for the gown of a simple priest. Nor would it have been artistically correct to cause a man whose fault was evidently that of a want of proper firmness, to make an example of such an one: in

¹ Mr. Collier's copy corrects this word to 'serve.'

fact, in return for the offences of all, he makes all happy, thus showing, as it seems to us, what is the unfortunate and unjust result when a ruler, who has great power placed in his hands, fails on occasion to exercise a due severity. We can but hope that Isabella, who, by the way, must have married him for his station, may in this respect strengthen and elevate his mind.

In this play the difficulty which meets us *in limine*, in the concluding words uttered to Escalus after his charge by the Duke,

‘ No more remains
But that to your sufficiency, as your worth is able,
And let them work,’

is done away by the corrector ;

‘ Add to your sufficiency your worth,’ &c.

which is most simple, and perhaps on the whole the best emendation of any yet offered. We agree with Mr. Collier, that the removing of Juliet from the third, or as the corrector reads it, the second scene of the first act, as is done in the corrected copy, is a great improvement, both because she does nothing, and is spoken of by Claudio as absent, and also because she is thus spared the pain and indelicacy of his minute description of her offence. In his speech, the expression ‘ propagation of a dower,’ which has hitherto perplexed the commentators, is read in Mr. Collier’s copy ‘ procuration.’

In the interview between Claudio and Isabella (Act iii. Scene 1), Claudio’s expression repeated by Isabella, ‘ the prenzie Angelo’ of the first folio, and the ‘ princely’ of the second and subsequent, which has been deemed a difficulty, and which Mr. Knight has twice ruled should be ‘ precise,’ turns out to be ‘ priestly,’ thus proving that the suggestion of Warburton was correct.

Amongst many verbal alterations in the ‘ Comedy of Errors,’ the two chief seem to be the correction of the pointless term ‘ doubtfully,’ of the folio, for ‘ doubly,’ in the speeches of Luciana and Dromio, Act ii. Scene 1.

‘ *Adriana.* Say, is your tardy master now at hand ?

Dromio Eph. Nay, he’s at two hands with me, and that my two ears can witness.

Luciana. Spake he so doubtfully (doubly), thou couldst not feel his meaning ?

Dro. E. Nay, he struck so plainly, I could too well feel his blows and withal so doubtfully (doubly), that I could scarce understand them’—

where the agreement of doubly with the two hands just mentioned, is self-evident.

Secondly, in the concluding speech of the Abbess, the mother of the Antipholi, are the words, in the first folio,

‘Thirty-three years have I but gone in travail
Of you, my sons, and till this present hour
My heavy burdens are delivered,’

which, with the substitution of ‘been’ for ‘but,’ is the reading of the other folios. There are two mistakes; the corrector of the second folio, by the change of ‘till’ in the second line for ‘at,’ has at once removed the difficulty, but he has not seen what Theobald did, that the Antipholi are not yet thirty-three years old. It was at eighteen years old that Antipholus of Syracuse became anxious to learn the fate of his brother Antipholus of Ephesus; and that, we learn from the scene preceding the present, was only seven years ago. So that Theobald’s emendation of twenty-five for thirty-three must be allowed to remain.

In ‘Much Ado about Nothing,’ we meet with several important alterations. Among the rest three of the speeches of Beatrice are much improved, ‘Her droll description,’ to use Mr. Collier’s words, ‘of the difference between wooing, wedding, and repenting,’ is much injured by the omission of a pun just at the conclusion,’ in which for the usual reading, ‘And then comes repentance, and with his bad legs falls into the *cinque pace* faster and faster, till he sink into his grave,’ the emendator reads, ‘till he *sink apace* into his grave.’ Again, in her answer to Benedict’s question of ‘whether she takes pleasure in being sent to bid him in to dinner,’ the insertion of the negative in her answer greatly improves its force, ‘Yea, just so much as you may take upon a knife’s point, and *not* choke a daw withal.’ And lastly, in her soliloquy on hearing of Benedict’s love, the former meaningless lines

‘Contempt farewell, and maiden pride adieu,
No glory lives behind the back of such,’

are corrected to

‘No glory lives but in the lack of such.’

‘That is to say,’ as Mr. Collier truly observes, ‘no maiden can expect to triumph or glory in any love enterprise who is afflicted with pride, scorn, and contempt; let her want or *lack* them, and she may attain the object of her wishes. The sound of “behind the back,” and of “but in the lack,” is not so dissimilar that we cannot account for the blunder, on the supposition that the copyist wrote from what was read, or possibly recited to him.’ (P. 71.)

Leonata’s speech on the discovery of his daughter’s supposed dishonour has several emendations, the most important of which

are perhaps that the expression of 'frugal nature's frame' should be read, 'frugal nature's frown;' and that for the concluding words, 'her foul tainted flesh,' should be substituted 'her soul-tainted.'

'When Dogberry,' says Mr. Collier, 'to show his importance, says (Act iv. Scene 2), "I am . . . a rich fellow enough, go to; and a fellow *that hath had losses*," it has naturally puzzled some persons to see how his losses could tend to establish that he was rich. Here, in truth, we have another misprint; *leases* was often spelt of old *leasses*, and this is the origin of the blunder; for according to the corrector of the folio, 1632, we ought to read, "a rich fellow enough, go to; and a fellow that hath had *leases*." To have been the owner of leases might very well prove that Dogberry was "a rich fellow enough."' (P. 75.)

This is one of the few emendations which, with Mr. Collier's permission, we must think no improvement. For ourselves, we prefer to illustrate the words of one poet by those of another. 'When honest Dogberry,' says Sir Walter Scott, 'sums up and recites all the claims which he had to respectability, and which, as he opined, ought to have exempted him from the injurious appellation conferred on him by Master Gentleman Conrade, it is remarkable that he lays not more emphasis even upon his double gown (a matter of some importance in a certain *ci-devant* capital which I wot of), or upon his being "a pretty piece of flesh as any in Messina," or even upon the conclusive argument of his being "a rich fellow enough," than upon his being *one that hath had losses*.' Sir Walter goes on to observe, 'that he supposes the reason of such magnates feeling pride at their past misfortunes, arises either from the wish of hiding their full glow of splendour from those whom fortune has treated more harshly, or because to have risen in spite of calamity is as honourable to their fortune as it is to a fortress to have undergone a siege.'—*Introduction to Quentin Durward*.

In the song on Hero, in the third scene of the last act, the expression 'virgin knight,' which had no meaning, is altered by the annotator to 'virgin bright'; and the burden 'heavily, heavily,' which had been altered by the compositor in the repetition, into 'heavenly, heavenly.' Mr. Knight, who would have been invaluable to that worthy if he had been put on his trial, as he generally contrives with remarkable ingenuity to find something unusually profound, beautiful, or apposite, even in his most palpable blunders, first sets the laws of English at defiance by explaining 'heavenly,' which he retains, to mean, 'by the power of heaven,' and then refers to 'the sublime verse of

Corinthians' for the meaning of what every critic but himself has seen to be a most evident misprint. Unfortunately for him, the old annotator simply—as might have been expected—restores the original 'heavily, heavily'—and so it will henceforth be read.

Lastly, when Hero says, in the quarto,

'One Hero died *defiled*, but I do live,'

we think that in correcting the word 'defiled' into 'belied'—for defiled is precisely what she was not, and would never have owned to having been—the corrector has made one of his most admirable alterations.

In 'Love's Labour's Lost,' great force seems to be added to an expression in Armado's soliloquy, 'Adieu, valour,' &c., by the happy change of the feeble word 'manager' into the Shakspearian 'armiger'; and again by reading, in his exclamation in Act iii., for 'most rude melancholy,' 'moist-eyed melancholy;' as also by the correction of the King's speech to Costard, Act iv. Scene 3, 'What, peasant, hast thou here?' for the old reading of 'what present'—to correspond to which Costard has nothing. And lastly, we find that the difficulty as to the meaning of Armado's question to Holofernes, 'Do you not educate youth at the *charge house* on the top of the mountain?' is solved by the simple substitution of 'large house.'

'A Midsummer Night's Dream' next claims our attention. In the first act, Bottom, when requiring Peter Quince to state the contents of their 'most lamentable comedy,' instead of saying as he has been made to do hitherto, 'then read the names of the actors, and so go on to a point,' which is meaningless, should say, 'go on to appoint'—that is, as Mr. Collier explains it, 'go on to appoint the different parts to their actors, as they immediately do.' The same worthy, a few lines lower down, instead of saying, 'Let the audience look to their eyes, I will move *storms*,' should say, 'I will move *stones*.'

At the beginning of the second act, Mr. Collier's volume corrects a misprint which had not before struck the editors; for Puck's

'The cowslips tall her pensioners be;
In their gold *coats* spots you see,'

it reads, 'In their gold *cups*.' Shakspeare, especially, and above all others, the poet of flowers, knew very well that the spots of cowslips were not in the 'coats'—which (if, indeed, that word could ever be so used) must mean the outer covering, or calix—but in the centre of the corolla, as Mr. Collier points out, referring to 'Cymbeline,' Act ii. Scene 2.—

' Like the crimson drops
I' th' bottom of a cowslip.'

Lastly, the poetical and scenic effect of Puck's words,

' I am sent with broom before
To sweep the dust behind the door,'

is greatly increased by the corrector's stage direction—' Enter Puck, with *his broom on his shoulder*'—'doubtless,' as Mr. Collier says, 'in the very way in which he is represented on the title-page of the old tract of "Robin Goodfellow, his Mad Pranks, &c.," in the library of Lord Ellesmere, and in the chap-book, in verse, upon his history.'—P. 110.

In the 'Merchant of Venice,' there is an emendation in the Prince of Arragon's speech which, with all deference to Mr. Collier who adopts it, evidently sets the laws of syntax at defiance, and, we think spoils the keeping of the whole passage. For the present reading,

'—— the fool multitude, that choose by show,
Not learning more than the fond eye doth teach,
Which pries not to th' interior, but, like the martlet,
Builds in the weather on the outward wall;'

the annotator reads the passage, 'which prize not the interior'—referring to the fool multitude.

One of the most happy verbal alterations in the whole volume appears to us to be in the first scene of the fourth act of the same play. Shylock's expression, as in the folio, of 'woollen bagpipe,' has given much trouble to the editors. Johnson thought it should be wooden, and Hawkins and Steevens would read swollen; in the meaning of the passage they were correct, but not in their term; this the annotator would have to be *bollen*, a word meaning swollen, and one in common use in Shakspeare's day, and, as Mr. Collier shows, found in his own 'Lucrece.'

In one line of Antonio's speech to the Count, Act iv. Scene 1, the folio and the quartos are at variance. The former reads—

' Or e'en as well rise question with the wolf,
The ewe bleat for the lamb,'

which is evidently meaningless; the latter—

' You may as well use question with the wolf
Why he hath made the ewe bleat for the lamb;'

which is not much better. The corrector supplies at least a better version, though it may be questioned whether, after all, it is the one which Shakspeare wrote—

' Or even as well use question with the wolf
When you behold the ewe bleat for the lamb.'

We next come to 'As You Like It,' the most exquisite of all plays of that class which, to borrow a term from Polonius, may be described as the 'pastorical-comical.' It is founded, as Mr. Knight informs us, on Lodge's 'Rosalynd,' which he in turn took from the story of the Cook's tale of 'Gamelyne,' attributed, but perhaps incorrectly, to Chaucer. For an account of the former we must refer our readers to Mr. Knight's full and elaborate comparison of the three stories—heartily agreeing with him that any one who has the least acquaintance with Shakspeare's play, may see at a glance his vast superiority, especially in his treatment of the character (our favourite, as we suppose she is also that of every other reader of the play) of Rosalind—the most enchanting, as Marina is, perhaps, at once the most sorely-tried, and yet the most single-minded, innocent, and simply admirable of all the author's younger female characters. What a host of marvellous powers are displayed in the execution of this one character of Rosalind alone! What a profound knowledge of the commingling of different lines and endowments of mind does it contain! And what a just view it presents of the different actions arising from the union in one subject of so many and such various gifts and graces both of head and of heart. Beatrice may be more quick and more pleasantly tormenting, but she has not more real genius, and is not nearly so earnest and so single-hearted; for after all, one cannot but feel that a great deal of sobering down is necessary for her, without which Benedict's chance of genuine happiness is somewhat dubious. Helena may be more ardent, but even she is not more true.

A poetess, as throwing the charm of poetry over ordinary things, though no professed maker of verses—with an intellect of well-nigh the very first womanly class, and a will as pure and steady—the power, equally, of originating or carrying on a merry quip, and of appreciating true pathos—without a particle of selfishness, unaffected, essentially goodnatured, kind, gentle, though not easily or speedily revealing the deeper feelings, and at heart, despite her raillery at her sex to Orlando, and her severe advice to Phœbe, a very woman. The wrestling of Charles is but a court spectacle; and her very jests with Celia on the subject of falling in love, make you almost doubt at first whether she be not one in whom the intellect so far preponderates over the *στοργή* as to render her somewhat unfitted for shedding that nameless light and charm over a quiet fireside which only a good woman and a loving wife can do; and, as you pause upon her character, you dread lest, when a wife, the feeling of her own intellectual power may cause her unconsciously to separate herself slightly in thought and heart from her husband, and to take something of a standing of her own;

at any rate, to miss that perfect surrender of her character to, and, as it were, identification of herself with him, which formed in Helena the summit of *her* earthly felicity when she uttered that noble and passionate, yet truly feminine exclamation,—

‘In his bright radiance and collateral light
Must I be comforted—not in his sphere.’

But the mighty master who raises this doubt soon resolves it:—

‘Alas! poor shepherd, searching of thy wound
I have by hard adventure found my own.’

Then the exclamation to Orlando, partly in jest, and partly in earnest:—

‘Alas! dear love, I cannot lack thee two hours;’

the fainting on hearing that he was wounded, rather than at the sight of his bloody handkerchief, when the disguise of sex is so nearly being confessed even to the stranger; and lastly, to show at once that a woman may possess the utmost elegance of manner, yet be as far as possible from a mere fine lady, and that neither high birth, finished breeding, nor the possession of the brightest personal endowments, can ever for a moment so warp the heart of a really good woman as to lower her to the mind of mercenariness, or tempt her to languish for mere worldly style and fashionable splendour, she bestowed her affections on Orlando at a time when he was nothing better than a portionless outcast. Rosalind, in a word, the amiable, the gay, the elegant, and the clever, is one of those exquisite compounds of high intellect, ardent spirits, warm-heartedness, and right principles, which are sometimes, though rarely, met with in life, but are scarcely to be found as finished pictures in the pages of any poet but Shakspeare. A flower she is, indeed, that with rough usage may easily snap; but having proved herself so pleasant and amiable in her maiden days, she gives good assurance at last, that, with gentle usage and affections properly requited, she will make a wife as good, as true, as loving, and as obedient, as Hermione, or the hapless Desdemona, or even Imogen herself.

There is little for special notice in the corrections of this play, except perhaps that, as might have been expected, and in defiance of Mr. Knight's note to the contrary, Rosalind's exclamation after her long journey, in Act ii. Scene 4, ‘O Jupiter, how *merry* are my spirits!’ ought to be, ‘how *weary* are my spirits;’ and that, when she says, in her wit encounter with Orlando, in the disguise of Ganymede, ‘O that woman, that cannot make her fault her husband's *occasion*,’ &c., the word ‘*occasion*,’ which appears to have no meaning either in itself or from the context, ought to be corrected to ‘her husband's *accusing*.’

In the 'Taming of the Shrew,' Mr. Collier has, we think, cleared up a point of some slight historical difficulty, and which, when explained, tends but little to the credit of a contemporary of Shakspeare, Michael Drayton. In the description of Grumio, in the second scene of the third act of this play, Biondello has always hitherto been made to say that he has an old hat, and 'the humour of forty fancies prick'd in't for a feather,' on which Mr. Collier shall speak for himself:—

'If the manuscript corrector of the folio, 1632, be accurate in one of his emendations, it appears to throw a new and singular light upon an incident in Shakspeare's life,—a difference with Michael Drayton; and why the latter, having praised our greatest dramatist and his "Lucrece," in "Matilda," first published in 1594, withdrew the stanza in 1596, and never afterwards reprinted it. It is not easy to account for this change on any other ground than that some offence had been taken by Drayton at Shakspeare, and the point is adverted to in vol. viii. p. 411' [of Mr. Collier's own edition of Shakspeare].

'We have, perhaps, a clue to the origin of the difference in one of the manuscript changes made in the play under consideration, which would show that it arose out of a particular allusion by Shakspeare to one of Drayton's poems, and not out of any competition between them as dramatic authors. Biondello, bringing an account of the arrival of Petruchio and his man Grumio, and of their strange caparisons and appearance, says of the latter, that he wore "an old hat, and the humour of forty fancies prick'd in't for a feather." This is precisely as the passage is given in all editions of all periods; and Warburton and Steevens speculated that "the humour of forty fancies" was a collection of short popular poems which Grumio had stuck in his hat by way of ornament. The notion that such was the case is strengthened by the corrector of the folio, 1632; but he gives us more than a hint what was the publication in question, by altering the text as follows:—

"An old hat, and the *Amours*, or Forty Fancies, prick'd in't for a feather."

'The commentators could find no work at all corresponding in title to "the humour of forty fancies;" but here it is stated by the old corrector, that the title was erroneously quoted, or, in other words, that the compositor had printed "*Humour*" for "*Amours*," and "*of*" for "*or*." Now, there is a small production by Drayton, consisting of love poems, the title of which, though not identical, approaches sufficiently near to what is found in the amended text to warrant a suspicion that it might be the work alluded to by our great dramatist, and that Drayton had been so annoyed by the reference, that he expunged from the later editions of his "Matilda" the praise he had given to Shakspeare in the first impression in 1594. This notion may be a little supported by the fact that the ridicule, if intended, was effectual; for Drayton never afterwards reprinted the poetical tract in question, although he inserted some of the sonnets it contains in others of his republications. The tract came out in 1594, under the subsequent brief title:—"Ideas Mirrour. Amours in Quatorzains." The word "Amours" is in such large type, compared with "Ideas Mirrour," that, popularly, it might be called Drayton's "Amours;" and although not in "forty," it is in fifty "fancies," or short love poems; but "forty fancies," with the introductory word "Amours," was, probably, enough for Shakspeare's purpose, and he might not wish to be more exact. It is, of course, merely conjecture that he meant to produce a harmless laugh against his contemporary, by

an allusion to this collection of his small poems ; and, if well-founded, it would carry back the composition and first representation of "The Taming of a Shrew" to about the period assigned by Malone, viz. 1595 or 1596.—Pp. 148, 149.

In the second scene of the third act of 'All's Well that Ends Well,' there are, among others, two slight but important alterations. In the First Gentleman's description of Parolles to Helena which we have hitherto had—

'Indeed, good lady,
The fellow has a deal of that, too much
Which holds him much to have,'—Act iii. Scene 2,

the corrector gives meaning to the whole by substituting, in the last line, 'Which 'hoves him much to leave.' In like manner, a few lines lower down, Helena has been made to say, in her prayer for Bertram's safety,

'Oh, you leaden messengers,
That ride upon the violent speed of fire,
Fly with false aim ; move the still-peering air,
That sings with piercing, do not touch my lord !'

for '*violent*,' the corrector substitutes the far more forcible word '*volant*;' and we learn from the same authority that, despite Mr. Knight's suggestion that 'still-peering' means 'appearing still,' the expression should be 'still piecing,' as Malone supposed. In the fourth act, scene second, Diana, in reply to Bertram's solicitations, has always been made to say—whatever the words meant—

'I see that men make ropes in such a scarre
That we'll forsake ourselves.'

Many have been the suggestions of former editors as to what Shakspeare wrote: 'hopes' have been substituted for 'ropes,' 'scene' for 'scarre,' and so on. Mr. Knight sees a meaning equally clear and equally profound both in 'hopes' and 'ropes.' The old corrector perceived none in either ; therefore he changed it to

'I see that men make hopes in such a suit,'

which appears to us to have one advantage over the others—that, if it be not profound, it is, at least, intelligible ; and as it is not likely that the author would have put anything deep into the mouth of an estimable but simple girl like Diana, we prefer to receive the correction.

The 'Twelfth Night' opens with one of the most exquisite of all the descriptions that even Shakspeare himself ever penned ; but it is utterly marred by some of the editors having followed the authority of the folios, in reprinting what must appear to every one but themselves a piece of utter nonsense which it is impossible that Shakspeare could ever have written ;—a good

specimen of a reading, which, to repeat Mr. Dyce's words, 'could never stand, were the folios forty instead of four,'—

'That strain again!—it had a dying fall :
Oh ! it came o'er my ear like the sweet south,
That breathes upon a bank of violets,
Stealing and giving odour.'—

This play is one of those which were not printed in quarto, and for the text of which the first folio is, in consequence, the only authority; that, and subsequent editions, corrupted the word 'south' into 'sound'; and Pope, the essential poetry of whose mind has done more to correct and illustrate Shakspeare than some of his successors in the task of editorship have been forward to acknowledge, restored the original reading. Mr. Knight, after some hesitation, adopts 'sound,' because, among other reasons, the south is elsewhere termed 'foggy,' and 'dew-dropping';—to which we must be allowed to reply, first, that the south wind and south fog are very different agents in nature, and have no necessary connexion whatever. The 'sweet south' of spring, that most balmy of all winds, stealing, and gaining odour from the violets over which it breathes, presents a truly poetical idea to the mind of any lover of nature. It is such a wind as favoured the 'Ancient Mariner' before the commission of his crime; when

'A good south wind sprang up behind,
And the albatross did follow;'

and it brings on its wings such pleasurable sensations as are described by one who understood inanimate nature much better than any of the editors of Shakspeare:—

'It is the first mild day of March,
Each minute sweeter than before;
The redbreast sings from the tall larch
That stands beside our door,

There is a blessing in the air,
Which seems a sense of joy to yield
To the bare trees, and mountains bare,
And grass in the green field.'

And secondly, 'dew-dropping' being always the sign of a warm and genial temperature, and very materially promoting the growth, and increasing the perfume, of flowers, would tell much more against, than for, Mr. Knight's adoption of sound. Besides, we would ask, What is *the* sweet sound that is imagined to breathe upon a bank of violets?—it cannot be the songs of birds, for they are perched far above among the overshadowing branches, or are soaring in the clouds.

'A violet by a mossy stone,
Half hidden to the eye,'

are the words of the poet before mentioned; and he knew very well that violets commonly grow in solitary hedgerows, and amidst silent copses; where, except the voices of merry children, few sounds are heard which can breathe *upon* them. If, indeed, they grew by a pond, or a wet ditch, the sound might be the croaking of frogs, which abound when violets are in bloom; but the question would be, whether this could strictly be called the *sweet* sound? There is, indeed, one excuse for most of those who have adopted this reading—they have, unfortunately for themselves and their readers, been Londoners; and, therefore, of course they could not be expected to have any precise ideas about violets or south winds. It is, indeed, astonishing what strange mistakes these gentlemen are apt to make about Nature, when they are induced to leave their own peculiar sphere for her fields and lanes, downs and copses.

The annotator, it is needless to state, has corrected 'sound' to 'south;' and, as Mr. Collier says, we may thus, perhaps, consider 'sound' as, in future, exploded from the text of Shakspeare.

The corrector in another scene of this play has thus filled up Sir Toby Belch's previously unfinished speech, Act ii. Scene 3, — 'If one knight give away a sixpence, so will I give thee another;' and for the words of the same worthy's song a little further on, 'O the twelfth day of December,' he has substituted 'Seventeenth November,' on which Mr. Collier says, 'Why the 12th December was especially mentioned in the ballad quoted, we know not; but the 17th November was the day on which Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne, and it was usual to compose and publish loyal songs to celebrate it. When this comedy was first produced, it seems probable that Elizabeth was still reigning, and a song on the 17th November may possibly have been originally introduced in her honour, which might be altered to some other, beginning, "Oh! the twelfth day of December," after her demise. This curious fact may have been within the knowledge of the corrector of the folio, 1632, and he may have thus briefly recorded it.'—Pp. 175, 176.

The 'Winter's Tale' concludes the folio's list of comedies. Mr. Collier's volume presents alterations of the text in almost every page of this play, tending to throw light on the author's meaning; among the chief of which are the following—for the words of Leontes, Act i. Scene 2,—

' Women say so—
That will say anything—but they were false
As o'er-dyed blacks—'

he reads 'are' for 'were,' and 'as our dead blacks,' *i. e.* as

Mr. Collier says, 'blacks worn at the deaths of persons whose loss was not at all lamented.'

The words of Polixenes, which have so greatly perplexed the editors of all times,

' Good expedition be my friend, and comfort
The gracious queen, part of his theme, but nothing
Of his ill-ta'en suspicion !'

are now explained by the substitution of 'heaven' for 'and' in the first line, and 'dream' for 'theme' in the second.

Paulina, in her description to Leontes of Hermione's death, says—

' Do not receive affliction
At my petition, I beseech you ;'

the corrector reads 'at repetition,' which not only gives a meaning in itself, but harmonizes well with the context.

Again, Hermione has always been made to direct Polixenes to go with her infant daughter to Bohemia, and, 'There *weep*, and leave it crying,' for which the corrector happily substitutes '*wend*.'

Polixenes in the fourth act, third scene, says of Perdita—

' Nothing she does or *seems*
But smacks of something greater than herself,
Too noble for this place ;—

to which Camilla replies, as Theobald altered it,—

' He tells her something
That makes her blood look out,' &c.

the original word having been 'on't.' Polixenes' word 'seems' either has no meaning, or it must be meant to apply to Perdita's disguise, which is, in fact, impossible, because he does not yet know the secret of her birth, and therefore it would appear to be a misprint—the rather as the corrector substitutes for it 'says.' And he no less happily corrects Camilla's observation by putting 'wakes' in the place of 'makes,' reading the passage—'that *wakes* her blood—look on't,' &c.

Lastly, one of the most felicitous emendations of the text to be found in the whole volume, is in the addition of a line to the speech of Polixenes, when he is gazing on what he takes to be the statue of his dead queen, and Paulina would draw the curtain,

' Lest his fancy
May think anon it moves.'

The common version is—

' Let be, let be.
Would I were dead—but that methinks already—
What was he that did make it ?'

Between the two last lines the corrector inserts—

'I am but dead, stone looking upon stone,' &c.

He had just before said—

*'Doth not the stone rebuke me
For being more stone than it.'*

The corrections of the historical plays, beginning with 'King John' and ending with 'King Henry VIII.,' take up in Mr. Collier's volume 130 pages. Of these our space allows us to give our readers but few specimens. In 'King John,' Act iii. Mr. Knight's suggestion that in Constance's speech—

*'That fell anatomy
Which cannot hear a lady's feeble voice,
Which scorns a modern invocation,'—*

'mother's' should be put for 'modern,' is very near the mark—in fact, is probably right, as the ancient corrector has substituted 'widow's,' which seems to do more violence to the text than 'mother's.'

We agree with Mr. Collier that the emendation of 'thin bestained cloak,' in Salisbury's speech of the king, (Act iv. Scene 3,) to 'sin-bestained'—

'We will not line his sin-bestained cloak,'—

is every way a vast improvement; but we cannot assent to his reception of the corrector's 'untread the road-way of rebellion' in the fifth act, for the usual reading of 'unthread the rude eye'—indeed, we conceive the metaphor to be taken from persons threading a maze, the entrance to which is commonly termed the eye. Melun's advice to them is to turn back, to 'unthread,' the part of the maze which they had already begun to traverse.

Of 'Henry IV.' the moral plainly is, that pride will have a fall. Hotspur, Mortimer, and Glendower, are seen in the third act to be confidently portioning out among themselves the country which is not yet theirs—even by the right that is commonly said to be made by might—and of which, none of them are ever destined to possess a foot. After such a scene as this, the defeat of the rebels and the death of Hotspur come with double force.

Mr. Collier cites the emendation, which he thinks of no moment, but which every reader who has the smallest knowledge of naval affairs makes at once for himself, in Falstaff's words to Bardolph—'Thou art our admiral: thou bearest the lantern, *not* in the poop—but 'tis in the nose of thee.' Did he bear it in the poop it would be in the back of his head, certainly not in his nose.

In the address of Falstaff to Sir John Coleville at the con-

clusion of the second part of this play, the emendator has restored a very Falstaffian reading, for the usual version. 'Coleville shall still be your name, a traitor your degree, and 'the dungeon your place, a place deep enough,' he substitutes 'the dungeon your *dale*, a *dale* deep enough.'

But alas! alas! according to the same authority, we must, in Henry V., give up the matchless emendation of Theobald in Mrs. Quickly's description of the fat knight's death, 'a babbled o' green fields.' It always struck us that there was something peculiarly Shaksperian in making a man who had led such a thorough town life, spending his days 'in walking betwixt tavern and tavern,' babble at last o' green fields, just as he had said before, 'And I have not forgotten what the inside of a church is made of, I am a peppercorn, a brewer's horse;' and yet now, when it comes to the last, he cries out of God, and makes allusion to certain other truths which neither he nor any other man ever forgot yet. The emendator would have us read, 'A's nose was as sharp as a pen *on* a table of green *frieze*.' The explanation of Mr. Collier, that 'writing-tables were no doubt at that period often covered with green cloth; and it is to the sharpness of a pen, as seen in strong relief on a table so covered, that Mrs. Quickly likens the nose of the dying wit and philosopher,' hardly satisfies us; the idea, if this be the true version, was probably drawn from something more homely: or Mrs. Quickly,—with that total absence of all connexion of ideas which is the distinguishing mark of females of her class, *e. g.* Smollett's Winifred Jenkins, and of which, in our own day, Mrs. Nickleby is the most prominent specimen,—may have taken her simile from something totally unconnected with the matter in hand. We suppose, however, that, in the absence of certainty, most people will prefer the old reading, and that Sir John will die babbling o' green fields as heretofore, to the end of time. At any rate, if we are to give it up, we must award to 'piddling Theobald,' the suggester of this noble thought, a high rank among true poets. More happy is the emendation of Henry's words in his well-known soliloquy, beginning with 'Upon the King,' in the fourth act; for the former reading,

' O ceremony, show me but thy worth,
What is thy soul *of adoration* ?'

which is simply meaningless, and has, as may be imagined, been the fruitful cause of editorial squabbles, he substitutes, 'What is thy soul *but adulation* ?' by which, as Mr. Collier observes, the whole dispute between Johnson, Steevens, and Malone seems at an end. A little further on, in the line, 'Gets him to rest

crammed with *distressful* bread,' the word '*distressful*' is happily changed to '*distasteful*.'

In '*Richard III.*,' Act iii. Scene 7, there is another most felicitous change. Buckingham declares that one proof of Edward the Fourth's illegitimacy was his want of likeness to his father; but this has been destroyed by an error of the press, which has caused Buckingham, with a phraseology that reminds one of honest Dogberry, to mention his '*resemblance*'—

'And his resemblance, being not like the Duke.'

The corrector has altered the line to

'And disresemblance, being not like the Duke.'

In '*Henry VIII.*,' in Cardinal Wolsey's last interview with Henry, immediately before his fall, the king, justly incensed against his Chancellor as he was, upbraids him with his inattention in a speech of which the following forcible and happy terms are part:—

'You have scarce time
To steal from spiritual leisure a brief span
To keep your earthly audit.'

But the emendator, not seeing that there is an employment, and a sedulous one, which may still in one sense be termed leisure, and forgetting the parallel expression of '*learned leisure*,' applied to a life which may be anything but one of idleness on the one hand, or of labour, in its grosser sense, on the other, has altered the term '*leisure*' to '*labour*,' and thereby (as we think our readers will agree) despite Mr. Collier's express approbation of the change, with one sweep done away the whole force and the peculiar beauty of the passage.

The tragedies of the folio consist of these twelve plays:—'*Troilus and Cressida*,' '*Coriolanus*,' '*Titus Andronicus*,' '*Romeo and Juliet*,' '*Timon*,' '*Julius Cæsar*,' '*Macbeth*,' '*Hamlet*,' '*Lear*,' '*Othello*,' '*Antony and Cleopatra*,' and '*Cymbeline*.' In '*Coriolanus*,' the passage,

'Please you to march;
And four shall quickly draw out my command,
Which men are best inclined'—

is corrected to

'Please you march *before*,
And I shall quickly draw out.—Act i. sc. 6.

In the words of Menenius also, Act ii. Scene 1, '*I am known to be a humorous patrician, and one that loves a cup of hot wine with not a drop of allaying Tiber in't*;' said to be some-thing imperfect, in favouring the *first* complaint,' the two last

words are corrected to '*thirst* complaint.' And a little further on, his hitherto inexplicable word empiricutick, 'the most sovereign prescription of Galen is but empiricutick, and, to this preservative, of no better report than a horse-drench,' turns out to be 'empiric physic.'

'Many notes,' says Mr. Collier, 'have been written upon the question of "*Coriolanus*," thus represented in the folio, 1623 :—

"Why in this woolvish tongue should I stand here?"

'A manuscript note in the folio, 1632, sets all right, and offers a most acceptable emendation :—

"Why in this woolless togue should I stand here,
To beg of Hob and Dick?" &c.

'As the *toga* was 'napless,' so it was *woolless*—an alteration for 'the better, that carries conviction on the very face of it.'—Pp. 353, 354.

Lastly, in Volumnia's advice to Coriolanus, Act iii. Scene 2,

'I have a heart as little apt as yours,
But yet a brain, that leads my use of anger
To better 'vantage'—

the corrector, by addition of a line, greatly clears up the meaning :—

'I have a heart as little apt as yours
To brook control without the use of anger,
But yet a brain, that leads my use of anger
To better 'vantage.'

In '*Romeo and Juliet*' there is an emendation which we ourselves think extremely felicitous. For the word 'brow,' in Romeo's speech, Act iii. Scene 5,

'I'll say, yon grey is not the morning's eye,
'Tis but the pale reflex of Cynthia's brow.'

the corrector reads 'bow;' which, as the light came from the moon, and the moon is the bow, and not the brow, of Cynthia, we doubt not to be the true version. Even if it be thought that the moon is personified under the name of Cynthia, then the light would come from Cynthia, and not from her brow alone.

In '*Macbeth*' we find, among many minor emendations, five that are remarkably valuable. We should read 'quarrel' for 'quarry,' in the speech of the soldier, Act i. Scene 2 :—

'And fortune on his damned quarrel smiling.'

Next, in the second speech of the first witch, a foot has been omitted, to the great detriment of the verse, and we are henceforth to read—

'And the very ports they blow
All the quarters that they know
I' th' shipman's card to show.'

In Lady Macbeth's speech, Act i. Scene 5, the expression 'blanket of the dark,' which has puzzled the ingenuity and tried the tempers of the editors, turns out to be '*blankness*.'

Many suggestions have been offered as to Macbeth's meaning when he says to the Ghost of Banquo—

'Be alive again,
And dare me to the desert with thy sword;
If trembling I inhibit thee,—protest me
The baby of a girl.'

For 'inhibit thee,' the corrector reads 'exhibit then,' which, at least, gives a meaning, although we cannot but agree with Mr. Collier's disapprobation of it, 'not because it is not very intelligible, allowing for a transposition, but because it is too prosaic.'—P. 412.

We are glad to find that the suggestion of Dr. Johnson in the well-known soliloquy of Macbeth,—

'This push
Will chair me ever, or disseat me now.
I have lived long enough: my way of life
Is fall'n into the sear, the yellow leaf'

that 'May' should be read for 'way' of the folio, is confirmed by the corrector, who has substituted that word for it.

We now come to the play which contains the most wonderful and profound, yet at the same time the most truthful character that the imagination of man ever conceived,—'Hamlet.' Many have been the attempts, and some most successful, to elucidate the nature and disposition of Hamlet, and to point out how far his madness was assumed, and how far, unknown to himself, his mind had really become warped. The first thing to be done in order to approach the settlement of this question is, as it strikes us, to endeavour to gain some clear idea of the kind of character which the mind of Shakspeare conceived Hamlet to have been originally; for there is surely no other way of ascertaining how far the intellect of a person suspected of mental aberration is really disordered, than by comparison of his present with his former self.

If we were required in two words to describe Hamlet, mentally and physically, as he was before that unhallowed fratricide and incestuous marriage, we should say that he was a calm, majestic personage—far in advance of his contemporaries in all real refinement, and in freedom from the licentiousness of the country—fully alive to the advantages of his high rank, yet neither, on the one hand, addicted to courtly dalliance or frivolity,

nor, on the other, hypochondriacal or morbidly melancholy,—for (if our readers will bear with us in alluding to it) we happen at last to learn—and we think it a most significant fact, as in no slight degree showing the tendency and tone of his character—that his mental powers, varied and active as they were, and especially the direction in which he exerted them, had not preserved even him from some slight tendency to physical expansion. A man of profound intellect—a giant amongst ordinary men—one who knew that he had nothing resembling an equal in any with whom he consorted, and who therefore somewhat withdrew himself in mind from them; not apt to seek for mutual interchange of thought, either as being indifferent to the opinions of others or as disdaining to act the part of a mere teacher; a student, yet not one who took a warm and living interest in literature for its own sake,—partly from his profoundly philosophical turn of mind, which inclined him rather to thought than to study, and which brought it keenly home to him that, in the words of the wise man, all was vanity; and partly because he knew that he had mastered his subjects, and had now nothing more to learn. ‘His soul,’ as Wordsworth says of Milton, ‘was like a star, and dwelt apart.’ That element which at his age is strong in most men, and which, when exercised in a wrong direction, is sensuality, is not so much deadened and overcome in him by vigorous resolution and will, as it may be said to have found no place in his nature and temperament: and this constitutional peculiarity we imagine to be the key of much that appears unusual, not only in his general bearing to others, but also in his own mind; and afterwards, was it merely a feeling of his vast superiority, or was it not rather an involuntary coldness, an unconscious backwardness, a want of interest in, and hearty sympathy for, the affairs of others, that made him take all the minor ills of life with a mind so unruffled and so imperturbable, and bear himself so calmly, yet so distantly to the rest of the world, choosing but one friend, and even for him feeling little or nothing of that earnestness and willingness to descend to his level, which marks a very warm heart, but simply saying with somewhat of chill approbation,

‘Horatio, thou art e’en as just a man
As e’er my conversation cop’d withal’

Was it, too, an acquired patience, and not rather a natural immobility, which enabled him to pass with so little notice the impertinences and even insults to him, a prince, of those minds, so vulgar in themselves and so every way below him, who persisted in attempting to wring from him a confidence which he fully shared with no man, and had withheld even from

Ophelia? Of him surely, if of any one—not only so exalted in rank, but so dignified in manners, and so withdrawn into himself—must the ladies of the court of Denmark, even if there had been no Ophelia, have thought, as Helena did of Bertram,

‘It were all one
As I should love a bright particular star,
And think to wed it, he is so above me,’

whilst his male compeers must, even after having known him for years, have been continually liable to feel disappointed—thrown back—chilled—conscious, in a word, that they knew him no *nearer* in the end than they did in the beginning. He must have appeared to them, had they attempted to measure him, as some lofty mountain, in his effort to scale which the traveller is ever apt to fancy himself within sight of the object of his toil, yet as he advances to what he thinks his journey's end, is still destined to find height piled above height, and eminence rising upon eminence, until the summit appears as distant as ever, and all hope of reaching it is at length abandoned in despair.

It is evidently in most strict accordance with the laws of our nature that such a character should once entertain a passion, like that of Hamlet for Ophelia, ardent and enthusiastic, not in despite of the meditative loftiness and abstraction of his mind, but because of them: and this also aids us in appreciating the justice of the catastrophe—for even had Hamlet escaped the final plot of the King against his life, what joy could there have been for him henceforward? his father indeed was avenged, and his spirit would henceforth rest in peace—his most hated enemy was removed—and the crown was his own. But alas, for him!—outweighing all this and much more—his Ophelia was dead! Shakspeare knew well what must be and ought to be the true end.

Such we conceive to have been the original idea of Hamlet, and of such was it said—

‘Oh! what a noble mind is here o'erthrown!
The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's, eye, tongue, sword:
The expectancy and rose of the fair state,
The glass of fashion, and the mould of form,
The observed of all observers! quite, quite down!’

Hamlet was printed at a very early period, the first quarto bearing date 1603; and the play underwent several corrections by its author before it assumed its present perfect state—for an account of which we must refer our readers to Mr. Knight's notice of it. The old version has cleared up one point as to the poet's meaning, on which Coleridge confessed himself at a loss—Whether the Queen was or was not an accomplice in her husband's murder? The old version clearly decides that she

was not, for it makes her exclaim, in the scene between Hamlet and herself:—

‘But, as I have a soul, I swear by heaven
I never knew of this most horrid murder.’

Coleridge's opinion of Hamlet, as expressed in his ‘Table Talk,’ is, that his ‘character is the prevalence of the abstracting ‘and generalizing habit over the practical. He does not want ‘courage, skill, will, or opportunity; but every incident sets ‘him thinking.’—Vol. i. p. 68. Whilst we adopt this criticism in its fullest extent, we would add, that the cause of such a peculiar temper is the fearful circumstances in which he is placed, by having received a command from a spiritual being to do what, if done wrongly, would be a great and unnatural crime. Shakspeare, no doubt, meant us to learn that there is a line beyond which we ought not to seek for evidence, and cannot rely on it if we receive it. The Ghost confirmed the previous suspicions of Hamlet, as to his uncle's crimes; but who was to confirm the Ghost? In fact, he could not reject the Ghost's word, and yet it would have been dangerous to act on it alone; he therefore sought confirmation in the play: but the question is whether, being fully convinced by the proof which his uncle's conduct then afforded, he should or should not have proceeded to the accomplishment of the vow which he had made with such vehement passion at the close of his interview with the Ghost? We should also remember that, inasmuch as the guilty person legally possessed the chief authority in the country, (the crown appearing to descend, like that of some other nations at the time, to the members of the elder generation before it reverted to the son of the eldest brother,) it would seem to have been impossible to have brought him formally to justice. It has been thought the great defect in Hamlet's conduct, that he postponed the execution not from any doubt of the justice of it, but from fear lest, by taking his uncle's life when at his prayers, he should do him essential benefit instead of injury, by insuring his salvation, (Soliloquy, Act i. Scene 3, *ad finem*;) but it seems that this was, in fact, merely an excuse to himself for procrastination; hence the second visit of the Ghost was to ‘whet his almost blunted purpose;’ and he certainly murdered the King at last as much, if not more, on impulse and passion, as on fixed and settled principle.

The chief emendations in this play are the following. In Horatio's description of the feelings of himself and Bernardo and Marcellus, on the appearance of the Ghost of Hamlet's father, the expression of the quartos is, they

‘distilled
Almost to jelly, &c.’

which Mr. Knight, we know not whether on his own or some other authority, reads ‘bestilled.’ The corrector supplies ‘be-chilled.’

In the third act, Polonius has hitherto been made to say, when about to hide himself behind the arras, ‘I’ll *silence* me e’en here,’—to which the corrector gives meaning by reading ‘sconce.’ Not less happy is the alteration in Hamlet’s remonstrance, soon after, to his mother, in which ‘stoop’ is put in the place of ‘step,’ as hitherto read:—

‘What judgment would *step* from that to this.’

Lastly, for the usual version in Ophelia’s song:—

‘No, no, he is dead,
Go to thy death-bed,
He never will come again;’

he has substituted ‘gone to his death-bed.’

In ‘Lear,’ the alterations of most note are,—first, the substitution of ‘mouth’ for ‘house,’ in the King’s speech:—

‘Ask her forgiveness?
Do you but mark how this becomes the *house*;
“Dear daughter, I confess that I am old,”’ &c.

‘After reading Goneril’s letter,’ says Mr. Collier, ‘to Edmund, Edgar exclaims, as the words have always been printed, after the folios,—

“O, *undistinguish’d space* of woman’s will!
A plot upon her virtuous husband’s life;
And the exchange, my brother!”

Editors have speculated differently as to the meaning of the first line; but they reasoned upon false premises, since it does not by any means represent the poet’s language, if we may put faith in the alteration introduced in the folio, 1632, or if we may trust to common sense. Edgar is struck by the uncontrollable licentiousness of the desires of woman:—

“O, *unextinguished blaze* of woman’s will!”

“Blaze” is to be taken for fire, and “will” for disposition; and the scribe misheard, or miswrote, “unextinguish’d blaze” as “undistinguish’d space,” making nonsense of a passage which, properly printed, is as striking as intelligible.’—P. 444.

Lastly, in the exquisite words of Lear, over the dead body of Cordelia,—

— ‘Lend me a looking-glass;
If that her breath will mist or stain the *stone*,
Why, then she lives’—

the corrector has changed ‘stone’ into ‘shine,’ which is perhaps, on the whole, the better reading of the two.

In Othello, we find a suggestion of Iago's, which has hitherto been hopelessly obscure, made plain by the alteration of a word :—‘If sanctimony and a frail vow, betwixt an erring barbarian ‘and a super-subtle Venetian, be not too hard for my wits, and ‘all the tribe of hell, thou shalt enjoy her.’ How Desdemona had been ‘super-subtle’—whose real nature, not as misrepresented by Iago, was all openness and simplicity—it was impossible to imagine. The corrector gives us a substitute which recommends itself,—considering, that is, into whose mouth ‘it is put,—he reads ‘super-supple.’

Othello's well-known simile,—

‘To make me
A fixed figure for the hand of scorn
To point his slow unmoving finger at’—

has not passed without notice: the quarto here reads, ‘slow unmoving,’ and the folio ‘slow and moving.’ Mr. Knight adopts the latter; but the corrector makes it ‘slowly moving.’ Our own preference remains with the quarto; in the words of which, accumulated and increasing in intensity, there seems a naked truth, and even a grandeur, which will well bear study and reflection.

The character of Othello appears to us, in one respect, to stand out in strong and happy contrast with that of Macbeth. Whilst the latter, in whatever position he is placed, is continually coming back to self—and that in its most gross and hateful form—Othello, on the contrary, notwithstanding his great agonies, and that it is the natural and almost inevitable tendency of suffering to make men in a greater or less degree selfish, thinks so much of the supposed sin of Desdemona, and of its effects on her, that you scarcely ever hear him directly speak of himself. Indirectly, indeed, as partaker in the overwhelming ruin, and its necessary avenger, he cannot forget the part that he must play; but he does not dwell on self, nor, with Macbeth, make it any primary or prominent consideration, still less that to which alone all other things must be at last referred. Contrast, for instance, the speech of the Moor soon after he seriously entertained conviction of Desdemona's falseness, beginning with,—

‘—— had it pleased Heaven
To try me with afflictions,’ &c.

with that of the Thane when he is arguing with himself the ‘to be, or not to be,’ of the murder of Duncan; and observe how the latter gathers everything around self, and only leaves the thought of it for a moment, to return to it again with redoubled power. After a full description of the enormity of the contem-

plated crime, and the universal odium which would be sure to follow its commission, he can still conclude with—

‘I have no spur
To prick the sides of my intent,’ &c.

Othello, on the other hand, ever moves away from and loses sight of self, in horror at the thought of the sin of which he imagines a creature once so pure, and whom, ‘weed’ as he now thinks her, he can still describe as

‘O thou—
Who art so lovely fair, and smell’st so sweet
That the sense aches at thee’

to have been guilty. On the same principle, we conceive all their respective speeches will be found to be modelled. There is another point about this play which we do not remember to have seen noticed by the critics, but which, as we think, fearfully intensifies its action, and proves the literal truth of Othello’s words—

‘Once to doubt
Is once to be resolved—

and shows how determinedly he followed them up in action;—we allude to the very short time which elapses between the first hints of Iago to Othello of Desdemona’s falseness, and her murder.

The time in question only extends over one day, and that day, as if to make Iago’s character so much the worse, is Sunday. The morning of the night which saw Cassio displaced, dawns in the beginning of the third act. Soon after, Desdemona asks if Cassio shall be restored ‘to-night at supper... or to-morrow night, or Tuesday morn,’ &c., showing that the ‘to-morrow night,’ the night which preceded Tuesday morn, was Monday, and, therefore, that the day on which she was speaking, must necessarily have been Sunday; it is at the end of that interview that Iago drops his first hint against Desdemona—

‘Did Michael Cassio, when you woo’d your lady,
Know of your love?’

and before their conference has ended, he has produced strange effects (almost amounting to conviction) on the mind of the Moor. In the third scene, Desdemona says:—

‘How now, my dear Othello?
Your dinner, and the generous islanders
By you invited, do attend your presence.’

The action proceeds rapidly and continuously; in the fourth act, Othello says, “Get me some poison, Iago, this night; I’ll not expostulate with her, lest her body and beauty unprovide my

mind again : this night, Iago." At the end of the same act, he directs Desdemona :—

'Get you to bed on the instant : I will be returned forthwith : dismiss your attendant there ; look it be done.'

Which she obeys, then singing her song of willow. The fifth act opens with the night, and Iago's plot on Cassio,—at the execution of which Othello comes in, and from thence goes directly away to Desdemona's chamber, and commits that murder which was to be so speedily and so fearfully avenged.

In 'Antony and Cleopatra,' in the most gorgeous description ever penned, there is a slight but important alteration :—

'The silken tackle

Swell with the touches of those flower-soft hands ;'

the question being how the touch of those hands could make the tackle 'swell.' The corrector reads 'smell,' and as Mr. Collier says, 'The printer, again, took *m* for *w* : ' the poet is alluding to the perfume derived by the silken cordage from the flower-soft hands through which it passed, and adds,—

'From the barge

A strange invisible perfume hits the sense
Of the adjacent wharfs.'

Again in Dolabella's speech to Cleopatra—

'But I do feel,

By the rebound of yours, a grief that *smiles*
My very heart at root.'

The suggestion of Malone, and others, that 'suites' should be 'shoots,' proves unfounded, for it is here corrected to the more forcible and simple word 'smites.'

The opening of 'Cymbeline,' which has always been a perplexity, is touched by the corrector, but without, as we think, making the passage much clearer. His version is as follows :—

'You do not meet a man but frowns. Our bloods
No more obey the heavens, than our courtiers
Still seem as does the king.'

On which Mr. Collier says—'*i. e.* Our bloods do not more 'obey the heavens, than our courtiers imitate the king ; as the 'king frowns, so all others look gloomy. There cannot be a doubt 'that this is the right reading.'—P. 485.

Lastly, the address of Arviragus over the grave of Fidele :

'The ruddock would

With charitable bill (O, bill, sore shaming
Those rich-left heirs, that let their fathers lie
Without a monument!) bring thee all this ;
Yea, and furr'd moss besides when flowers are none,
To winter-ground thy corse.'

The word 'winter-ground' of the folio has been considered by many a mistake. In the corrected copy we find it 'winter-

guard,' 'i.e.' as Mr. Collier says, 'the redbreast would bring 'furred moss to protect Imogen's corse in winter, when there 'were no flowers.'—P. 500.

In conclusion, it is the universal custom to heap praises on Shakspeare for his numberless and matchless powers and attainments, but especially for his unrivalled knowledge of human nature, and most justly so; but has not this phrase, we would ask, been applied to him, if not in a low, yet not in its highest sense? Is he who could so easily fathom all the depths of the mere intellect of man wholly without knowledge of the mysteries of his moral being? We think that in proportion as his moral system comes to be perceived and appreciated, will the highest phase of his writings be most clearly understood, and his true place, not only as the master-mind of the human race, but as its most profound teacher, be best allotted him. He knew, to begin with, that the line which imperfect heathen knowledge had drawn between God and men, heaven and earth, must now be obliterated. 'Let not God be present in every event,' said the heathen: 'He cannot be absent from any one,' said the Christian critic. And on this primary truth, with its consequences, are his works, as we think, more or less based. The whole moral *status* of his heathen, is very different from that of his Christian characters. Where can we find a more profound appreciation, not only of the working of a Divine Judge; but of a Judge who governs his creatures according to that law which he has himself laid down; visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children, indeed; but so that the visitation is in itself neither curse nor punishment; but only as felt to be such by the perverted minds of the offenders,—than in the confession of the Prince, in Romeo and Juliet, to the heads of the rival houses?

'Capulet! Montague!—

See what a scourge is laid upon your hate,
That heaven finds means to kill your joys with love!
And I for winking at your discords too,
Have lost a brace of kinsmen: all are punish'd.'

Again, Cloten could not in strict logical consequence be said to have been killed because of the wickedness of the Queen, his mother; yet even a heathen could confess—all that he could know—that punishments do light on the head of one in this world for the offences of another:—

'Whom heavens, in justice both on her and *hers*,
Have laid most heavy hand.'

We see how, in the same play, Posthumus is punished, yet does not know it, for the crime intended, and for the slander believed, against Imogen; and in Lear it is the son of sin that

is made the instrument of his father's punishment ; and Cordelia falls because of that father's curse, which having once been pronounced upon her, cannot now fall to the ground.

The above form but a few of the countless illustrations of our meaning, which we might have chosen from the whole body of Shakspeare's works. We believe that the thoughtful reader will find throughout his pages an exemplification of the Divine laws, (such indeed we might, at first, have supposed to have been his great aim and object,) and a harmony and retributive justice pervading, and working throughout his whole created universe ; showing that with his vast knowledge of human nature he also possessed, with a force peculiarly his own, that higher gift,—the power of understanding and displaying in action the Divine will, as exercised towards man through the Christian law : so that as he becomes understood as a teacher of Christian law and Christian ethics, will the real, and most true and deep meaning and object of his dramas be appreciated, as embodying the profoundest lessons which the mind of man ever conceived for the warning, improvement, and perfecting of his species.

ART. V.—1. *Lady Bird*. By LADY GEORGIANA FULLERTON.
London: Moxon.

2. *Villette*. By CURRER BELL. London: Smith & Elder.

THERE is enough of resemblance in the two authoresses whose works stand at the head of our article, to justify placing them in contrast and juxtaposition. Resemblance, if not in the ordinary points where similarity is to be looked for—in style, in characters, in aims—yet in the circumstances which first introduced them to the reading world, and determined their standing as novelists. Both excited a very unusual interest and attention by a work of fiction,—in each case a first attempt at this style of composition,—both chose female autobiography as the form in which to express, with much energy and power, the conceptions which had probably long excited and occupied their own minds;—both, while professing a zeal for religion, and a reverence for morality, allowed a heated imagination to betray them into scenes opposed to the interests and dictates of either;—both showed themselves unscrupulous in their modes of producing effect. But these, and such similarities, only give point to the striking contrasts which distinguish these writers, and tempt us to a joint review of their latest productions. It is only indeed in the republic of letters, where all are equal, and stand on their own inherent merits, that there is ground for parallel and comparison; and one of the first contrasts which must strike the reader, is the different spheres in which these two ladies have acquired their knowledge of life, and the wide disparity of their social position—we speak, we need not say, only from those facts which lie on the surface, are known to all the world, and are acknowledged by both. The one has been educated in the consciousness of rank and station; her position has made her *one* of a brilliant, courted, envied society; she belongs to it, and it is part of herself; it is the medium through which she has seen the world. The other has looked upon life under less agreeable, but perhaps more truth-telling circumstances; her writings betray a knowledge of difficulties and hardships of a nature quite different from the embarrassments, sins, and sorrows, born of excitement, luxury, and a superabundance of leisure. She has known what neglect is; she has felt the depressing weight of circumstances, the struggle with adverse fate. In every bright and gay scene she has painted, she shows herself an observer only, not a sharer; indemnifying herself, half proudly, half sadly, by the consciousness of intellectual

superiority, for this ever present sense of isolation. She has looked upon society, so far as she is acquainted with it, from the shade of an anxious ungenial seclusion;—a seclusion from gaiety, not from business or cares, nor yet from mankind in its stern, unyielding, business-like aspect. To the one life has been a spectacle, to the other a lesson. The appropriate figure for the scene in the one case is a theatre, in the other a school. No home-like thoughts attach to either.

Another main contrast lies in their religion, for both are strong religionists in their way, and in very different ways. Lady Georgiana, we need not say, is a Roman Catholic, with all the zeal of a convert for what is exclusively Romish in the faith of her adoption. Her sympathy for extravagant creature-worship, as developed in her favourite female characters, may not unfairly be considered as one preparation for, and explanation of, conversion to a system which surely sanctions, while it professes to spiritualize, this tendency of the human mind. And so also is her disregard for the dictates of reason and common sense as guides of conduct, and preference for unreasonable self-sacrifice, which we find practised by her saintly characters, to the injury, not only of their own just rights, but to the still greater injury of the true interests of those they wish to serve. Curren Bell, the Protestant, takes an opposite line. She boldly says, that if ever she forsakes the true God, it will be to worship reason. She declares against calling things by wrong names. Suffering is suffering; do not call it a privilege or a blessing; and get away from it if you lawfully can. The 'Bible, and the Bible only,' is her religion; and with its pages she is so familiar, in every sense, that little awe or reverence remains, and she incorporates its phrases and ideas into her ordinary language with no more pause or apology than if she were quoting Shakspeare or Bacon. As for forms and ceremonies, they are not likely to gain much respect where the Bible fails. Nor is she tolerant of controversies, on what she is pleased to consider minor points, amongst which a great many grave questions are included. Only against 'the Pope and all his works' is she fiercely zealous. In opposing him you can only be secure of not fighting shadows.

Again, in the conduct of the story, the one aims at enchaining the attention and hurrying the reader on by striking scenes, harrowing perplexities, and remarkable situations; the other allows him to pause and linger in his quieter progress, less anxious to know the end, than amused by the strokes of nature which enliven the way. One is commonly lofty and cold in her choice of heroes; she invests them with perfections; they are worshipped as well as loved by the heroine—invariably more fluent in expressing these sentiments than her stately idol. But they never, for this

reason, seem to fit, or properly to belong to one another. The other has no belief in perfection, and very little liking for what would leave no play for her penetration—for what may be denominated the detective force of her intellect. She is lenient of weak points; nay, a considerable infusion of alloy is to her an attraction, and that not the silver of exaggerated virtues, but the copper and lead of every-day unmitigable faults. We ought all to be ashamed to be no better than her heroes, and might hope to be equally agreeable. Her object is to show two minds nicely fitting and adjusted to one another; when she has accomplished this adaptation, she does not care that either will not suit the world at large. She has done what she wished in bringing about a real contact—a true response of mind to mind.

Both are charged with mannerism, not, we think, with equal reason, for Lady Georgiana betrays this fault in both its marks, not only by an uniform choice of peculiar persons and situations, as, for instance, by fixing on the delicate embarrassments which seem, in her idea, to beset the conjugal relation, for her constant theme, but by making all her characters too often think and feel out of one common stock of thought and sentiment. *Currer Bell* has a confined range of experience, and she, too, chooses peculiar persons and situations on which to practise her art, but she makes them each speak and act according to their individual nature. Of course the double mannerism simply betrays a want of resources. Striking scenes are commonly the fruit of early impressions, stamping themselves indelibly on the mind. It is only the higher range of genius and imagination which can go on coining and renewing these vivid impressions. In how many popular writers can we trace through their ingenious disguises the same original scene, the same actors engaged, the same emotions excited; but while the observation is still keen, the knowledge of nature accurate, and truth of individual character preserved, we forget sameness of plot, and are indifferent to mannerism of class and situation. But where there has never been any close imitation of nature, nor any startling truth of description,—where the fancy has always asserted itself above the reason, and has accustomed itself to bend characters to circumstances, rather than frame the circumstances according to the characters,—each succeeding effort is sure to be a falling off from the last; in most of its elements, (as analysed by criticism,) indeed the same; but the freshness and vigour of the original conception, and the power with which the story was sustained, necessarily suffering diminution, from the effort being little more than a repetition of what has gone before.

It is now time that we enter upon a review of the two

works which, in connexion with their predecessors, have suggested these remarks,—and will begin, according to all the rights of precedence, with Lady G. Fullerton's 'Lady Bird;' a title, by the way, pretty enough in itself, but not at all descriptive of the heroine, and indeed seemingly founded on a half-mistake, for the creature, from whom the name is borrowed, is more often assumed to be a bird than the insignificant insect it really is. To pursue our comments on the title-page. The motto, though well chosen, betrays the author's consciousness of the weak point of her story; and, while she deprecates criticism, proves her well aware that she deserves it. Strange things do happen, and Shakspeare wisely bids us,—

'With caution judge of possibility:

Things though unlikely, e'en impossible,

Experience often shows us to be true.'

It is very certain that the ordinary course of Providence does meet with strange checks,—that things often fall out in a wonderful manner,—that not only events happen, which beforehand would have been deemed impossible, but that men constantly act in opposition to their character in a way that could not have been foreseen. This may be all true, yet that is an indifferent fiction, which is constructed on these phenomena: which,—because wise men often do foolish things, and strong-minded men weak ones,—because men's conduct is often unnatural, that is, opposed to their instincts and their interests,—should found its plot on these exceptions to the general law: and this is certainly the case with the present story. Gertrude, with her strong will and high order of intelligence, acts in the great emergency of her life with miserable vacillating imbecility. Maurice, in his conduct towards Mary, is unreasonably and unnaturally treacherous. Mary, with a pure conscience and clear perception of right and wrong, is blind to the most flagrant improprieties. While Mr. Lifford, the father, with his hatred and tyranny and pride, is as much a monster as Cerberus himself. No one acts according to his character where the progress of the plot is concerned, and the consequence is, that the characters have no identity or continuity, on which depends our power of realizing them. We, for one, must own to having ceased to care for the brilliant, clever, determined heroine, when we found her behaving like a weak-minded simpleton on the first occasion when the story gave her an opportunity of displaying her rare qualities. But we are anticipating.

The heroine's father, Mr. Lifford, is a man of ancient family and good fortune, living in a dull, cold, gloomy mansion, which aptly represents himself. He is a 'Catholic' by birth, but regardless of the precepts and unobservant of the rules of his creed.

He had married in pique, after a disappointment, a Spanish lady of noble birth and great beauty, whose vocation had been the cloister, and who esteems her subsequent dreary and unhappy life the punishment for having, in a moment of temptation, renounced her calling. She is confined to her couch by a life-long illness, an object for the neglect and indifference of her husband, as her beautiful daughter is for his more active antipathies. We presume the 'Spanish mother,' so rare in real life and so frequent in fiction, is a happy artifice for securing to the heroine those graces and fascinations by inheritance, which, to our stiff, insular frames and tempers, are only the gifts of careful training and education, advantages very seldom accorded to the heroine of romance, and from which ours is so entirely excluded, that at her first ball she has actually to be taught to dance by one of her admirers, half an hour in an empty room being amply sufficient for the purpose, and to make her the most popular partner in the room.

The story opens in her childhood. She has a brother younger than herself, and of intellects too dull and formal for companionship; and, thrown upon herself and upon books, her mind develops too fast for her health, and the physicians prescribe recreation. Upon this Father Lifford, uncle to her father, residing in the house as priest and confessor, suggests her spending a few hours of every day with Mary Gray, a little girl two or three years her senior, and of the same faith.

Mrs. Redmond, Mary's mother, had married the second time an artist, who himself also brought a child towards the new *ménage*, he having previously married an Italian of great musical talents, by whom he had one son, Maurice Redmond, who plays a very conspicuous part in the piece. Mary and Maurice, in childhood, think themselves brother and sister. He is a boy of genius, the poet and inventor in all their games; and to him Gertrude owed her name of Lady-Bird, which she bore in all their plays and recitations.

We then pass over a few years. Gertrude is sixteen, Mary a little older, and tacitly engaged to Maurice. She is devoted to him; he thinks himself devoted to her,—to her mild graces and gentle ways. Mary is a very notable little body; her love of her needle and horror of idleness, are no doubt esteemed appropriate middle-class virtues, and she never swerves from them under the most critical circumstances. She grudges a few minutes at an open window this very evening, when she is expecting her lover. She *never* forgets or neglects his shirts, which are frequently brought before the reader's attention. She will not even take a walk with him till Sunday, because all her time is occupied in restoring the ravages of foreign lau-

dresses. If anything, we should say, could excuse Maurice's behaviour to his Mary, it is her mistimed industry. On the occasion we speak of, however, he did not come. He had found a patron, Count Adrien d'Arberg, who had generously taken him to Italy to cultivate his genius for music.

Mary corresponds with Maurice, and Gertrude sees his letters and is interested in them, and once or twice writes herself, instead of Mary, her family being ignorant of the extent of her intimacy, and leaving her entirely to her own guidance. Her own tastes are decidedly democratic, chiefly from opposition to her father, who is a rigid aristocrat, and prouder of his sixteen quarterings than of any earthly possession. Gertrude therefore treats Mary as her equal, and is very much disposed to regard Maurice in the same light; not that she is at all in love with him, though pleased with his respectful admiration—more than was at all proper from Mary's lover. We find them both described in the following passage:—

'Her singular intelligence made her instinctively guess what others learn by degrees. She would have made a speech in parliament, or preached a sermon, or acted a play, or harangued a mob, if called upon to do so; nothing came amiss to her but solitude and constraint. She was very quick also in discerning the characters of others, except when baffled by one of such extraordinary simplicity as Mary's. Maurice she judged at once,—more talent than ability, more ardour than vigour, more imagination than sense, and sensibility than feeling, an abundance of words at his command, and a sufficient amount of thought to turn that abundance to account.'—*Lady Bird*, vol. i. p. 124.

A very terse and antithetical style, our readers will think, for seventeen; but the dialogue frequently suffers from the same cause, and Mary is not a whit behind her high-born friend in the accomplishment of neat speaking. Our author 'is not for making slavish distinctions, and giving all the fine language to the upper sort of people.' 'When I speak of love,' Mary says, 'I do not mean a mere human feeling, though even that might teach us something of the nature of true devotion, but I mean that principle of charity which has all the force of duty, the vivacity of impulse, the tenderness of affection.' But this is a digression. Maurice's feelings soon become entangled; he supposes he only admires Gertrude, when, in fact, she is, without exactly knowing what she is about, stealing his heart from Mary. He gives Gertrude singing-lessons; and her father chancing to see a lesson in progress, sees enough to make him write a note of dismissal to the master, and to ask for his account, a proceeding profoundly disgusting to the pride of Maurice. Mary is not dissatisfied that the lessons are over, for she has had uneasy feelings in spite of the continuance of Maurice's tenderness towards herself; so she makes out the bill, and

Gertrude pays them both a visit of indignant apology, and all passes well over that time.

Gertrude's home is dull; her mother, separated by language and ill-health, has not been hitherto much to her children, though they occupy her heart; but about this time she and her daughter are drawn more together. Gertrude longs for society, for the world, for occupation; her father puts a cold veto on every amusement or employment. She boldly announces that something serious will come of it, if she has to endure this constraint and dullness much longer. She talks to Father Lifford, one of the pleasantest characters in the book, perhaps, because he is purposely drawn in contrast to the Protestant ideal of a Roman Catholic priest;—rough, and almost surly in tone, full of the Lifford prejudices in the family circle, but conscientious, tender, and considerate in his confessional capacity. In the first, Gertrude and he are in continual antagonism; in the last, he has influence over her which he uses aright, subduing her proud temper and softening her heart. Finding Father Lifford an unsympathising listener to all her longings for a happier and gayer life, she talks to her mother, who can enter a little into her feelings. At this time a grand entertainment is going to be given in the neighbourhood. She has reason to know that her presence is wished for, but that she is considered inaccessible, for her father declines all society. She conceives an intense desire to go and get one little glimpse of the world she so longs for. At length the card of invitation arrives: her father coldly refuses her request to go. Another card had been sent to her uncle, as the only imaginable chaperon. She tries him, but he treats her longing as an impulse only to be suppressed. At length she appeals to her mother: the following conversation between Mrs. Lifford and the Father, between whom exists a warm affection, is the result. His character is among the best and most consistent in the book. Lady Georgiana has no humour; we find nothing like wit in any of her writings; but truth of character, wherever we find it, often answers in its stead, as an invigoration and refreshment to the style.

‘When he sat down by her couch, and was preparing to read to her out of a Spanish book of devotion, she put her hand on his arm, and said, “I have something to say to you, Father.” He removed his spectacles, took a pinch of snuff, and put himself in a listening attitude. “There is something I have to ask you, that I have some hope that you will do for me, even though you may dislike it very much.” He looked up quickly; she continued, “I am anxious about Gertrude.”

“So am I,” he gruffly ejaculated.

“She is not happy. The life she leads is a dull one for a young girl—you know it is, Father,” she added earnestly, as he knit his brows, and shrugged his shoulders.

"I don't say it is gay; but what's the use of talking? There is nothing to be done. It will be better, I suppose, when Edgar comes home."

"She has set her heart upon going to this fête, this breakfast at Woodlands. That young heart of hers will overflow with bitterness, if she is always refused every amusement, every pleasure which her imagination paints to her in glowing colours. And mine aches, dear Father, when I think of my helpless state—my utter incapacity——"

"Come, come; don't complain. You have borne your sufferings well hitherto. Do not let this foolish girl's fancies make you repine at God's will."

"Heaven forbid that I should murmur! But when I am able to think—when an interval in my sufferings gives me time for reflection—then I become anxious about the future character and probable fate of my child, and I tremble as I muse on it. Authority will do nothing with her; coldness, indifference, still less; her heart must be softened, worked upon, and won; and *you* must do this."

"I must do it!—a right proper instrument you have fixed upon, indeed, for the purpose; a cross, crabbed old man like me!"

"O Father, Father, belie not your own heart!"

"Don't talk to me about my heart. I have a conscience, I hope, and a soul to save,—but a heart that is to win hearts!—phoo, phoo, that is all nonsense! Send for the child yourself—give her, now and then, a mother's kiss; and leave me to teach her her duty. That is my business, I *will* attend to it."

"Are you going to refuse me the first favour I have ever asked of you?"

"But, in the name of patience, what is it?"

"Something that you will at first protest you will never do; that you will think ridiculous, and even wrong perhaps."

"You are going to ask me to do something wrong! What has come over you?"

"It may *seem* wrong at first sight; but depend upon it, dear Father, there may be more merit in it than in your noblest actions—in your greatest austerities."

"I don't know what you mean by austerities—I never do noble actions. I don't know what you are talking about. I never knew you so foolish before."

"Listen to me, I entreat you, and do not be too much startled. You must go to this breakfast at Woodlands, and take Gertrude there."

"O, now I must send for the doctor. You had better ring for a composing draught, my dear child. You are not yourself!"

"I never was so much myself; my thoughts and mind are clearer than usual. I have reflected deeply; something must be done to change the current of the child's feelings—to soften her heart—to make her see that we understand her."

"It is very easy to understand her. She is a headstrong girl, who has set her foolish heart on a piece of worldly dissipation and vanity, and you are a foolish mother, bent on indulging her."—Vol. i. p. 202.

Mrs. Lifford vindicates her motives and views at some length, and concludes by some allusion to the more painful task before her of asking her husband's consent to her wish.

"O Father, not yet entirely subdued is this proud heart of mine. It is so painful to ask *him* anything!"

"Like mother, like child!" the old man gravely said.

"O, do not say that—do not say that!" she cried. "Let me not think that she too will have to pass through a fiery trial, on her way to peace and joy—that grace must force its way into *her* heart through the breach anguish opens, and over the scattered ruins of every earthly affection. But you will grant my prayer—you will go to Woodlands?"

Father Lifford moved uneasily in his chair, again took snuff, and then, like a man who brings out his words under the influence of the rack or the thumb-screw, he said, "My dear child, I am not come to my present age, or have read good books all my life, without learning that to do what one hates is better than to please oneself. I also know that a good sort of woman like you may better understand foolish young girls than an old man like me; so that, for aught I know, you may be right, and I may be wrong. I also hope that I have no fear of ridicule; and if you like to expose yourself to it by sending a young lady into the world in the charge of an old priest, it may be a wholesome mortification for the young lady, and for the old priest; so you may do as you please about it. If her father gives his permission, I will drive to this place with your daughter. I will sit like an old bear in a corner of the grounds; and when she has derived from the entertainment all the benefits which you anticipate, or when it comes to a natural end—which, I presume, such things do—I will bring her home again; but only be prepared for the impression it will create, that the girl's parents are fools, and the old man a greater fool than them. But, as I said before, I do not care; it will be as good a mortification as any other."

"I know that it will be a mortification to you; but as to its being ridiculous, I cannot agree with you. You are Mr. Lifford's uncle, Gertrude's nearest relation. There is nothing unbecoming in an ecclesiastic going occasionally into society; and who would watch over my child with so paternal an eye?"

"Tush, tush! don't talk to me of paternal eyes, or any of that nonsense. I shall not watch her at all. I will see she gets there; and, if I can, that she comes back; but nothing else will I undertake, and only that once!"—Vol. i. p. 209.

The young lady is prettily dressed out by her mother for this important fête, both being equally ignorant of the world's fashions. But a certain Spanish grace is thrown over all, and, as a crowning fascination, she places the mystic fan in her hand, with instructions how to use it, which are caught in a second by the young girl's quick intelligence. Thus armed for conquest, and softened by expectation, Gertrude asks,—

"Mamma, must I say good-bye to papa?"

Mrs. Lifford winced, as it were, at the question, looked at her daughter, and seemed to hesitate. "Yes," she said at last; "yes, come this way first; let me arrange those two curls that are straying on thy neck. Throw thy head a little back, and take these orange blossoms with thee. That will do; go to him,—he may remember the bull-fight at Seville."

"Shall I ask him if he does?"

"O no, no!" the mother answered, with a shudder; and, with another kiss, dismissed her child.

Into a room nearly as sombre as the one she had left, but with nothing in it to please the eye or the feelings, that vision of youth and beauty walked. In the attitude her mother had placed her in, and with the weapons she had armed her with, into her father's presence she went, with a lighter step and a more confiding spirit than usual. He looked up from

the table where he was examining some accounts, and said, with a tone of annoyance, "What do you want?"

"Nothing," she answered, in a faint voice.

"Then why do you come here?"

"I really don't know."

"It would be better, in that case, not to interrupt me."

"I will not do so again," she said, and left the room.—Vol. i. p. 225.

Gertrude sets out with her singular chaperon, who keeps his word on the point of not looking after her. She abandons herself to the amusement of the scene, talks, dances, flirts, and enjoys intensely the admiration she creates. Maurice, in a semi-professional capacity, is there, alternately patronised and neglected by Gertrude, and goes through passionate vicissitudes of feeling, ending by carrying off Mary, to whom he is still the declared lover, in gloomy disgust. But these are but preludes to the real interest of the occasion, for here, towards the close of the evening, Gertrude has a momentary glimpse of, and an interchange of a few trivial words with the hero; but these are sufficient to determine her fate, and, in the author's opinion, to justify the absolute surrender of her heart.

'Love' and 'passion,' all those emotions which more timid writers veil under the shelter of a guarded periphrasis, afraid to shock the scrupulous by any direct designation, are clearly regarded by our authoress as her peculiar province. She has thought much and deeply on the subject, and with all the courage and familiarity inspired by a scientific analysis she contemns reserves. She has classified her opinions, tested them by experience and examples, and formed them into a system,—looked into every phase of her subject, overcome all its difficulties. She is ready to argue upon and defend her conclusions, as a controversialist some favourite dogma; stakes her all, as he does his faith and credit, upon this one die; and her conclusion is, that these emotions are independent of the reason, and above control. Afraid of no extremes, deterred by no ultimate consequences, she justifies while she portrays the absolute yielding of the soul to blind unreasoning passion; and despising all aids from convention and prescription, she chooses the subjects for the impulse, not from men, who are supposed to have more active control over their destiny, but from amongst women, who commonly make no pretension to the initiative, and claim only the veto. In 'Ellen Middleton' we see it pictured, where the sentiment was entertained in spite of what seemed insuperable obstacles :—

"Oh that I had run all hazards, accepted all chances, braved all dangers but the one of losing him! If I had ever told him my love—if I had revealed to him the depths of passionate affection which those only feel who love in spite of all that should make them tremble and despair! if

I had done this but once, he might have forsaken, scorned me, abandoned me, but he never would have forgotten me. Other eyes would have seemed to him without light—other smiles without brightness; in their tame affection, in their common-place regard, he would have missed what my proud heart and eager spirit yielded him;—all its prostrate enthusiasm, its impassioned humility, its boundless devotion; abject as a slave's, exalted as a guardian angel's."—*Ellen Middleton*, vol. ii. p. 131.

In the present volume, where the heroine has only had a momentary glance of the object of her worshipping admiration—is ignorant even of his name and country—the following arguments are used in vindication of the preliminary stage of feeling, and of the subsequent formal act of self-abandonment to the idol, which follows upon it:—

'The first sight of the Apollo Belvidere has made persons burst into tears; a beautiful landscape has affected others in the same way; the sight of the Alps, or of the sea, has awakened strong emotions; eloquence, even when not on a pathetic subject, has stirred the deep well-spring of feeling; and who has not known the impression which a procession, the hurrah of a crowd, or a sudden burst of music, has made upon them? Why should it, then, be strange that the sight of physical and intellectual beauty of a commanding form, visibly inhabited by a superior spirit, should have had something of the same effect on Gertrude, and that she should have felt her eyes filling with tears—a very rare thing with her?'—*Lady Bird*, vol. i. p. 259.

We will not pause to enter into the hidden causes of emotion—a subject not to be treated in a paragraph; but in all these cases, emotion either carries us out of ourselves, to the contemplation of nature and the God of nature, or out of our individuality into a happy sense of kindred and incorporation with the whole human family: in either case there is a fusion and forgetfulness of self. There is no affinity between such emotions as these—which lose their power when the consciousness of self returns—and the train of thought which follows Gertrude's tears, when we find her next morning meditating on the question of love at first sight, and, not very long after—and before any reciprocity of feeling—making it the earnest subject of her prayers that she might be his wife.

'She thought of Jacob and Rachel, of James of Scotland and Madeleine of France, and then again of Romeo and Juliet, and believed in love at first sight. Her eyes fixed on the green grass, her head resting on her breast—so motionless that she heard the sound of her own breathing—her hands joined together on the book, she mentally made, as it were, her profession of that faith: and, seldom as it occurs, who can deny that such love there is? It is not common; perhaps it is undesirable—perhaps unreasonable; but, if it is real, there may be in it as much truth, and strength, and purity, as in the affections which are excited by a few weeks' flirting, stimulated on the one side by coquetry—on the other by vanity. If at the end of three months' flirtation, and of such conversations as passed the day before between her and Mark Apley, Gertrude had thought herself in love with him, would she, or ought she, to have stood higher in her own esteem, or in ours, than she does now, when she is conscious of having yielded up her heart at first sight

to one whose countenance indeed may be deceitful—whose soul, whose intellect may be unequal to, the stamp affixed on his brow, to the promise of his face, but in whom, even if such were the case, she would only have been misled to pay homage to the semblance of all that is admirable in man? Who he was, whence he came, she knew not—what he was, still less: but this very ignorance reassured her, and gave her confidence in the nature of the impression he had made upon her.—Vol. i. p. 268.

We need not enter into the fallacies which crowd this sentence. It is clearly not the design of Providence, any more than the fact is found in nature, that people should *fall in love* with 'the semblance of all that is admirable in man:' love it they may and must, but not want to have it for their own, and marry it. Nor are young people commonly so skilled in physiognomy as to detect this inner excellence at a glance. Of the outside, they can form a very decided opinion; and the only lesson we can see in this whole passage is to sanction their deciding by this outside only.

Now, it is not uncommon to find sentiments like these in many a page of the circulating library. There we should not be surprised to find a girl of seventeen spend a summer day in dedicating her heart to the man she had seen for the first time at last night's ball; nor should *we* feel it necessary to enter our protest against the sense, or morality, or propriety of the notion. But this is a religious work—the work of one who has not found spirituality enough in our Church; who has been attracted by the superior strictness and the moral discipline the Church of Rome is supposed to exercise over her children, ruling their minds, wills, and hearts. It is a most common fallacy to attribute, as a thing of course, a strict moral code to all who have taken a strong step in their religious career; as if it were some deeper sensitiveness—some finer perception—which had led them on. Often the very contrary is the case; our moral restraints are forgotten, or deemed useless by enthusiasm, which claims to be under a higher law. Thus, we find our authoress expatiating on sublime sacrifices, on 'immense charity,' on an absolute abnegation of self; while side by side with these lofty contemplations, we find a morality which sets at defiance prescriptive usage—which encourages impulse and justifies self-confidence. She has two sets of characters—one whose principle is doing what they do not like, the other doing what they do like. What is reasonable, and wise, and just, as a motive of action, is alike unthought of by either, and often equally forgotten by the author. Which of these two classes is most likely to influence the novel-reader, need not be made a question, especially as all the author's powers—all her dramatic skill—are engaged on the side of those who follow nature and impulse, and the reader's sympathies engaged, by a natural consequence, in the same direction. All is done to

excite respect for the vehemence of their passions, compassion for the difficulties in which these involve them, and excuse for their errors; while religion interposes at the last to work out of these materials a high and self-denying spirituality, whose romantic interest altogether throws into the shade the conditions of life and feeling, which a course of ordinary prudence and principle would have resulted in. It is no excuse to say that there *are* miracles of grace—that history, and perhaps even our own experience, furnishes examples of a course of passion and self-indulgence changing into one of self-discipline and devotion. We grant it, and thank God that He so vouchsafes to bring good out of evil. But this is not the sphere of the novelist. His duty and office confine him to the ordinary laws of Providence and the moral government of the world, in which effects follow their causes—where sin shows its origin and true tendency by leading downward from bad to worse—and where the conscience, once outraged, grows hardened, and habit makes itself chains of iron. That is an immoral fiction whose teaching is contrary to this universal experience, whatever pretensions to spirituality may veil its true tendency from either writer or reader; nor can we see the chance of a good influence, or any but a mischievous one, likely to belong to the story of Gertrude, from this commencement to its close.

But to return to her history,—to such a slight sketch of it, at least, as we alone have room for. An accident by a fall from her horse, brings Gertrude within the sphere of Adrien d'Arberg. He finds her insensible, and carries her to the house of Lady Clara Audley, the lady who, years ago, had discarded her father on some experience of his bad temper. Here she is introduced to some of the happiness she had so longed for—to the charms of brilliant society and refined luxury; and here she finds her first impressions of the object of her admiration more than confirmed. He is indeed largely invested with perfections. He is of noble birth and great wealth, combining the best qualities of the national character of England, France, and Germany, to all of which countries he belongs—each language being as his mother-tongue. We have already been informed of his personal attractions. He is a celebrated author—his genius stemming, single-handed, the torrent of irreligion: he is 'perfectly' simple, and 'perfectly' profound: his 'good works are prodigious:' he has made a brilliant career in Algeria for the single purpose of proving his courage—but his zeal and self-devotion rather point him out for the priesthood: while minor accomplishments are not forgotten, and, to show him an epitome of all that is 'awfully vast, and elegantly little,' he is made an incomparable billiard-player, executing without practice manœuvres which defy all imitation.

As an author we have this interesting picture, which we extract for the benefit of our literary readers ; though, we much fear, with as little chance of successful imitation as in the more trivial case we have just quoted. It is by Maurice, who had lived with him at Rome.

' We lived at that time in an apartment near the Quattro Fontane, and M. d'Arberg used to write in a little garden full of violets, with a trellis of lemon-trees on one side and a view over Rome on the other. I often looked at him as he sat at work, and thought what a good model he would have afforded a painter for a S. John writing his Gospel, or a S. Thomas Aquinas his Summa. He never looked impatient or anxious, but used to write those eloquent pages so composedly, so fluently, that I could almost have fancied I saw his guardian angel by his side dictating to him ; and if anybody interrupted him—some tiresome acquaintance, or some begging friar—he would put down his pen and listen to them with a countenance as undisturbed as if he had nothing else in the world to occupy or engross him.'—Vol. ii. p. 4.

Mr. Lifford at this time is conveniently called off to Spain, and Gertrude is in consequence left very much to follow her own pleasure in keeping up an intercourse with her new friends. Her devotion to D'Arberg is tolerably apparent. He, on his part, receives it graciously, but does not declare himself till she betrays her fondness in a scene of mesmerism. There his warning voice actually counteracts the mystic powers of the operator, and proves the superior attraction of the two. Her mother, (who has already been introduced to him by Gertrude,) as far as lies in her, gives her warm approval ; but both mother and daughter have misgivings of what Mr. Lifford's decision may be on his return, for no other reason than his uniform denial of every wish. In the meanwhile Maurice, who sees Gertrude occasionally, but does not become so absolutely convinced as the rest of the world of her love for D'Arberg, thinks fit to consult her on the delicate matter of how he is to act on a letter just received from Mary, releasing him from his engagement with herself. It is one of those scenes which so test the ingenuity of the novelist, where the facts which *must* come out, were the dialogue real, are to be kept in the dark : though only partially in the dark here, for Gertrude only *hopes* that she is not the object of the treacherous affection, which she advises him to cherish ; and he does not know for certain whether she has given him encouragement or not ; Gertrude, we must add, evincing no indignation at his shameful usage of her friend, and a culpable indifference to the *chance* of herself being its cause.

Soon events thicken. Mr. Lifford returns from Spain, and sends his uncle, the priest, in his place to look after his son's broken leg. M. d'Arberg seeks an interview with the father, but is dismissed without being allowed to see Gertrude, or herself being informed of his visit. She becomes perplexed at his

long silence, makes inquiries, hears, through Maurice, that he is in Paris, and supposed to be preparing himself for the priesthood. Her mother, whose health has long been sinking, makes a great effort to plead her daughter's cause with her husband, and a scene ensues, some intimation of which Gertrude gathers in the next room. At length he summons her to her mother, who is dying. She dies before there is time for a word with her distracted daughter, who is now left in grief, and bitterness of heart, with none between her and her father. Mr. Lifford drowns whatever remorse he has, in the splendours of a grand funeral; and the very next day, at evening, Gertrude is summoned to him to receive the extraordinary announcement that, while he was in Spain, he promised her hand to a certain Count Mirasole, who he had just heard was to arrive that night, and whom she must receive as her husband. She asks if these were the only overtures he had received for her. He then is forced to admit his interview with D'Arberg, but treats his claims with lofty contempt, finally showing Gertrude a passage from a French newspaper, which announces that he is entering the priesthood. If there is any use in a vigorous, intelligent mind, decided character, and strong will, to say nothing of 'the deep power of loving,' of which we hear so much, we should have expected these qualities to serve Gertrude in her present extremity. But no victim of Spanish or Italian mediæval oppression ever found herself less prepared for an emergency. She had been used to contests of opinion with her father. She was fully aware that nothing could be done to her against her will. She was not blinded by jealousy; yet she is cast at once into such desolation and despair as to lose all power of thought and self-defence, except the very feeble one of running away. She quits the house in the dark, and makes her way to Mrs. Redmond's in the village close at hand. This, however, is nothing to the betrayal of her good genius that follows, and which classes this story amongst the most preposterous of fictions. When she arrives at the door it is opened by Maurice, who informs her that his mother and Mary had set off that day for London, where they were going to reside, and that he was the sole occupant of the house.

The authoress never seems to realize the base and contemptible fellow she makes Maurice. Anybody professing selfish and exaggerated love has her sympathies, whatever despicable actions it leads to. We have seen his desertion of Mary. Now, when this poor distracted girl arrives alone at night at his door, his instant thought is to take advantage of her situation and distraction for his own purposes. He dissuades her from taking refuge at the priest's house in the village. He forces upon her his own audacious proposal of an immediate marriage. The opening words of the

following scene refer to the question he once put to her on the matter of Mary's letter and his own preference for another:—

"My heart beats so that I can hardly speak. Gertrude, as you once told me to do, I have loved in silence—I have adored you in hopelessness. I shall love you whether you become the wife of Mirasole, or pine away your life in the dungeon called your home. Pure as it is ardent, humble as it is passionate, I dare speak of my love even here alone with you; for you could never mistake a heart that at all times has been yours. If some have hated, I have worshipped you. If some have feebly loved, I have adored you. If others have forsaken, I have clung to you. * * * Will you be my wife, to fight our way through the world amidst the frowns of its votaries, the sneers of its slaves?"

"Hush, Maurice, hush!" she wildly exclaimed: "you do not know what you are saying."

"I know that I love you as woman has seldom been loved; that is enough for me. O! can it not be enough for you? My Gertrude, my Lady-Bird, come with me to a home where none but loving eyes will look upon you [he alludes to Mary]—none but loving words be addressed to you. Let me rescue you from a tyranny that has embittered all your life. I do not ask you to love me as I love you. Few love thus. But let me be your husband."

"My husband!" she exclaimed. "*You!* O leave me! leave me! What are you talking of, Maurice? Do not you know —?" She got up and went towards the door. He turned so deadly pale, that she thought he was about to faint. Despair was in his face. "God help me!" she said. "I am breaking his heart, as mine is breaking!" He heard her, and the expression of his eyes changed. A sudden hope shot through them. Again he pleaded, again implored; and a strange conflict arose in her whom he addressed as she listened to his feverish words of tenderness and passion which soothed her bruised and aching heart. The idea of revenge, too, arose in that proud heart. To reward a love which had been long as time and patient as faith, to fly from scenes which seemed to wither her soul as she looked upon them. * * * She felt a pining desire to be loved, protected. * * * A morbid gratitude—a feverish terror—a boundless resentment blinded her. She scarcely looked beyond the present moment, and was conveyed away towards the railway station, with no definite thought but the fear of being overtaken."—Vol. iii. p. 26.

Though we have scruples of propriety against the language in which the present writer so fluently expresses intense affection, yet, in one point, her love falls far short of what our sense of romantic constancy requires. Her most impassioned heroines are always more open to the pleasure of being loved by others beside the object of their own regard, than we can at all allow for or comprehend. In no emergency are they above this sentiment. There are occasions when *we* should suppose a declaration of this sort abhorrent to a lady's feelings; and the more daring and passionate its language, the more repulsive. But with these eloquent ladies—and though we have repeated none of Gertrude's professions of idolizing affection, our readers are to suppose them of the most ardent character,—in the midst of anguish and despair, such as only our authoress knows how to describe—a little extraneous love-making does come in as a consolation. Ellen Middleton found something

congenial in Henry Lovel's ravings—'that fierce love which idolizes one hour, hates the next'—and Gertrude in Maurice's. Long ago we are told that, from the bottom of her heart, she was touched at having inspired such a feeling. And here the 'words of passion and of tenderness' are acknowledged to have wrought powerfully on her feelings. And what a moment is chosen for this trait of what is thought nature! Her mother just dead! herself a fugitive from her father's house! still 'idolatrously loving Adrien d'Arberg!' and now, alone at dead of night, under such peculiar circumstances of helpless distress. That she should not shrink revoluting from Maurice, instead of being induced to acquiesce out of pity and from gratitude for his love so offered!—that she should be persuaded to her utter ruin by what should have roused all her spirit and indignation, and recalled her to herself!

What follows is in the last stage of melodramatic impossibility. Maurice brings her to London, where they arrive very early in the morning at his mother's door. He announces to Mary that they are to be married immediately. Gertrude, profoundly miserable and stupified to the degree necessary for the author's plans, enters into no explanation with Mary. It is taken for granted by her and by every one that the marriage must be, though the impossibility of drawing back is entirely in the writer's own imagination, not in fact. Mary behaves like the simpleton good people are too often made in these kind of works, where goodness is set upon a pedestal to be looked at, but never reached by the spectators,—where goodness, in fact, is made a sort of quality unfitting its possessor for any useful part in this world. Mary, then, instead of seeing that it is the duty of a friend to protect Gertrude in the preposterous situation in which she has fallen, and also to warn Maurice of the unprincipled course he is pursuing, makes up her mind to go with them to church as soon as he brings the licence, and to take her mother too, in order to give her sanction to what she knows and *says* is wrong: the act of virtue, be it observed, consisting not in its being a right thing in itself, or advantageous to others, but solely that it is disagreeable and repugnant to the just natural feelings of the performer,—taking Father Lifford's view, that one mortification is as good as another. If Mary had listened to her feelings, and acted with common sense upon them, not giving way to resentment, which would have been wrong, but judging reasonably on what was due to herself, her friend, and her *quondam* lover, the story would have foundered at this stage. But a spirit of blind self-sacrifice is thought the preferable virtue; and in this spirit she rejects an opening that is given her for an explanation; for Gertrude asks her—looking only as heroines can look—'Did you ever hear of a daughter's marrying a fortnight after her

mother's death?' To which Mary only answers, the colour rushing into her face, 'But yours is not an ordinary marriage.'

The miserable day is well described. Maurice's tormenting attentions; Gertrude's sobs and sighs, and longings to be alone; her exclamation when she sees him walk off with Mary, 'What have I done! what have I done!' Mary now comes to an explanation with Maurice, which she ought to have insisted upon at once, and has a glimpse of the baseness of his conduct; though none knows but himself that, an hour before the marriage, he had received a letter from D'Arberg, enclosing one to Gertrude, which, as an honourable man, he commits to his care to deliver to her.

Mary feels it her duty to make the married pair as comfortable as she can; she decorates their humble lodgings; she works for them with her never-wearying needle; till, after a time, she and her mother return to the country, and Gertrude and her husband are left alone in their dreary home. Previous to this there has been a well-drawn scene, where Father Lifford arrives all unconscious from Spain, calls upon Mrs. Redmond to hear some news, and learns the whole wretched truth from Gertrude. She tells him she has married Maurice, not for love, but from despair. The duties of the priest and confessor overcome the outraged feelings of the man: he gives her good advice; he pities her, and sees that with her father lies half the blame. The picture of Gertrude's accommodating herself in cold deceptive resignation to her new sphere of duties, suits the writer's genius. She stolidly determines to do her duty by her husband; she economizes, adapts herself to her altered fortunes, and falls into the habits of his class, walks with him and visits with him, and never disobeys him; and, by this conduct, naturally enough, drives him to exasperation and despair, for she makes it clear through all that she does not love him.

'It was a subtle error under which she was acting. She never tried to love, or prayed for the power of loving her husband. And who could have supposed this to be the case that had seen her anticipating his slightest wish, bearing his irritability (for he had become very irritable) with a patience which he was sometimes tempted to curse in moments of exasperation, while to all others, and even to herself, it must have seemed the highest virtue? When he was ill she sat up with him at night; she wrote his notes of excuse to his pupils, she went herself to his patrons to apologise for his absence from their concerts; she seemed to have quelled her pride, mastered her temper, and shaken off her indolence; but to have looked at him in a manner that he might have mistaken for love—used a single word of endearment that might have implied more tenderness than she felt—that she was firmly resolved never to do; and, with the characteristic peculiarity of her race, was all the time, as Father Lifford had said, mistaking a vice for a virtue.'—Vol. iii. p. 94.

This is all very well, but if the authoress by this candid view of Gertrude's faults supposes that she throws the responsibility

of sympathising with her course of conduct upon the reader, and escapes the dilemma herself, she deceives herself. We believe Gertrude's situation an impossible one, and we are never bound to bring our judgment and moral acumen to bear on impossibilities. People cannot love treachery, meanness, selfishness, faithlessness, especially when practised to the utter ruin of themselves; and to say, at this stage of the business, 'Gertrude ought to have loved her husband,' is a simple unreality, which the authoress has taken no pains to make otherwise. The wretched pair go on from bad to worse. Accident brings to Gertrude's knowledge the letter which Adrien had written to her. Maurice has taken it from its concealment, thinking to open it, when her eyes catch the direction, and she insists upon reading it, which, in jealous desperation, he makes her do in his presence, and then in his turn reads it also.

'The letter dropped from Maurice's hands, and he hid his face with them. She knelt by the side of his chair; she felt very sorry for him, more than she had ever done before. "Forgive me," she said gently, "forgive me, that I married you." He turned suddenly round, and his eyes flashed fire through their tears. "Forgive you, while you love that man! No, by all I have suffered. No! I do not forgive you. Burn that letter before me, I cannot touch it again. Burn it this instant." She stooped to pick it up, and looked so pale, so unspeakably wretched, as she dropped it in the fire, and watched the flames consuming it, that a sudden reaction occurred in his feelings; he threw himself at her feet, and with startling vehemence exclaimed—

"I received that letter, Gertrude, on the morning of our marriage, and I was trusted with it. I might have given it to you before you had sealed your misery. O can you not hate and despise me?"

"*You* had it!" she said. "That letter was in *your* hands! It would have saved me, and you did not give it me! Did you do this, Maurice? O then you deserve the fate you have found. God help us both; we are doomed to a life of sorrow."

"You never told me you loved that man: you never told me you had been engaged to him."

"You saw my heart was breaking. Did you ever ask me if I loved you?"

"Oh, cannot you love me? At the altar you swore to love me. Have you no pity, no conscience?"

"What do you care for my pity? What have you to do with my conscience? I am your wife. You would have it so. Adrien trusted you. O fool that he was to trust you or me!"—Vol. iii. p. 121.

After this Gertrude relaxes in some of her virtuous resolutions—she allows herself to think of her lover, and to read his works. In the meanwhile Maurice, whose genius fails him in the midst of these vicissitudes of anguish, gets into difficulties, and is arrested, and liberated to his vexation by his wife's small independence. On his release, Gertrude proposes emigration to America. As the first wish of any sort she had ever expressed, he acquiesces, and they set about the preparations for depar-

ture. But time will not allow us to linger. Our readers will not be surprised, however remarkable the circumstance would appear to Gertrude, that Adrien d'Arberg had chanced to take his passage to America by the same ship, the object of his voyage being to protect and settle a party of Irish emigrants. She was made aware very early of this fact, but some days elapsed before she saw him, and supposed some mistake, till it turned out that he had taken his passage in the steerage, for the sake of more entirely devoting himself to his charge. There, every evening, he addressed them in eloquent words of instruction and amusement, and there Gertrude went evening after evening to listen to him. For a long time no mutual recognition took place, till on one occasion he made a pathetic allusion to recent troubles, and Gertrude on the impulse of the moment throwing up her veil, their eyes met. Gertrude is not commended for this; on the contrary, we find the following solemn passage on the tempter's power over her soul:—

'There was a plank between her and the deep sea: what was there between her and sin?—not even a good resolution! She was very tired of suffering; that was all she knew. Oh, how busy the tempter was in that hour with that weary spirit! How he whispered in that watching ear, how he hung over that silent form! No thought of guilt did he send to pass before those closed eyes: he only said, Rest a little! Do not fight so incessantly with what no human strength can conquer—the weight of earthly love, which is part of yourself. Look once more upon that face which you had thought never to see again. It will calm, not disturb you, —it will strengthen, not weaken you. Was it not from him you once learned what since you have forgotten? Go! learn again from him to be good and strong!'—Vol. iii. p. 162.

These are no doubt in the true vein of the tempter's arguments. The only pity for the moral is, that they are made to come true: that she follows this advice and the story turns it to her eternal benefit, though with some intermediate perils and reverses. D'Arberg soon seeks an interview, to learn, for the first time, the cause of her desertion of him. In the course of the conversation we come to the following passage:—

'My dearest—I may call you so, for nothing on earth is so dear to me as you—my dearest, let us so live, let us so die, that to all eternity we may say, "Thank God that we met! Thank God that we understood the meaning of our love, the meaning of our sufferings, and recognised in them the source of higher fruits of virtue and of love than happiness could ever have yielded. Since the day I first saw you, something impelled me to watch you, to pray for you, to feel that I was to influence your destiny. Once, for a while—" he paused, there was a swelling in his heart which he could hardly subdue, but mastering his emotion he went on. "That dream has passed away. I saw, not that I had mistaken God's purpose, but the way in which it was to work, and I hoped that in the end we should not have met in vain. Now I am sure of it. Now a light has flashed through the gloom; now you too will draw courage and strength from past and from

present sorrow. O Gertrude, our two hearts are bruised in the fierce trial we have passed and are now passing through. Let each pang that we endure prove a blessing to others. Let innumerable good deeds and earnest efforts be the fruit of our sufferings; and then, on the day when every tear and every sigh, every cup of cold water is counted, shall we not say, if by His infinite mercy we both stand on his right hand,—Thank God that we met?"

'Both were silent—both were overcome. Their hands were joined in silence, and they withdrew.'

We beg to protest with all our hearts against this mingling of earthly and, in this case, unlawful passion, with the language of spirituality and devotion. We do not speak of the intention, but the effect is simply profane, and whatever influence such a passage has *must* be for mischief,—confusing and erasing the boundaries of right and wrong. After this explanation they meet constantly, and, it is admitted, not without danger to both. 'They stood on the brink of a precipice.' Gertrude scarcely endeavours to protect herself from the danger to which she is exposed. Her aim is to procure from D'Arberg a promise that they shall meet again after their landing.

'They had spoken of their arrival—she had asked if she should see him again when he returned from the settlement he was to visit. She asked it with a look that thrilled through his heart; she had turned pale when he hesitated—when he had assented there was a flash of joy in her eyes which carried him back to the day when he first promised to go to Lifford Grange. All the past flashed upon him with a startling power. He felt she loved him *as* then—*more* than then; a wild involuntary joy mingled with a sensation of terror and remorse shot through his heart. He had meant never to see her again after these days of constrained intercourse: now he had agreed to do so. He had done *wrong*.'—Vol. iii. p. 202.

Maurice has all this while been in a state of moody wretchedness, and suffers too from illness of a serious nature. He is full of remorse and despair, and would be glad to die, and leave those whom he has divided at liberty to be happy. The same thought for a moment flashes through her mind. 'Till death do us part' floated in her ear, and the recoil and the horror of the suggestion are represented as sufficient to recal her to herself. It is right to make it so; but unfortunately the reader has thought of that expedient so long before, that he feels to have no right to pass a very austere judgment. However, the remembrance of the temptation urges Gertrude to penitence, and a sort of remorseful tenderness towards her husband, which she has never shown or felt before. She gratifies him by some marks of affection, which excite emotions too strong for his feeble frame. Fainting, he calls for the cordial which had been prescribed for him. In her hurry she seizes the wrong bottle, and finds, after he has swallowed it, that she has poisoned him! The doctor is inefficient; in her extremity

she summons D'Arberg, and by their joint efforts Maurice's life is saved. But while he hung between life and death, the consciousness of error in each, led them to whisper a mutual vow of final separation, whatever might be the consequences of that hour. Our authoress is fond of vows and oaths—very convenient, but we would take leave to say very questionable, means for gaining a purpose in romance. By an absurd oath, Ellen Middleton is withheld from a statement of facts which would have made all plain and straightforward, and dispersed to the winds her web of wretched entanglements; a promise of concealment, in 'Grantley Manor,' places the saintly Ginevra in situations of apparent outrageous impropriety; while the use of this vow in 'Lady Bird' is to screen from the author, and, if possible, from the reader, the indecorum of the scenes and situations into which the lovers are brought, as well as their natural consequences. The scene and the vow together accomplish the work of conversion. From that moment Gertrude is really, not in pretence only, devoted to her husband. He gradually recovers under her cares and persuasions, and when the time for parting comes, and they say farewell to Adrien d'Arberg,

'Gertrude had her face on her husband's shoulder, and both for a few minutes wept together. She was the first to dry her tears, and when he raised his eyes to hers there was not a cloud on her brow.'—Vol. iii. p. 234.

But though Gertrude has forgiven her husband, the author has not, or at least knows that the vindictive reader will demand an appropriate expiation. Therefore that night the ship takes fire, when already close to the shore. Maurice and Gertrude are brought safe to land in the boats, but Adrien waits till the last, taking care of his emigrants. They behold from the shore the imminence of his peril, and Maurice himself rows off in a boat, and with great exertion saves him and brings him to land, but at the moment breaks a blood-vessel, and dying, seeks to join the hands of the lovers as a last atonement; but, of course, the vow prevents this consummation, so, standing together over Maurice's grave, they part for ever.

Gertrude becomes a mother, and lavishes on her son Maurice all the love she so long withheld from his father. She remains many years in America, devoting herself to good works, till summoned home by her brother, who tells her she can do no better work than return to her father, whom time has changed and broken down. She obeys this call, and takes up her abode once more in Lifford Grange, forgiven by her father and devoting herself to him. Mr. Lifford leads a life of solitude and penance, and to such a length carries his change of views, that he permits his son to marry a young lady of respectable but not ancient family. Mary, we need scarcely say, becomes a sister of charity,

and the last we hear of D'Arberg is as a missionary in China; so matters turn out much more to the credit of all parties than might at one time have been anticipated, or than we can at all suppose they would have done in the field of real life.

After threading the maze of harrowing perplexities thus set forth by Lady Georgiana, having followed her characters through their course of fatal mistakes and hair-breadth perils, witnessed their bursts of tragic passion, listened to their turgid sentiments, and felt the whole to be the offspring of a lively imagination, confined within too narrow a sphere of observation,—a society removed so high above many of the real troubles of life that they must needs allow idleness and luxury to coin some for them,—it is, we own, a relief to turn to the work-day world of 'Villette.' The rough winds of common life make a better atmosphere for fiction than the stove heat of the 'higher circles.' Currer Bell, by hardly *earning* her experience, has, at least, won her knowledge in a field of action where more can sympathise; though we cannot speak of sympathy, or of ourselves as in any sense sharing in it, without a protest against the outrages on decorum, the moral perversity, the toleration of, nay, indifference to vice which deform her first powerful picture of a desolate woman's trials and sufferings—faults which make *Jane Eyre* a dangerous book, and which must leave a permanent mistrust of the author on all thoughtful and scrupulous minds. But however alloyed with blame this sympathy has necessarily been, there are indications of its having cheered her and done her good. Perhaps, as it was argued of Gertrude, she has been the better for a little happiness and success, for in many important moral points 'Villette' is an improvement on its predecessors. The author has gained both in amiability and propriety since she first presented herself to the world,—soured, coarse, and grumbling; an alien, it might seem, from society, and amenable to none of its laws.

We have said that Currer Bell has found life not a home, but a school; and this is more than a figure, as we gather from all her works. She may, indeed, be considered the novelist of the schoolroom, not, we need scarcely explain, for any peculiar fitness for the pure youthful mind, her best efforts exhibit, but because, as the scholastic world would seem to have been the main theatre of her experience—as here have been excited, in herself, many a vivid thought and keen interest—she chooses that others shall enter it with her. She will not condescend to shift the scene; she will not stoop to her reader's prejudices—they must overcome them; what has interested her, she means shall interest them: nor are we losers by the obligation. It cannot be denied that hitherto the art of teaching has cast

a suspicion of coldness and dryness over its professors: it should not be so; it is unfair to an honourable profession, which should at least be cheered by sympathy in its irksome labours. In these days of educational enthusiasm the prejudice ought to be done away. Currer Bell seems to regard it as the mission of her genius to effect this: her clear, forcible, picturesque style gives life to what our fancies thought but a vegetating existence. Not that she wishes to represent life in the schoolroom as happy; far from it; but she shows us that life does not stagnate there in an eternal round of grammar and dictionary—in a perpetual infusion of elementary knowledge; and wherever it can be shown to flow freely and vigorously, wherever the mind has scope and the heart and emotions free play, there we can find interest and excitement. Vilette must be considered the most scholastic of the series. In 'Jane Eyre' we have the melancholy experience of the Clergy-daughters' school, and her own subsequent position as governess; in 'Shirley' we have the heart-enthraling tutor, and the heiress falling in love as she learns her French and writes her copy-books under the assumed austerity of his rule,—a wrong state of things, we need not say: but in 'Vilette' almost the whole corps of the drama is furnished for the *Pensionnat de Demoiselles*. The flirting beauty of a school-girl; the grave, thoughtful young English teacher, with her purely intellectual attractions; Madame, the directress, the presiding genius; the little French professor of *Belles-lettres*, for the hero, and the classes and large school-garden for the scenes. Even the outer-world hero, Graham, comes in as the physician of the establishment, and is entangled by the school-girl beauty; though it is his business to introduce us sometimes to the world beyond the walls, which now and then affords a refreshing change.

Nor does she gain the point of interesting us by ignoring any professional peculiarity which belongs to the science of teaching. Even the writer (for it is an autobiography) is, we see clearly, in look and air the 'teacher' she describes herself: her manner affected and influenced by her position. The consciousness of being undervalued, the longings for some one to care for her leading to some undignified results, the necessary self-reliance, the demure air, the intellect held in check, but indemnifying itself for the world's neglect and indifference by the secret indulgence of an arrow-like penetration,—all are portrayed; and for the hero—what can be more like a professor and less like a standard hero than M. Emmanuel Paul? a character in the highest degree fresh and original, but in no sense calculated to attract a lady's fancy, except in scenes where the world of male society is shut out as it is in large female assemblies,—in schools,

convents, and, according to the satirist, old maid coteries,—in all of which a very small amount of heroic qualities are often found enough to constitute a man a hero.

Villette, which is the scene of the greater part of the story, means the city of Brussels. In her free strictures on the Belgian character, the author has apparently felt at greater ease in directing her satire under a feigned name; so Belgium is Labassecour, and its capital is Villette: but we are not at once introduced to them. The writer has an English experience first to relate, mainly for the purpose of giving a very peculiar picture of childhood. Whether it is owing to her school experience, or learnt from some tenderer source, our author shows a very delicate appreciation and knowledge of the childish character. All will remember the happy satire of French childhood in 'Jane Eyre.' We must present to our readers a sketch, in a different spirit, of a little affectionate English girl; who later in the book grows into so agreeable a character that we could have wished to see more of her; two or three very pretty scenes are, however, all that are afforded us.

The writer, Lucy Snowe, then a girl of sixteen, is visiting her godmother, Mrs. Bretton, a widow lady of kind, cheerful disposition, and mother of an only son, Graham, who plays subsequently the part of hero outside the Pensionnat. Mrs. Bretton's friend, Mr. Home, having just lost his wife under painful circumstances of separation and estrangement, is going to travel, and leaves his little girl, of six or seven, under her care. The nurse is to bring her by the coach, and we give her first introduction. We omit a good deal, and still it is long; but we think our readers will enjoy so much the playful truth and grace of the scene, and the subsequent one with Graham, as not to wish it further curtailed:—

'A little before ten, the door-bell announced Warren's return. No sooner was the door opened, than I ran down into the hall: there lay a trunk and some band-boxes. Beside them stood a person like a nurse-girl; and at the foot of the staircase was Warren, with a shawled bundle in his arms.

"Is that the child?" I asked.

"Yes, Miss."

"I would have opened the shawl, and tried to get a peep at the face; but it was hastily turned from me to Warren's shoulder.

"Put me down, please," said a small voice when Warren opened the drawing-room door; "and take off this shawl," continued the speaker, extracting with its minute hand the pin, and, with a sort of fastidious haste, doffing the clumsy wrapper. The creature which now appeared, made a deft attempt to fold the shawl; but the drapery was much too heavy and large to be sustained and wielded by those hands and arms. "Give it to Harriet, please," was then the direction, "and she can put it away." This said, it turned, and fixed its eyes on Mrs. Bretton.

"Come here, little dear," said that lady. "Come, and let me see if you are cold and damp—come, and let me warm you at the fire."

‘The child advanced promptly. Relieved of her wrapping, she appeared exceedingly tiny; but was a neat and completely-fashioned little figure, light, slight, and straight. Seated on my godmother’s ample lap, she looked a mere doll: her neck, delicate as wax, her head of silky curls, increased, I thought, the resemblance.’

After some silent attentions, there ensues the following conversation:—

“What is my little one’s name?” “Missy.”

“But besides Missy?” “Polly, papa calls her.”

“Will Polly be content to live with me?”

“Not *always*, but till papa comes home. Papa is gone away.” She shook her head expressively.

“He will return to Polly, or send for her.”

“Will he, ma’am? Do you know he will?” “I think so.”

“But Harriet thinks not; at least, not for a long while.—He is ill.”

‘Her eyes filled. She drew her hand from Mrs. Bretton’s, and made a movement to leave her lap: it was at first resisted; but she said—

“Please, I wish to go—I can sit on a stool.”

‘She was allowed to slip down from the knee, and, taking a footstool, she carried it to a corner where the shade was deep, and there seated herself. Mrs. Bretton, though a commanding, and, in grave matters, even a peremptory woman, was often passive in trifles: she allowed the child her way. She said to me, “Take no notice at present.” But I did take notice. I watched Polly rest her small elbow on her small knee, her head on her hand; I observed her draw a square inch or two of pocket-handkerchief from the doll-pocket of her doll-skirt, and then I heard her weep. Other children in grief or pain cry aloud, without shame or restraint; but this being *rept*: the tiniest occasional sniff testified to her emotion. Mrs. Bretton did not hear it, which was quite as well.—*Villette*, vol. i. p. 6.

We have not space for the decorous deportment and suppressed grief, the moans and heartache of the little lady during some days, her papa her one thought, by night and by day.

‘What might have been the end of this fretting had it continued unchecked, can only be conjectured. It received, however, a sudden turn. One afternoon Mrs. Bretton, coaxing her from her usual station in a corner, had lifted her into a window-seat, and, by way of occupying her attention, told her to watch the passengers, and count how many ladies should go down the street in a given time. She had sat listlessly, hardly looking, and not counting, when—my eyes being fixed on her’s—I witnessed, in its iris and pupil, a startling transfiguration. Those sudden, dangerous natures—*sensitive* they are called—offer many a curious spectacle to those whom a cooler temperament has secured from participation in their angular vagaries. The fixed and heavy gaze swam, trembled, then glittered in fire; the small, overcast brow cleared; the trivial and dejected features lit up; the sad countenance vanished, and in its place appeared a sudden eagerness—an intense expectancy.

“It is!” were her words.

‘Like a bird, or a shaft, or any other swift thing, she was gone from the room. How she got the house-door open I cannot tell; probably it might be ajar; perhaps Warren was in the way and obeyed her behest, which would be impetuous enough. I, watching calmly from the window, saw her, in her black frock and tiny braided apron, (to pinafores she had an antipathy,) dart half the length of the street; and as I was on the point of turning, and quietly announcing to Mrs. Bretton that the child was run out

mad, and ought instantly to be pursued, I saw her caught up, and wrapped at once from my cool observation, and from the wondering stare of the passengers. A gentleman had done this good turn, and now, covering her with his cloak, advanced to restore her to the house whence he had seen her issue.'—*Fillette*, vol. i. p. 16.

It was her papa. Very quiet the pair are in the happiness of meeting again. 'She made wonderfully little noise—she seemed to have got what she wanted—*all* she wanted, and to be in a trance of content.' Soon we are introduced to Mrs. Bretton's son, Graham. He has been absent from home till now, and the opening acquaintance of these incipient lovers is thus described:—

'The meal over, and numerous questions from his mother answered, he turned from the table to the hearth. Opposite where he had placed himself was seated Mr. Home, and at his elbow, the child. When I say *child*, I use an inappropriate and un-descriptive term—a term suggesting any picture rather than that of the demure little person in the mourning frock and white chemisette, that might just have fitted a good-sized doll, perched now on a high chair beside a stand, whereon was her toy work-box, of white varnished wood, and holding in her hand a shred of a handkerchief, which she was professing to hem, and at which she bored perseveringly with a needle that, in her fingers, seemed almost a skewer—pricking herself ever and anon, marking the cambric with a track of minute red dots; occasionally starting when the perverse weapon, swerving from her control, inflicted a deeper stab than usual; but still silent, diligent, absorbed, womanly.

'Graham was at that time a handsome, faithless-looking youth of sixteen. I say faithless-looking, not because he was really of a very perfidious disposition, but because the epithet strikes me as proper to describe the fair, Celtic (not Saxon) character of his good looks,—his waved, light-auburn hair, his supple symmetry, his smile frequent, and destitute neither of fascination nor of subtlety (in no bad sense). A spoilt, whimsical boy he was in those days.

"Mother," he said, after eyeing the little figure before him in silence for some time, and when the temporary absence of Mr. Home from the room relieved him from the half-laughing bashfulness, which was all he knew of timidity—"Mother, I see a young lady in the present society to whom I have not been introduced."

"Mr. Home's little girl, I suppose you mean," said his mother.

"Indeed, ma'am," replied her son, "I consider your expression of the least ceremonious; Miss Home, I should certainly have said, in venturing to speak of the gentlewoman to whom I allude."

"Now, Graham, I will not have that child teased. Don't flatter yourself I shall suffer you to make her your butt."

"Miss Home," pursued Graham, undeterred by his mother's remonstrance, "might I have the honour to introduce myself, since no one else seems willing to render you and me that service?—Your slave, John Graham Bretton."

'She looked at him; he rose, and bowed quite gravely. She deliberately put down her thimble, scissors, work; descended with precaution from her perch, and, curtsying with unspeakable seriousness, said, "How do you do?"

"I have the honour to be in fair health, only in some measure fatigued with a hurried journey. I hope, ma'am, I see you well."

"Tor-rer-ably well," was the ambitious reply of the little woman; and she now essayed to regain her former elevation; but finding this could not be done without some climbing and straining—a sacrifice of decorum not to be thought of—and being utterly disdainful of aid in the presence of a strange young gentleman, she relinquished the high chair for a low stool. Towards that low stool Graham drew in his chair.

"I hope, ma'am, the present residence, my mother's house, appears to you a convenient place of abode?"

"Not par-tic-er-er-ly; I want to go home."

"A natural and laudable desire, ma'am, but one which, notwithstanding, I shall do my best to oppose. I reckon on being able to get out of you a little of that precious commodity called amusement, which mamma and Mistress Snowe there fail to yield me."

"I shall have to go with papa soon; I shall not stay long at your mother's."

"Yes, yes; you will stay with me, I am sure. I have a pony, on which you shall ride, and no end of books with pictures to show you."

"Are *you* going to live here now?"

"I am. Does that please you? Do you like me?"

"No." "Why?" "I think you queer." "My face, ma'am?"

"Your face and all about you. You have long red hair."

"Auburn hair, if you please; mamma calls it auburn, or golden, and so do all her friends. But even with my 'long red hair'" (and he waved his mane with a sort of triumph—tawny he himself well knew that it was, and he was proud of the leonine hue), "I cannot possibly be queerer than is your ladyship."

"Do you call me queer?" "Certainly."

"(After a pause,) "I think I shall go to bed."

"A little thing like you ought to have been in bed many hours since; but you probably sat up in the expectation of seeing me?"

"No, indeed."

"You certainly wished to enjoy the pleasure of my society. You knew I was coming home, and you would wait to have a look at me."

"I sat up for papa, not for you."

"Very good, Miss Home. I am going to be a favourite, preferred before papa soon, I dare say."

She wished Mr. Bretton and myself good night; she seemed hesitating whether Graham's deserts entitled him to the same attention, when he caught her up with one hand, and with that one hand held her poised aloft above his head. She saw herself thus lifted up on high, in a glass over the fireplace. The suddenness, the freedom, the disrespect of the action, were too much.

"For shame, Mr. Graham!" was her indignant cry; "put me down!" and when again on her feet—"I wonder what you would think of me, if I were to treat you in that way, lifting you with my hand" (raising that mighty member) "as Warren lifts the little cat!"

"So saying, she departed."—Vol. i. p. 16.

There is more in the same strain between these young people; but soon the time of the story changes. The defect of the plot is a want of continuity. In fact, the style is rather that of an autobiography—and, perhaps, excusable as adopting that form—than a novel. Persons are introduced in the beginning who have no share in the conduct of the story; adventures are given, which begin and end in themselves. The whole episode

of Miss Marchmont is of this nature. At the end of it we find our heroine—she would not give herself this ambitious title—friendless and penniless, except for the 15*l.* which remain from her salary as Miss Marchmont's companion. The spirit of adventure rises with the need for exertion. She goes to London, and from thence sails to Boucmarine, the sea-port of Labasse-cour, to seek her fortune in a foreign land; and here commences the scholastic part of the story, for on board she meets with Ginevra Fanshawe, a girl of seventeen, on her way to Madame Beck's establishment at Villette. If she is intended as a portrait of the foreign-bred English girl, the picture is not encouraging. There is an air of knowledge and experience of the class which induces us to extract it, as possibly useful at a time when so much is sacrificed to the study of languages, the acquirement of a correct accent, and the like:—

'Foreigners say that it is only English girls who can thus be trusted to travel alone, and deep is their wonder at the daring confidence of English parents and guardians. As for the "*jeunes Miss*," by some their intrepidity is pronounced masculine and "*inconvenant*," others regard them as the passive victims of an educational and theological system which wantonly dispenses with proper "*surveillance*." Whether this particular young lady was of the sort that can the most safely be left unwatched, I do not know; but it soon appeared that the dignity of solitude was not to her taste. She paced the deck once or twice backwards and forwards, * * * and eventually she approached me, and spoke. "Are you fond of a sea-voyage?" was her question. I explained that my *fondness* for a sea-voyage had yet to undergo the test of experience. I had never made one.

"Oh, how charming!" cried she; "I quite envy you the novelty: first impressions, you know, are so pleasant. Now, I have made so many, I quite forget the first; I am quite *blasée* about the sea and all that."

'I could not help smiling.

"Why do you laugh at me?" she inquired, with a frank testiness that pleased me better than her other talk.

"Because you are so young to be *blasée* about anything."

"I am seventeen," (a little piqued.)

"You hardly look sixteen. Do you like travelling alone?"

"Bah! I care nothing about it. I have crossed the Channel ten times alone; but then, I take care never to be long alone: I always make friends. * * * Are you going to school?" "No." "Where are you going?" "I have not the least idea;—beyond, at least, the port of Boucmarine." She stared, then carelessly ran on: "I am going to school. Oh, the number of foreign schools I have been at in my life! And yet I am quite an ignoramus. I know nothing—nothing in the world—I assure you, except that I play and dance beautifully; and French and German, of course, I know, to speak; but I can't read or write them very well. Do you know, they wanted me to translate a page of an easy German book into English the other day, and I couldn't do it. Papa was so mortified; he says it looks as if M. de Bassompierre—my godpapa, who pays all my school-bills—had thrown away all his money. And then, in matters of information—in history, geography, arithmetic, and so on—I am quite a baby; and I write English so badly—such spelling and grammar, they tell me. Into the bargain, I have quite forgotten my religion: they call me a Protestant, you know, but really, I am not sure whether I am one or not;

I don't well know the difference between Romanism and Protestantism. However, I don't in the least care for that. I was a Lutheran once at Bonn—dear Bonn! charming Bonn!—where there were so many handsome students. Every nice girl in our school had an admirer; they knew our hours for walking out, and almost always passed us on the promenade. '*Schönes Mädchen*,' we used to hear them say. I was excessively happy at Bonn!" * * * *

"Do you like Villette?" I asked.

"Pretty well. The natives, you know, are intensely stupid and vulgar; but there are some nice English families."

"Are you in a school?"

"Yes."

"A good one?"

"Oh no! horrid. But I go out every Sunday, and care nothing about the *maîtresses*, or the *professeurs*, or the *élèves*, and send lessons *au diable*; (one daren't say that in English, you know, but it sounds quite right in French;) and thus I get on charmingly."—Vol. i. p. 98.

This slight mention of Villette and Madame Beck is enough to direct our homeless heroine's steps thither, though it is partly by accident that she finds herself, late in the evening, at the doors of the Pensionnat, and gains an interview with its mistress. There can be no doubt—the style admits of none—that, however fictitious may be the mode of admittance there, the description of the establishment itself, and many of its inmates, is drawn from nature and fact. The school is a real school; the state of things there is such as seemed to the writer actually to exist; and, above all, the Professor, to whom we are about to be introduced, is a real, *bond fide*, actual personage, a close study from the life—an admirably-drawn portrait—not a creation, in any other sense than an expressive, spirited, picturesque portrait may be called one. Not only does this character bear in every stage, at every fresh touch, the mark of reality, but the authoress finds that difficulty in bending him to her plot that a real person, set to play his part amongst inventions, must always furnish. The lame conclusion of the story confirms the previous conviction; but the reader excuses the failure. Having enjoyed M. Paul through the book, we are content that he should disappear in a mist of indistinctness at the end. It is the truth in him we have cared for;—that remains, whatever uncertainty may be thrown over his fictitious existence. He is introduced to the reader with little *prestige* or ostentation. He is cousin to Madame Beck; and she summons him to form a judgment on the Englishwoman:—

"There entered a small, dark, spare man, in spectacles.

"Mon cousin," began Madame, "I want your opinion. We know your skill in physiognomy: use it now. Read that countenance."

"The little man fixed on me his spectacles. A resolute compression of the lips and gathering of the brow, seemed to say that he meant to see me, and that a veil would be no veil for him.

"I read it," he pronounced. "Et qu'en dites-vous?"

"Mais—bien des choses," was the oracular answer.

"Bad or good?"

"Of each kind, without doubt," pursued the diviner.

"May one trust her word?"

"Are you negotiating a matter of importance?"

"She wishes me to engage her as Bonne, or Gouvernante,—tells a tale full of integrity, but gives no reference."

"She is a stranger?" "An Englishwoman, as one may see."

"She speaks French?" "Not a word."

"She understands it?" "No."

"One may then speak plainly in her presence?"

"Doubtless." He gazed steadily. "Do you need her services?"

"I could do with them."

Still he scrutinized. The judgment, when it at last came, was as indefinite as what had gone before it.

"Engage her. If good predominates in that nature, the action will bring its own reward; if evil—très bien! ma cousine, ce sera toujours une bonne œuvre."

And with a bow and a "bon soir," this vague arbiter of my destiny vanished.—Vol. i. p. 124.

Thus began the Professor's studies of Miss Lucy, as she was called. Very much she subsequently engages his attention, and excites his curiosity. But the little Frenchman could not see into her heart, as she read his; and it is her portraiture of an excitable, irascible, jealous, vain, yet at heart true and amiable nature, which is one of the chief sources of amusement in the really good portions of this very unequal work.

M. Paul takes no prominent part, however, at first. Madame Beck's establishment and system have to be described,—a very fair scene for this author's peculiar habits of observation; for her favourite point of view is not the received one, and quite the reverse of that pedestal and harmonious arrangement of lights, which some clever women have thought the only fair site from which they are to be contemplated. We have, on the contrary, the *deshabille* of every character when free from the restraints that society imposes. Thus the beautiful flirt that fascinates in the ball-room, is seen with all her careless, rude, rough, schoolroom selfishness, where there are no men to keep her in order; girlhood, in general, is stripped of its poetical illusions; Madame Beck, whose public career is so useful and respectable, sinks into a spy. It is the same in Curren Bell's former works. She is jealous of the dress-side of life:—being, for some reason, cut off from, and by her peculiar class of faults and deficiencies ill adapted to it, she is not in its interests. She describes gay scenes well and vividly; but solely as a spectator, not as an assistant and component part, which is the element of pleasure in all festal scenes. A feeling is always conveyed which it would be unjust to call envy, implying rather a kind of yearning, a sense of isolation, which may not belong wholly to situation, and perhaps is inseparable

from keen penetration, but which, as we have said, fits in exactly with the position and the character assumed in the story.

Madame Beck's establishment is conducted on the system of surveillance which some have thought necessary to good education,—a system of which she is complete mistress, being addicted to arts which are usually supposed to be practised only by the detective police of some tyrannical power, but which the present writer traces to the influence of Roman Catholicism in the countries where it prevails.

There is probably prejudice, but there may be also valuable information, in her picture of even a good foreign school:—

'She would talk to me about England and Englishwomen, and the reasons for what she was pleased to term their superior intelligence, and more real and reliable probity. Very good sense she often showed,—very sound opinions she often broached; she seemed to know that keeping children in distrustful restraint, in blind ignorance, under a surveillance that left them no moment, and no corner for retirement, was not the best way to make them grow up honest and modest women; but she averred that ruinous consequences would ensue if any other method were tried with continental children. They were so accustomed to constraint, that relaxation, however guarded, would be misunderstood and fatally presumed on. She was sick, she would declare, of the means she had to use, but use them she must; and after discoursing, often with dignity and delicacy, to me, she would move away on her "*souliers de silence*," and glide ghost-like through the house, watching and spying everywhere, peering through every keyhole, and listening behind every door. After all, Madame's system was not bad,—let me do her justice. Nothing could be better than all her arrangements for the physical well-being of her scholars. No mind was over-tasked; the lessons were well distributed and made incomparably easy to the learner; there was a liberty of amusement, and a provision for exercise, which kept the girls healthy; the food was abundant and good; neither pale nor puny faces were any where to be seen in the Rue Fossette. She never grudged a holiday; she allowed plenty of time for sleeping, dressing, washing, eating; her method in all these matters was easy, liberal, salutary, and rational: many an austere English schoolmistress would do vastly well to imitate it; and I believe many would be glad to do so, if exacting English parents would let them.'—Vol. i. p. 137.

But the results of the system are still what none would desire. We would hope that the following pictures of girlhood are exaggerated,—that that propensity to daguerreotype truth, which actually does make things uglier than they are, has been at work. We give, first, the look and aspect of a class of girls thus educated, explaining that Madame Beck had soon found her new inmate fit for better things than making children's frocks; and had proposed to her to give a lesson of English to the 'second division,' which consisted of sixty girls. Without any previous explanation she was introduced to her new and formidable pupils:—

'The first glance informed me that many of the pupils were more than girls—quite young women; I knew that some of them were of noble

family, (as nobility goes in Labassecour,) and I was well convinced that not one amongst them was ignorant of my position in Madame's household. As I mounted the estrade, (a low platform raised a step above the flooring,) where stood the teacher's chair and desk, I beheld opposite to me a row of eyes and brows that threatened stormy weather—eyes full of insolent light, and brows hard and unblushing as marble. The continental "female" is quite a different being from the insular "female" of the same age and class; I never saw such eyes and brows in England. Madame Beck introduced me in one cool phrase, sailed from the room, and left me alone in my glory. I shall never forget that first lesson, nor all the undercurrent of life and character it opened up to me. Then first did I begin rightly to see the wide difference that lies between the novelist's and poet's ideal "*jeune fille*," and the said "*jeune fille*" as she really is.'—Vol. i. p. 151.

We believe that this peculiar aspect, these eyes, and hard unblushing brows, are to be found in our island, under the same circumstances as foster them in Labassecour. Wherever girls and young women, for any purpose, are brought in great numbers together, and allowed to associate in wild unrestrained companionship, the same thing may be observed. Girls, we believe, are not suited to congregate in large numbers together: they lose their charm, the softness, and the bloom, and many of the precious things these flowery words typify, under such training. To such an exterior corresponds the following view of heart and principle. We give it with no means ourselves of verifying the truth of so awful a charge; nor are we told how the *naïve* confession ever reached the author's Protestant ears:—

'To do all parties justice, the honest aboriginal Labassecouriennes had an hypocrisy of their own too, but it was of a coarse order, such as could deceive few. Whenever a lie was necessary for their occasions, they brought it out with a careless ease and breadth, altogether untroubled by the rebuke of conscience. Not a soul in Madame Beck's house, from the scullion to the directress herself, but was above being ashamed of a lie; they thought nothing of it; to invent might not be precisely a virtue, but it was the most venial of faults. "*J'ai menti plusieurs fois*," formed an item of every girl's and woman's monthly confession; the priest heard unshocked, and absolved unreluctant. If they had missed going to Mass, or read a chapter of a novel, that was another thing; these were crimes whereof rebuke and penance were the unfailing meed.'—Vol. i. p. 156.

Reflecting upon this extraordinary moral perversity, the English teacher once ventured to remonstrate, and to express her views of the relative depravity of the two sins—a lie, or an occasional omission in Church going. Such an opinion was repeated in higher quarters; for we are led to suppose that Madame Beck was not the only practiser of surveillance; and Miss Lucy was henceforth an object for religious suspicion. We are not at all proud of her as a representative of our reformed faith; and believe there might be much better reason for this than she would be willing to allow. We own we should be sorry to sub-

ject any child of ours to the teaching and insinuations of the mind here pictured; whose religion is without awe,—who despises and sets down every form and distinction she cannot understand,—who rejects all guides but her Bible, and at the same time constantly quotes and plays with its sacred pages, as though they had been given to the world for no better purpose than to point a witticism or furnish an ingenious illustration.

Having established her authority amongst the young ladies of the 'second division,'—the scene of doing which is well given,—Lucy finds her position in the school materially raised. Without possessing any accomplishments, her talents make way, and she is valued at her true worth by the sagacious directress. From her home in the Pensionnat she also has some agreeable glimpses of the outer world. It is not necessary to detail the course of events. But in due time Graham Bretton comes again on the scene. His mother has met with some reverses; and he is now practising in the medical profession at Villette. In this capacity he is called in (Dr. Pillule, the regular attendant, being absent) to one of Madame's children, who has broken its arm; and after a while Lucy recognises her old friend; but it is part of the peculiar reserve of her character, that she does not seek any explanation or renewal of acquaintance with him, satisfied with this additional motive for interest.

Our authoress would care for no faultless character. In Graham, she wishes to describe a man who would pass, with the less discriminating observer, for an uncommonly fine fellow. Handsome, clever, spirited, energetic, prudent, affectionate and amiable, she yet desires to describe some quality in him,—the cause of pain and suffering to the less fortunate,—a kind of worldliness as well as subtlety, an insight into his own interests, and a gift at securing them, which would render it impossible in him to commit what the world would consider an imprudence, and which makes him fortunate at the expense of magnanimity. We doubt whether she classes it as one of his faults, that he carries on private communications with Ginevra while admitted professionally to Madame's establishment. On such points, Currer Bell's own morality is very faulty. Ginevra meets him in society, and has not sense to see the value and dignity of her conquest; her chief pleasure being in playing him off against her real favorite, a '*fat*' of the Labassecourian aristocracy. But we have not room for the frank and audacious confessions of this young lady, who is really very well drawn, having that sort of constitutional candour, which so often wins a person a character for amiability, and is perhaps really amongst the most worthless of qualities,—the mere fruit of selfish vanity and love of talking. She condescends to accept presents from

Dr. John, as Graham is called, but she is half ashamed of his name as *bourgeois*, and wholly ashamed of, what she calls, his red hair: for Graham's locks share the general fate of that doubtful hue, which is red or chestnut according to the feelings of the observer,—not a question so much of eyesight as of predilection. Probably our authoress chooses to invest him with them, as accounting for the sanguine and yet wily phase of his character. They serve at least to give a distinctive character to his tall and noble appearance, keen blue eyes, dangerous smile, and Grecian regularity of feature.

We conclude our authoress considers it inevitable—or she would not have subjected her favourite to this disgrace—that, in the young teacher's desolate and friendless condition, the preeminent attractions of the young physician should not be without their effect on her mind, and this in spite of her insight into his character, and her consciousness that she has none of the qualities necessary to fix his attention,—as if cleverness, in matters of this nature, were no safeguard, as very likely it is not. A wild and improbable chance brings Lucy once again under her godmother's roof, who is now established in the environs of Villette, and places her again on intimate terms with Graham.

While we commend the point and graphic power of Currer Bell's best style, we must explain that many parts of this book do not deserve this praise. Many passages are turgid, flighty, unreasonable, or otherwise objectionable, and involving subjects not suited for composition at all. Thus, in the holidays, when left to herself, she has a nervous fever, and in the course of it has excited thoughts, and does eccentric things. Such matters are too much like dreams, be they fancy or experience, to be otherwise than irksome to the reader. In one stage of this disorder she enters a church, and on a momentary impulse goes to confession, explaining to the priest that she is a Protestant, and enlarging on the disordered state of her mind. In walking home after this singular proceeding she faints, and returns to consciousness in Mrs. Bretton's house, who nurses her under Graham's judicious superintendence. Seeing her lowness of spirits in returning to her school life, he promises to write to her. She knows well it is only in the purest good nature, yet the excitement with which she receives it is hardly compatible with the conviction of his real indifference, careful as she is to explain the humility of her own pretensions. We have complained of her Scriptural allusions, the following passage furnishes an example:—

'For once a hope was realized. I held in my hand a morsel of real solid joy; not a dream, not an image of the brain, not one of those shadowy,

imaginative, fancy pictures, on which humanity starves and cannot live; not a mess of that manna I drearly eulogized a while ago, which indeed at first melts on the lips with an unspeakable and preternatural sweetness, but which, in the end, our souls full surely loathe, longing deliriously for natural and earth-grown food,—wildly praying Heaven's spirits to reclaim their own spirit-dew and essence—an element divine, but for mortals deadly. It was neither sweet hail, nor small coriander seed—neither slight wafer nor luscious honey, I had lighted on; it was the wild, savoury mess of the hunter, nourishing and salubrious meat, forest-fed or desert-reared, fresh, healthful, and life-sustaining. It was what the old dying patriarch demanded of his son Esau, promising him in requital the blessing of his last breath. It was a godsend, and I inwardly thanked the God who had vouchsafed it—outwardly I only thanked man, crying "Thank you, thank you, Monsieur."—Vol. ii. p. 152.

For it was the little Professor who had, in his meddling fashion, got the letter from the portress, and delivered it to her.

We have left the Professor for the duties of the story; it is fit now to return to him. While indulging in these unreasonable cravings for Graham's sympathy, she has become an object of real interest to M. Paul, though of a very particular sort. Alive to her talent, and decidedly jealous of it, his attentions often assume the most unpleasant, obtrusive, and inconvenient forms—critical, authoritative, querulous, he is perpetually interfering with her. He has a peculiar view of her character—that it needs being kept down: he thinks it his mission to do this. He lives, indeed, in a constant crusade against the *amour propre* of others, whom he exhorts to 'penetrate themselves with their own insignificance,' while nothing pleases the little man himself like display. He is in his element, controlling and arranging a hundred young ladies, lecturing, making 'discourse,' and in any way filling the public eye. He is subject to paroxysms of angry impatience and suspicions: manifesting 'a shameless disregard of magnanimity' when his feelings of jealous consequence are attacked. Like Napoleon, he would have waged war against twenty learned women. She has to exhaust her armoury of figure and metaphor to express the alternations and unreasonableness of his humour,—to practise all her pictorial and dramatic skill, to give us any idea of this most whimsical being. The man being thus, and having already had his jealousy awakened by her acquaintance with these English friends, we are not to wonder that he indulged himself in a scowl of mistrust as he gave her Graham's letter, and acknowledged her thanks with a vicious glance. But the following episode will give our reader a better notion of M. Emmanuel than any further description. It could not be shortened without being spoiled, which must be our excuse for its length. Our authoress shines in such scenes. Her accuracy and truth of detail, the bright playful enjoyment of her own success, her power of seizing the point, of bringing

minds in contact, of showing what vivid moments there are in scenes apparently trivial, if only a quick eye and graphic pen can catch the evanescent spirit, and give it consistency, are all delightful. Can our readers doubt that this scene is no invention, but in some modification or other has actually occurred?

'M. Paul Emmanuel owned an acute sensitiveness to the annoyance of interruption, from whatsoever cause, occurring during his lessons; to pass through the class under such circumstances was considered by the teachers and pupils of the school, individually and collectively, to be as much as a woman's or girl's life was worth.

'Madame Beck herself, if forced to the enterprise, would "skurry" through, retrenching her skirts and carefully coasting the formidable *estrade*, like a ship dreading breakers. As to Rosine, the portress, on whom every half-hour devolved the fearful duty of fetching pupils out of the very heart of one or other of the divisions, to take their music lessons in the oratory, the great or little saloon, the *salle à manger*, or some other piano-station, she would, upon her second or third attempt, frequently become almost tongue-tied from excess of consternation,—a sentiment inspired by the unspeakable looks levelled at her through a pair of dart-dealing spectacles.

'One morning I was sitting in the *carré*, at work upon a piece of embroidery which one of the pupils had commenced, but delayed to finish; and while my fingers wrought at the frame, my ears regaled themselves with listening to the crescendos and cadences of a voice haranguing in the neighbouring class, in tones that waxed momentarily more unquiet, more ominously varied. There was a good strong partition-wall between me and the gathering storm, as well as a facile means of flight through the glass-door to the court, in case it swept this way; so I am afraid I derived more amusement than alarm from these thickening symptoms. Poor Rosine was not so safe; four times that blessed morning had she made the passage of peril, and now, for the fifth time, it became her dangerous duty to snatch, as it were, a brand from the burning,—a pupil from under M. Paul's nose.

"Mon Dieu! mon Dieu!" cried she. "Que vais-je devenir? Monsieur va me tuer, je suis sûre; car il est d'une colère!"

'Nerved by the courage of desperation, she opened the door.

"Mademoiselle La Malle, au piano!" was her cry. Ere she could make good her retreat or quite close the door, this voice uttered itself:—"Dès ce moment!—la classe est défendue. La première, qui ouvrira cette porte, ou passera par cette division, sera pendue—fut-ce Madame Beck elle-même!"

'Ten minutes had not succeeded the promulgation of this decree, when Rosine's French *pantoufles* were again heard shuffling along the corridor.

"Mademoiselle," said she, "I would not for a five-franc piece go into that class again just now: Monsieur's lunettes are really terrible; and here is a commissionaire come with a message from the *Athénée*. I have told Madame Beck I dare not deliver it, and she says I am to charge you with it."

"Me? No, that is rather too bad! It is not in my line of duty. Come, come, Rosine; bear your own burden. Be brave! charge once more."

"I, mademoiselle? impossible! Five times I have crossed him to-day. Madame must really hire a *gend'arme* for this service. Ouf! je n'en puis plus!"

"Bah! you are only a coward. What is the message?"—Vol. iii. p. 1.

The message was to summon M. Paul to meet an official visitor at the Athénée. It was urgent, he *must* go; and it was well known that he hated a *must*. Under these aggravated circumstances of danger, our heroine dares the enterprise.

‘Yes, I knew well enough. The restive little man detested spur or curb; against whatever was urgent or obligatory, he was sure to revolt. However, I accepted the responsibility, not certainly without fear, but fear blent with other sentiments, curiosity among them.

‘I opened the door—I entered; I closed it behind me as quickly and quietly as a rather unsteady hand would permit; for to be slow or bustling, to rattle a latch, or leave a door gaping wide, were aggravations of a crime, often more disastrous in result than the main crime itself. There I stood, then, and there he sat; his humour was visibly bad, almost at its worst. He had been giving a lesson in arithmetic, for he gave lessons on any and every subject that struck his fancy, and arithmetic being a dry subject, invariably disagreed with him; not a pupil but trembled when he spoke of figures. He sat bent above his desk; to look up at the sound of an entrance—at the occurrence of a direct breach of his will and law—was an effort he could not for the moment bring himself to make. It was quite as well; I thus gained time to walk up a long class; and it suited my idiosyncrasy far better to encounter the near burst of anger like his, than to bear its menace at a distance.

‘At his *estrade* I paused, just in front; of course I was not worthy of immediate attention; he proceeded with his lesson. Disdain would not do; he must hear, and he must answer my message.

‘Not being quite tall enough to lift my head over his desk, elevated upon the *estrade*, and thus suffering eclipse in my present position, I ventured to peep round, with the design, at first, of merely getting a better view of his face, which had struck me, when I entered, as bearing a close and picturesque resemblance to that of a black and sorrowful tiger. Twice did I enjoy this side-view with impunity, advancing and receding unseen; the third time, my eye had scarce dawned beyond the obscuration of the desk, when it was caught, and transfixed through its very pupil—transfixed by the “lunettes.” Rosine was right; these utensils had in them a blank, immutable terror, beyond the mobile wrath of the wearer’s own unglazed eyes.

‘I now found the advantage of proximity: these short-sighted lunettes were useless for the inspection of a criminal under Monsieur’s nose; accordingly he dropped them, and he and I stood on more equal terms.

‘I am glad I was not really much afraid of him—that indeed, close in his presence, I felt no terror at all; for upon his demanding cord and gibbet to execute the sentence recently pronounced, I was able to furnish him with a needleful of embroidering thread with such accommodating civility as could not but allay some portion at least of his surplus irritation. Of course I did not parade this courtesy before public view: I merely handed the thread round the angle of the desk, and attached it, ready noosed, to the barred back of the Professor’s chair.

‘“Que me voulez-vous?” said he, in a growl, of which the music was wholly confined to his chest and throat, for he kept his teeth clenched, and seemed registering to himself an inward vow, that nothing earthly should wring from him a smile. My answer commenced uncompromisingly:—

“Monsieur,” I commenced, “je veux l’impossible, des choses inouïes;” and thinking it best not to mince matters, but to administer the “douche” with decision, in a low but quick voice I delivered the Athenian message, floridly exaggerating its urgency.

‘Of course he would not hear a word of it. “He would not go; he would not leave his present class, let all the officials in Villette send for him. He would not put himself an inch out of his way at the bidding of King, cabinet, and chambers together.”’

‘I knew, however, that he *must* go; that, talk as he would, both his duty and interest demanded an instant and literal compliance with the summons: I stood therefore, waiting in silence, as if he had not yet spoken. He asked what more I wanted.

‘“Only Monsieur’s answer to deliver to the commissionaire.”’

‘He waved an impatient negative.

‘I ventured to stretch out my hand to the bonnet-grec, which lay in grim repose on the window-sill. He followed this daring movement with his eye, no doubt in mixed pity and amazement at its presumption.

‘“Ah!” he muttered, “if it came to that—if Miss Lucy meddled with his bonnet-grec—she might just put it on herself, turn garçon on the occasion, and benevolently go to the Athénée in his stead.”’

‘With great respect I laid the bonnet on the desk, where its tassel seemed to give me an awful nod.

‘“I’ll write a note of apology—that will do?” said he, still bent on evasion.

‘Knowing well it would *not* do, I gently pushed the bonnet towards his hand. Thus impelled, it slid down the polished slope of the varnished and unbaized desk, carried before it the light steel-framed lunettes, and fearful to relate, they fell on the *estrade*. A score of times ere now, had I seen them fall and receive no damage—*this* time, as Lucy Snowe’s hapless luck would have it, they so fell that each clear pebble became a shivered and shapeless star.

‘Now indeed, dismay seized me—dismay and regret. I knew the value of those lunettes: M. Paul’s sight was peculiar, not easily fitted, and these glasses suited him. I had heard him call them his treasures. As I picked them up, cracked and worthless, my hands trembled. Frightened through all my nerves I was, to see the mischief I had done; but I think I was even more sorry than afraid. For some seconds I dared not look the bereaved Professor in the face: he was the first to speak.

‘“*Là!*” said he, “*me voilà veuf de mes lunettes!* I think Made-moiselle Lucy will now confess that the cord and gallows are amply earned; she trembles in anticipation of her doom. Ah, traitress! traitress! You are resolved to have me quite blind and helpless in your hands!”’

‘I lifted my eyes: his face, instead of being irate, lowering, and furrowed, was overflowing with the smile, coloured with the bloom I had seen brightening it that evening at the Hotel Crécy. He was not angry—not even grieved. For the real injury he showed himself full of clemency; under the real provocation, patient as a saint. This event, which seemed so untoward—which I thought had ruined at once my chance of successful persuasion, proved my best help. Difficult of management so long as I had done him no harm, he became graciously pliant as soon as I stood in his presence, a conscious and contrite offender. Still gently railing at me, as “une forte femme—une Anglaise terrible—une petite casse-toute”—he declared that he dared not but obey one who had given such an instance of her dangerous prowess. It was absolutely like the “grand Empereur, smashing the vase to inspire dismay.” So at last, crowning himself with his bonnet-grec, and taking his ruined lunettes from my hand with a clasp of kind pardon and encouragement, he made his bow, and went off to the Athénée in first-rate humour and spirits.”—Vol. iii. p. 4.

We do not wonder, with such skill in turning this fiery little temper, that Miss Lucy found herself attracted towards the

possessor of it. It diverted her to hear his strictures on herself. When his voice hissed wrathful strictures in her ear she could find ingenious and apt comparison from the range of natural history. If he complained of her tendency to value attentions from his fancied rival, Dr. John, 'remarkable chiefly for so many feet of stature, des couleurs de poupée, un nez plus ou moins bien fait, and an enormous amount of fatuity,' or suspected her of a wish to figure in class, an able examiner in that branch from which his restricted knowledge of the English language (confined to 'de sonn de mone de stare') excluded him—if in his exasperation at some fancied slight he launches into contemptuous comments on that false god of the pagan English—Williams Shackspere; or allows himself a furious philippic upon English women and their impious scepticism,—she can still afford to take it all with the most edifying serenity of temper, for she has her indemnity in the pleasure of watching and appreciating his singularities, national and individual.

'However, I had my own fancies as well as he. I liked, for instance, to see M. Emmanuel jealous; it lit up his nature, awoke his spirit; it threw all sorts of queer lights and shadows over his dun face, and into his violet azure eyes (he used to say that his black hair and blue eyes were "une des ses beautés"); there was a relish in his anger; it was artless, earnest, quite unreasonable but never hypocritical.'—Vol. ii. p. 304.

We wish we had space for the scene of Monsieur's *fête*, given in the best style of tender, sympathising, almost pathetic humour: where the day, with all its bouquets and French sentimentalities, is embittered by the absence of any flowers from Miss Lucy; his rising indignation at the slight; his 'discours' to the young ladies; his resolution to excite the Englishwoman out of her composure, 'smiling fiendishly into his pocket-handkerchief' when he succeeds; the subsequent reconciliation when she finds him, after his prying wont, peeping into her school-desk and leaving books there that he knew she would like; his taking a 'grim gripe at his self-possession,' which had half escaped him on being caught in the act,—are all excellent. Every scene over which she has pondered is rich in point and allusion, and so far in contrast with a certain flighty declamatory vein which we find her now and then indulging in, to the reader's simple perplexity. There is an account of an actress which we would adduce as an instance of this gusty, turgid style. But to return. Once she is really angry with the professor, which she records for the satisfaction she felt in being able to assume a manner of dignified displeasure on the occasion, of which she did not think herself capable. It is remarkable, indeed, how often the consciousness of intellect is dissociated from any power of self-assertion, and many a clever, penetrating mind will un-

derstand the feeling of the following passage. M. Paul had been 'hissing spiteful things into her ear' on an occasion when she thought it necessary to show some sense of injury. Conscientious of having done wrong he endeavours to propitiate before she leaves the company.

'He observed that the night was fine. "Is it?" I said, with a tone and manner whose consummate chariness and frostiness I could not but applaud. It was so seldom I could properly act out my own resolution, and be reserved and cool when I had been grieved or hurt, that I felt almost proud of my successful effort. That "Is it?" sounded just like the manner of other people. I had heard hundreds of such little, minced, docked, dry phrases from the pursed-up coral lips of a score of self-possessed self-sufficient misses and mesdemoiselles. That M. Paul would not stand any prolonged experience of this sort of dialogue, I knew; but he certainly merited a sample of the curt and arid. * * * "Friends," said he, "do not quarrel for a word. Tell me, was it I or 'ce grand fat d'Anglais,' (so he profanely denominated Dr. Bretton,) who made your eyes so humid and your cheeks so hot as they are even now?" "I am not conscious of you, Monsieur, or of any other having excited such emotions as you indicate," was my answer, and in giving it I again surpassed my usual self, and achieved a neat, frosty falsehood.'—Vol. ii. p. 315.

For success in society, and to be its match and equal, a person should not be too deep a student either of himself or others. With all his absurdities, M. Paul is a man of great ability, almost of genius. We are conscious of his real power while we laugh at him. It is a sort of simplicity and humility, an avowed contempt for his own dignity, which shows so prominently his vanity and other weak points. We are disposed in the end to adopt the writer's conclusion, that it is his nerves that are irritable, not his temper. His religion, too, after the fashion of his country, is a very real and genuine feature. We quite acquiesce in her content to have him as he is, without any attempt to make him like herself. He had been educated by a Jesuit, and is still most dutiful at confession, having to go through some tribulations on account of his predilection for the English heretic, whom he endeavours in vain to convert by laying persuasive *brochures* in her way, which she treats with true Protestant contempt. Childlike in his faith, he is also pure in life, and the soul of honour; in all these points being in happy contrast with his brother professors. Some romantic acts of generosity and self-denial, which come out towards the end of the story, have not truth enough about them to match with his very true character; and in the same way the scenes of love-making in the end, between him and Lucy, have a very apocryphal air, unrelieved by those felicitous traits of nature which brighten the more comic representations of his character, and from which we have derived so much amusement, that we would not exchange one of his foibles for all the perfections of the stereo-

typed hero. Though we cannot commend either the nature or the fitness of this pair's love-making, there are some pretty scenes of this sort in which Paulina and Graham are engaged. This young lady at seventeen is a good deal like her former self, and might deserve her character of 'delicate, intelligent, sincere,' but for the error our authoress falls into—too characteristic of her dull perceptions of duty—in allowing her to receive and answer several letters from Graham before telling her father. In this case the impropriety is quite gratuitous, as her father is most indulgent, and his daughter not afraid of him. The graceful scene where she persuades her father into giving his consent would be quite worthy of extract, but that we have already exceeded our limits. They marry, and are happy. Ginevra runs away with her '*fat*,' highly indignant at the desertion of Dr. John. M. Paul, having to go to Martinique, establishes Miss Lucy in a *pensionnat* of her own: they were to be married on his return. Whether they *are* married, or whether he is drowned in a storm, described in very windy fashion, is a moot point, but happily one which in no way affects the spirits, and scarcely arouses the curiosity, of the reader: an indifference which leads to the true conclusion—that the merit of the book lies in its scenes, and not in its plot.

The moral purpose of this work seems to be to demand for a certain class of minds a degree of sympathy not hitherto accorded to them; a class of which Lucy Snowe is the type, who must be supposed to embody much of the authoress's own feelings and experience, all going one way to express a character which finds itself unworthily represented by person and manner, conscious of power, equally and painfully conscious of certain drawbacks, which throw this superiority into shade and almost hopeless disadvantage. For such she demands room to expand, love, tenderness, and a place in happy domestic life. But in truth she draws a character unfit for this home which she yearns for. We want a woman at our hearth; and her impersonations are without the feminine element, infringers of modest restraints, despisers of bashful fears, self-reliant, contemptuous of prescriptive decorum; their own unaided reason, their individual opinion of right and wrong, discreet or imprudent, sole guides of conduct and rules of manners,—the whole hedge of immemorial scruple and habit broken down and trampled upon. We will sympathise with Lucy Snowe as being fatherless and penniless, and are ready, if this were all, to wish her a husband and a fire-side less trying than M. Paul's must be, unless reformed out of all identity; but we cannot offer even the affections of our fancy (the right and due of every legitimate heroine) to her unscrupulous, and self-dependent intellect—to that whole habit of mind

which, because it feels no reverence, can never inspire for itself that one important, we may say, indispensable element of man's true love.

One suggestion we would make in parting with these two ladies—a question applicable to other scrutinizers of the female bosom—whether, indeed, they are consulting the interests of the sex, for which they contend so earnestly, by betraying—what gallantry is slow to credit—that women give away their hearts unsought as often as they would have us believe? So long as *men* wrote romance, that heart was described as an all-but-impregnable fortress; the language of war and strategy could alone convey adequate ideas of the courage and the policy necessary for its subjugation,—the conqueror's laurels alone express the flush of triumph when the reluctant prize yields at length. But now that our fair rivals wield the pen, the tables are turned. These spies within the walls reveal a wholly different state of things. They show us the invader greeted from afar—invited, indeed, within the walls. They betray the castle to have been all the while wanting a commander, the heart an owner. If it were indeed so, would the prize won on such easy terms be thought so much worth the having? would this 'more than willingness' satisfy the inherent love of difficulty and of achievement in man's nature? But, happily, the question need not seriously be asked. A restless heart and vagrant imagination, though owned by woman, can have no sympathy or true insight into the really feminine nature. Such cannot appreciate the hold which a daily round of simple duties and pure pleasures has on those who are content to practise and enjoy them. They do not know the power of home over the heart—how it asserts its sway against new and more enthralling interests. Those who own such influences will still be difficult to win. Nor can we promise the aspirant to their favour any such eloquent, unsought avowals as the maidens of modern romance succeed so well in. He must be content to wait for the genial influences of a new home, to unthaw reserve; for trial, to prove constancy; and time and sorrow, to develop the full force, the boundless resources, of a pure, unselfish affection.

ART. VI.—*History of England and France, under the House of Lancaster. With an Introductory View of the Early Reformation.* London: Murray. 1852.

WHOEVER may be the author of this interesting book, we have no hesitation in saying that he has contributed towards the history of the times of which he treats a work which cannot be overlooked by any future historian. They are times of peculiar interest, embracing as they do the early dawn of the English Reformation, the illustrious reign of Henry V., and the germ, at least, of those awful events which have stamped the wars of the Roses with undying memory.

Without being able always to arrive at the same conclusions, and having often occasion to wish to modify the opinions of this writer, we cannot deny him the high merit of deep research into the true sources of events, and a philosophical view of their causes and their consequences. He has also enriched his pages with notes, which show not only that he has bestowed much labour on this particular subject, but also—unless we are greatly mistaken—that his is a mind already imbued with the best learning on the subjects of which he treats. Why such a writer should withhold his name is a problem which we do not pretend to solve. One passage, indeed, might seem to indicate that he had been personally familiar with a court. It is where, in speaking of Lord Cobham, he says—

‘They who have approached their sovereign’s person, and been graciously, perhaps tenderly, entreated by him, can best tell how difficultly the voice accustomed to command is resisted when it stoops to implore. Chatham felt refusal all but impossible when asked to gratify the king: Cobham had the far more difficult duty of rejecting the royal prayer, kindly preferred, of which his own safety, not his master’s gratification, was the object.’—P. 63.

But we pass to the subject in hand. It will suit our purpose, and perhaps accord best with the subjects to which this journal is more immediately devoted, to invert the order adopted by the author, and to reserve our observations on his sketch of the early Reformation, until we shall first have glanced at his view of secular matters. And of these, it is not the glories of the field of Agincourt on which we mean to dwell, nor the tempting description of that great campaign, as delineated by Sir Harris Nicolas,¹ and more briefly in the book before us. The philosophy of history scrutinises the motives of the chief actors on the stage of life, and the combination of circumstances on which their conduct depends. And in this particular case, the claim of the House of Lancaster to the thrones of England and France, and the character of Henry V. himself, must secure a prominent part of our attention.

As far, indeed, as the actual fact of the usurpation of Henry

¹ ‘The Battle of Agincourt.’ 2d Ed. 1832.

of Bolingbroke, there can be no doubt. He was an usurper, because he invaded the realm of his lawful sovereign and kinsman, and placed himself on his throne. And therefore, though the case is not stated with its extenuating circumstances, we have not much fault to find with the strong language with which his conduct is denounced at the opening of this book.

‘The title of Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster, to the crown of England was altogether imaginary as regards hereditary right, and he owed the possession to force alone. The weakness of his kinsman, Richard II., his want of firmness and prudence rather than his defective capacity—the hatred into which he had fallen from a long course of capricious conduct, not without acts of great cruelty and oppression—enabled Henry, a favourite with the people, to indulge at once his daring ambition and his desire of vengeance for the injustice of which he had been the victim. Richard had availed himself of a quarrel between Henry and the Duke of Norfolk, another formidable baron, to send both parties into banishment, by a sentence pronounced when they were about to end their differences in single combat; and after securing to the former the inheritance of his father, John of Gaunt’s ample possessions, he had revoked the grant, and even caused the attorney, through whom the patent was solicited, to be prosecuted for treason.’—P. 44.

Now all this is true; but it must be borne in mind, not only that Richard had already once been all but deposed by his barons and parliament, who placed for a time such checks upon his government as if he had been a minor, or incapable of reigning, which arrangement he had overturned by force, but that there is every reason to believe the truth of Henry’s allegation in regard to this very contest between himself and Norfolk—which was that Norfolk had confessed to him that the King had told him he was resolved to be rid both of John of Gaunt himself (who was then alive) and of his son.¹ In short, Henry had every conceivable inducement to the commission of a great crime, and he was not proof against the temptation. But if it is to be inferred from this circumstance that the subsequent claim of his house to the throne is altogether untenable, and that to such extent that his son and grandson are to be deemed usurpers also, we confess to having grave doubts whether this inference can be sustained.

The nature of his claim cannot be more correctly stated than in the words of the writer before us:

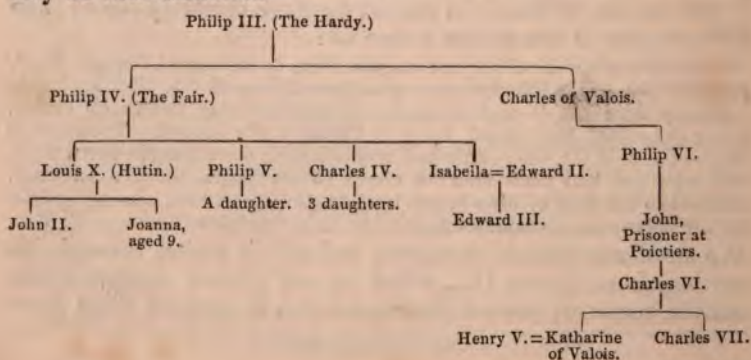
‘Henry now advanced his extravagant claim to the vacant throne. First, he pretended to the inheritance as grandson of Edward III. But his father was only third son of that monarch,—Richard’s father, the Black Prince, being the eldest, and Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the second. Therefore, if Richard should die, whose title had been solemnly recognised in parliament, and who had had possession for above twenty years, Lionel’s daughter, married to the Earl of March, and her son, the young earl, also recognised by the parliament, became undoubted heirs to their grandfather.’—P. 47.

We need not discuss the other part of his claim, through his mother, from Henry III., which in our present state of information seems so absurd that one is led to suspect there must

¹ See Sharon Turner.

have been some reason, now forgotten, not indeed in fact, but in popular opinion, which could alone account for such a claim on the part of a man of Henry's undoubted sagacity.

Now, it is granted that Henry was an usurper; for his conduct would have been no other than usurpation, even had he been the undoubted next heir to the throne, that is, if his father had been the next brother to Richard's father, instead of coming after Lionel, Duke of Clarence. But if we would form a just estimate of the claims of his house and family, we must consider how they might have stood in case of the peaceable death of Richard, if the parliament is said to have chosen to call him to the throne. It is true that the parliament had already declared the Earl of March to be the next heir. But it is, to say the least, not inconceivable that considerable jealousy would exist in the case of a family so new as that of Mortimer, and the origin of whose greatness was of no very honourable kind. Add to which, that Richard appears to have declared in favour of Mortimer, in order to thwart his uncle, whom he suspected. Such at least appears to be Dr. Lingard's opinion. On the other hand, Henry of Bolingbroke, though not the heir-general, was undoubtedly, after Richard, the head of the house of Plantagenet. And the question is whether the parliament might not—and if so, whether it be not conceivable that they would—have preferred the male heir, had it not been for other circumstances. These circumstances may be best understood by taking a view of the connexion of his family with the thrones respectively of England and of France. For it is possible that the claims of Edward III. to the throne of France, may have also operated upon Richard and his parliament in favour of the house of Mortimer, more than would otherwise have been the case. For if Edward III. was the true heir to the throne of France, undoubtedly that inheritance would pass, after Richard II., to the Earl of March. The descent from the kings of France may be thus exhibited—



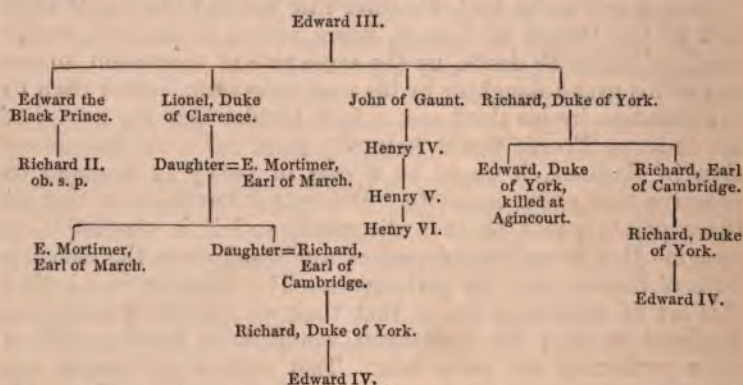
The argument of our author on the Salic law in a learned and valuable note, pp. 468, 469, is highly interesting and worthy of all consideration. But without disputing whether the succession of Philip V., on the death of his infant nephew John II., to the exclusion of Joanna his niece, may have been, as he says, an 'usurpation,' we believe that Edward's claim may still have rested on some foundation. For he claimed, not on the ground that his mother might have inherited, but as being himself, through his mother, the nearest prince of the blood. He did not deny the Salic law, but admitting that the infant and then unmarried daughters of his three uncles, were incapable of the throne, he contended that himself, being of age and capable of reigning on the death of Charles IV. (he was about fifteen), ought to have succeeded by the law of France. And we are much inclined to believe that it is not so absolutely certain as Hume represents it to be, that such a claim would not have been admitted by the Estates of France in the case of any other prince, though when that prince was already king of England they wisely determined, as they had an undoubted right to determine, against any such admission.

Now it is obvious that, whatever title Edward III. might have had to the throne of France, being vested in Richard, would pass, on Richard's death, by the same rule of succession, to the son of his grand-daughter by his next eldest son, rather than to his grandson by his third son. And, besides that the nature of his claim on France would naturally point out a similar succession in England, it would be a part of policy in England to preserve that claim inviolate. We cannot but suppose that all these points would be then discussed, and it is reasonable to imagine that these considerations would influence the decision both of Richard and his parliament. The question is, whether this law of succession was at that time so absolutely settled in England as that the parliament would have been precluded from preferring the male heir. That such a preference was absolutely the rule in Saxon times is unquestionable; and, although the Plantagenets themselves inherited through a female, this was on the extinction of the male heir of the Conqueror's family—for Stephen's relationship was also through a female, and more distant than that of Maud and Henry II. That such a power of appointment is vested in parliament will hardly be now denied, after the case of William of Orange, the son-in-law, invading the kingdom with foreign troops, though by invitation certainly, from thence, and elected by the parliament, to the exclusion not only of the deposed monarch, but of that monarch's son and heir. If that act were justifiable, as is now generally admitted, on the ground of religion and liberty,

it may not unreasonably be contended that, at least, the family and descendants of Henry IV., though not himself, were justly entitled to the throne; for the defect of Henry's own title arose, primarily, from his invasion of the kingdom of his lawful sovereign in possession; and only secondarily from the setting aside of another, who, being like himself, only collaterally related, had been pronounced the next heir. But if so, we must strongly doubt the justice of the claim of the House of York, which only subsequently accrued, when it is stated in such words as these:—

'Richard Duke of York, son of the Earl of Cambridge, executed for the conspiracy against Henry V. at the beginning of his reign, and now representative of the elder branch of the family, whom the Lancastrian usurpation had set aside.'—P. 319.

It is true he was now become, at the time to which this refers, *i. e.*, the reign of Henry VI., the *representative* of the elder branch; but this did not make his family the eldest remaining branch,—and the question is between the representative of an extinct elder branch, and the eldest remaining male branch, as will be seen by the following table:—



We have the rather insisted on this, because we think that men's minds must inevitably be influenced in their judgment of Henry V. himself, by their opinion of his right to the throne; and we should find it hard to persuade ourselves that he was bound to resign his crown to the Earl of March on his father's death, even if he would have been justified in doing so. Yet it seems to us that those who consider the reign of his family an usurpation all along, must be prepared to go this length if they would support their opinion; and as for the claim of the House of York, that had not yet accrued.

It is, however, most true that the more his title is established

to the throne of England, the more clear does it become that the House of Mortimer had inherited whatever claims Edward III. may have had to the throne of France. But before we come to this question, we desire to investigate somewhat more at length the previous life and character of this remarkable and illustrious prince. That Henry of Monmouth was a man of surpassing abilities—the greatest warrior and, perhaps, the greatest statesman of his day, is acknowledged by all, and by none more amply than by his most recent historian in the pages before us. The following passage will serve at once to illustrate this author's style, and to show his opinion of Henry's character:—

'That he possessed, in an extraordinary degree, all the qualities which constitute a great commander and a skilful ruler, cannot for a moment be contested. It is equally certain that he had the firmness of mind, the steadiness of purpose, not always found united to great civil and military capacity, but without which no talents can, unless by some mere accident, be of any avail. No less undeniable it is that he devoted all these rare endowments, with all that determined spirit, throughout his whole reign to the gratification of his ambition, and applied the whole energies of his nature, with very few and very short intervals, exclusively to the pursuit, first, of plunder, then of conquest: bent only upon plunder when both his invasions were undertaken—upon conquest when unforeseen events gave him hopes of a greater success. In pursuing these objects, he wholly disregarded every principle of justice, violated wantonly all feelings of humanity, sacrificed the interests of his own country, shed the blood of his subjects as well as of his neighbours, ravaged with fire and sword the fields of a people who had never given him the least offence, and, availing himself of their domestic quarrels, and of their king's insanity, seized upon his crown, to which he had not the shadow of a title except what mere force bestowed.'

Then, having mentioned 'the barbarous spirit of the times' as the only palliation of his conduct, the author proceeds to speak of 'his brilliant accomplishments;' his 'knowledge somewhat in advance of the age;' his 'patronising of learned men;' his possession of 'the far higher duties of patience, fortitude, temperance, in an extraordinary degree,' and adds that 'his attention to all his religious duties was constant, and it was exemplary; nor could it be accused of ostentation, except in so far as it was made by so politic a prince the means of securing the support both of the church and the laity.'—Pp. 330—332.

Whether we can recognise in such a portrait the glorious vision of our youth,—whether such were our conceptions of that 'young Harry with his beaver up,' whom we delighted to picture to ourselves when he

—'vaulted with such ease into his seat,

* * * * *

To 'witch the world with noble horsemanship,'

—such a question is of little moment. But while we fully admit

that it is the part of history to rebuke vice and disclose the deformity of injustice, we conceive that it is equally the duty of the historian to bring to the investigation of individual character, not merely an unbiassed judgment but a ready sympathy. And we believe that no true judgment can be formed of men's character, without having sought to enter into their feelings and to place ourselves in their position, with their amount of knowledge, their prejudices, and their sympathies. If upon this view of their conduct, we still must conclude that they ought to have been able to take the same estimate of their duty with ourselves, in such case we must condemn them. But if it appear that they were acting on principles admitted and approved by all their contemporaries, and that in following out such principles they acted up to those notions of right and wrong which then prevailed, our duty will be, however defective such notions may seem to us, to give them leave to think accordingly.

It was the laborious effort of a late amiable writer¹ to refute every possible imputation against this king, and to reproduce the faultless hero, cleared even from the stain of youthful indiscretion. And though we are far from adopting all Mr. Tyler's conclusions, we think he has succeeded in showing that his early years were passed in such high employment—and this so well-fulfilled—in quelling the Welsh under Glendowr,² and in presiding in the councils of the kingdom, as to leave no room for that continual course of abandoned profligacy which the pages of Shakspeare would imply. He even seems to account for the scenes in Eastcheap by the fact that Henry had a palace in that immediate neighbourhood, and that two of his brothers—not himself—were once engaged there in a riotous company. But all the chroniclers appear to have had the impression of his having given way to wild ways in his youth, and the story of his demeanour towards the chief-justice seems to have some foundation; although, as the present writer justly observes, the circumstance of his having been removed about this time from the council to give place to Clarence, his younger brother, does not confirm the common story of his noble submission and of his father's satisfaction. There seems to be no doubt that this judge was Sir William Gascoigne, and not, as has been sometimes said, Sir John Markham.³ But we fear that the favourable report of our author on this subject, that Henry on his accession to the throne 'received with much grace and even favour, the chief-

¹ 'Henry of Monmouth,' by J. Endell Tyler, 1838.

² Mr. Tyler has shown that so far from Henry's being of the same age with Hotspur at the battle of Shrewsbury, Hotspur was two years older than the Prince's father.

³ See 'Foss's Judges of England,' p. 166.

justice by whom he had been cast into prison,'¹ though supported by the authority of Lord Campbell,² must give way before the researches of Mr. Foss, who seems to have shown that Gascoigne was undoubtedly removed, or at least ceased to be chief-justice, immediately on his accession. But the suggestion of Mr. Tyler, that he may have asked leave to retire, after twelve years' service, on account of declining health, or competency of fortune, supported as it is by the warrant in the same year by which the king grants 'to our dear and well-beloved William Gascoigne an allowance of four bucks out of the forest of Pontefract for the term of his life,'³ may by some be thought worthy of more consideration than Mr. Foss is willing to assign to it.

The origin of these loose stories of Henry's youth is very probably to be sought in the circumstance of his having once indulged himself, with his associates, in the frolic—which has furnished an inimitable scene to Shakspeare—'of robbing his 'own receivers when they were journeying towards him with 'their rents. With some struggle, they took part of the money, 'which he afterwards desired might be deducted from the balance 'of their accounts, when he let them know by whom they had 'been despoiled.'⁴ Such hints as these were enough for Shakspeare's genius, just as in the case of Sir John Fastolf, when it became intolerable that the virtuous and religious Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, should be degraded into the low and cowardly buffoon, he laid hold of a popular rumour, wholly unfounded in fact, against that celebrated commander, and because he had once been accused of cowardice, substituted his name, with a slight variation, for that of the 'Knight of the Old Castle.'⁵ But let us be just to the honoured name of Shakspeare. He was no wilful falsifier of history. It was impossible he should be; for true genius ever loves and seeks the truth. But he adopted the prevalent traditions and prejudices of his day, as he found them recorded in the chronicles, which he had no means of verifying, and he clothed them in immortal verse.⁶

¹ 'England and France,' p. 56.

² 'Chief Justices,' i. 136.

³ Tyler, i. 380.

⁴ 'England and France,' p. 55.

⁵ See the character of Sir John Fastolf ably vindicated by Mr. Poulett Scrope in his very interesting 'History of Castle Comb.'

⁶ It is interesting to know who it was who before the battle of Agincourt wished for 10,000 men from England, which Shakspeare attributes to Westmoreland. It was, in fact, Sir Walter Hungerford. A passage in the noble speech that follows, where Henry promises nobility to all who shall fight that day—'This day shall gentle his condition,'—rests on a passage of *Des Ursins*, who says he promised that all his soldiers who were not already noble should be ennobled, *i.e.*, should become gentlemen, and gave them permission to wear the collar of S.S. This Sir H. Nicolas declares to be too improbable to deserve notice. But it has so much

Another proof of Henry's early immoralities has been sometimes thought to be found in the depth of his repentance. On his accession to the throne, he secluded himself for some days from his court, and spent the time in acts of humiliation and religion, so that Shakspeare says—

‘ Never came reformation like a flood
With such a heady current, scouring faults,
As in this king.’

But when it is considered how very young he was when he entered into active life, a mere boy when he commanded the troops in his own principality of Wales, and at the battle of Shrewsbury,¹ so that on his accession he was but just entering on his prime of manhood, it is no proof of deep transgressions, if the strong sense of responsibility connected with the accession to power, should have brought with it an equally strong sense of past imperfection, with serious resolutions for the future. The fervency of religious impressions is often, if not always, accompanied by poignant regret for even venial transgressions. Let us examine a few more of the prominent actions of his life.

His was far too acute a mind to be insensible to the defect of his title, at least to the throne of France. How, then, are we to account for his invasion of that country, on any theory which shall be consistent with virtue and humanity? Now, that all wars, except defensive wars, are in themselves sinful, we are not prepared to deny; and that the wars of ‘the age of chivalry’ had in them something of peculiar selfishness and brutality, we are also ready to admit. War was, in those ages, the glorious pastime—at least they thought it glorious—of the privileged orders; and as for the wrongs, the death, the misery of the multitude, these were no more accounted of than as necessary incidents of their inferior condition, inseparable from that condition, and from which they had no title to be exempt. There is often something of cowardice in the attack upon unarmed multitudes by knights clothed in steel; and even that which seems at first sight to have been ostentatious bravery, in bearing their coats of arms emblazoned on their persons, may have had its purpose in promoting the capture of the great and noble, for the sake of their ransom, instead of their being killed.² We

foundation as this, that when he afterwards forbade the assumption of coats of arms without authority, he excepted from all further question those arms which had been borne at Agincourt.

¹ He was not more than sixteen at the battle of Shrewsbury, where he was wounded in the face, but refused to quit the field; fifteen when he received the chief command in Wales; and twenty-six when he succeeded to the throne.

² At the battle of Bannockburn, ‘the Earl of Gloucester would not have been killed, but that he went into the field without his *toga propriae armaturæ*, and therefore was not recognised.’—S. Turner, vol. ii. p. 143, note.

have already expressed an opinion somewhat more favourable than that of our author,¹ on the claim of Edward III. to the French succession; but as regards that of his grandson, it seems sufficiently clear that he never originally intended seriously to maintain it. What he intended was to marry the king's daughter, to extort an enormous dower, and if possible to recover some of the French provinces which had so long belonged to the English crown. To some of these provinces he might have preferred a claim as the male heir. Normandy was probably a male fief, so far as to have passed, through Maud, to Henry II., and thence to his male heirs, as we have supposed Edward III. to have intended in the case of the crown of France. The inheritance also of Geoffry, the father of Henry II., would in like manner have been his as Geoffry's male heir. But a claim so particular would have opened too many questions in regard to his English title, and he contented himself with a general demand, as if he had inherited all the rights of his grandfather—a demand, however, which he twice consented to waive in the course of the negotiations, thus clearly showing that it was not the kingdom, but the English provinces of France, to which he then aspired. But it is sufficiently plain that he preferred the glory of winning both his royal bride, and his dismembered provinces, by force of arms; and while he did no more than other knights and nobles in seeking such renown, he must bear the blame of not having been superior to the prevalent ambition, or to the accustomed ways of indulging it. His mightier schemes of aggrandisement opened to him only after the unexampled successes of his first campaign had combined with the no less unexampled sins and errors of his opponents, to prepare his way; and then he appears, from his dying declaration, to have imagined to himself no less an enterprise than the foundation, perhaps, of some united monarchy of Franks and Angles, cemented and hallowed by the delivery of the Holy Land from Infidel oppression. Such are the visions of conquerors, such the day-dreams of the world's mightiest heroes!

The massacre of his prisoners after, or rather during the battle of Agincourt, is another of those points on which his memory is most plausibly assailed. Certainly, it is enough to tarnish the splendour of the greatest victory, that such a deed should have been done; and the French need not envy us a victory in which they lost all except their honour, while our arms were stained by a slaughter which necessity only, and self-defence, could palliate or excuse. But we think it is clearly proved that Henry had every reason to believe that it was a step which

¹ 'England and France,' pp. 91, 92.

might be necessary in self-defence. And we think this so much the more because this was not one of those acts which was justified by the rules of war in his days; so that he had every temptation not to sully his own fame, unless in a case that seemed to him one of absolute necessity. His army was so outnumbered, that it seems certain they were not more than one-sixth of the enemy. He had broken two divisions of the French, but the third division, even of itself double his own numbers, seemed prepared to renew the combat. He knew that fresh troops were expected to join them; some had even joined during the actual fight. At this moment, when he was just breathing from desperate and deadly personal conflict, and watching the still unbroken body in his front, he became aware of an attack upon the only point whence he could have been successfully assailed, his rear. There is no doubt that, with their superior numbers, the French committed a great error in not detaching a large force to attack him from behind, while he was forced to advance against their main army in front. His wings were protected by the forests on each flank, but had they assailed him from behind, his case would probably have been desperate. With the prescience of a great commander, he knew his weak point, and he did not and could not know that the successful assault upon his baggage was merely the private enterprise of the Baron of Agincourt and another, instead of being, as it ought to have been, the deliberate stratagem of his opponents. There was no time to inquire, for if these troops should advance upon him from behind, and the unbroken division in his front renew the battle, his army would have been inevitably overpowered when so large a body of prisoners within their own ranks would have been able to assault them hand to hand. He gave, therefore, the fatal order, for the sake of the safety of his own army, with that stern resolution which only great men display when a case of necessity occurs, and he revoked it the moment the mistake was discovered. That his baggage was not only assaulted, but actually taken and sacked, is placed beyond a doubt by the fact recorded by Sir H. Nicolas of his having employed one of his prisoners to collect some crown jewels which he prized, and which had been lost on that occasion.¹ The complaint of this same prisoner, the Sieur de Gaucourt, that the king had not kept his word with him, is observed by the same writer to be an *ex parte* statement resting on no other evidence.

But there remains one other point on which such evidence is brought in the book before us, as we confess ourselves to be

¹ 'Battle of Agincourt,' Append. p. 26.

unable to refute. The imputation is, that even while he was negotiating with the French king for the hand of his daughter Catherine, and after he had pledged his word to make no other engagement within a certain period, he was, at the very same time, carrying on a private negotiation with the Duke of Burgundy for the hand of that prince's daughter, also named Catherine, and that he sent ambassadors for the purpose. This fact, if correct, is represented as being the more disgraceful on account of the infamous character of this John Duke of Burgundy himself.

‘With this bloodthirsty wretch, whose courage and capacity, however, no one ever denied, Henry the Fourth had declined to form an alliance; not, we may be well assured, from any particular abhorrence of his crimes, but because he appeared to be by much the most powerful of the French chiefs, whose profligate ambition was tearing their country to pieces; and the sagacious usurper deemed it his best policy to avoid increasing the strength of any party with whom he might one day have to cope. His son, now that the Burgundian had become less formidable, hoped to point what remained of his power in a direction suited to his own views, and willingly entered into negotiation with him, though some unforeseen accident prevented any alliance being formed. It is quite certain that he could not have concluded with this unprincipled man such a treaty as both parties appear to have had in contemplation, without the most signal bad faith towards the French court, to whom he was all the while pretending an earnest desire for an amicable termination of their differences. But it is equally clear, and beyond all controversy, that he entertained Duke John's proposals,—that he even negotiated for the hand of his daughter, Catherine of Burgundy, at the very same time he was binding himself, month after month, to marry none but Catherine of France; and that he acted in this intrigue with a duplicity little consonant to the ideas generally entertained of his open and generous character.’—Pp. 95, 96.

This statement, which appears to be in a great measure new, is supported at great length in a note, to which we may refer as a specimen, at the same time, of the author's sagacity and research. Possibly the case may be this; that at the time that Henry was negotiating with the King of France, the Duke of Burgundy having, unsolicited and of his own accord, sought his alliance and proposed a marriage with his daughter, he sent ambassadors in return with instructions which would keep open the negotiation, in case the treaty with Charles should fail. This may have been done either by means of secret instructions which are not recorded, or by requiring conditions to which he knew the duke would not accede. It does not indeed seem probable that John would, at that time, before Henry's French campaigns, have been willing to do homage to him for his dominions as King of France, which appears to have been one of the conditions. We may not approve of this kind of kingcraft; but it is, unfortunately, such as kings and their ministers, at least in former times, have constantly adopted.

Our space forbids to follow this interesting writer through the rest of his history, which deserves and will repay a very minute investigation. He appears to have explored all accessible sources of information both in French and English records, unless perhaps, in treating of the dawn of the Reformation, he may have neglected the invaluable records given us in the *Concilia Anglicana*, and we know by experience that Walsingham must always be checked by the Archbishop's registers in regard to the facts of which he speaks. But this subject we are now compelled to postpone for the present, in consequence of the space to which our remarks have already extended. We shall hope to take it up in a future number of this journal.

In the meantime we would mention that there is an accidental oversight at page 214, in describing the battle of Beaugé, in Anjou, where Gloucester is said to have commanded and to have been killed, instead of Clarence, to whom that fate actually befel on that occasion; but it is a mere oversight, for Clarence is correctly mentioned in the same page. This victory of the Dauphin over the whole English army in Henry's absence does not appear to have attracted so much attention from English writers, fondly dwelling on the glories of Agincourt, as it deserves.

The further progress of the war, the history of the Pucelle, the great career of Bedford, the miseries of France in consequence of the invasion, the insolence of the English, alienating, as it still alienates, foreigners whom it is chiefly their interest to conciliate, the inevitable tendency of these unjust aggressions of the English crown to end at last in defeat and disgrace, the popular tumults of Paris, and the bloodthirsty passions of its mob in ancient as in modern times,—all these things are recorded and illustrated in a striking manner. The notes on the rise and progress of the French and English constitutions, and on the States-General, are also full of interest. But there is one lesson which the author draws from the result of the conference at Arras which we cannot forbear to record. After the signal successes of the French subsequent to the siege of Orleans, when the Burgundian alliance, the mainstay of English power in France, was all but come to an end, and when the *prestige* of conquest had faded from their arms, a congress was appointed at Arras, in 1435, which was attended by ambassadors from the principal sovereigns of Europe to negotiate a peace between the contending parties. It was proposed by the French that the English should retain Normandy and Guienne in absolute sovereignty, with the town of Calais,—almost the very terms which Henry V. had enjoined his brothers on his death-bed to contend for, if they should

encounter adverse circumstances, and which was probably the original limit of his own ambition. Bedford's great career was drawing to a close, and on his sick-bed at Rouen he could take no part in the treaty; and though Cardinal Beaufort and the wiser counsellors saw the advantage of a concession, which, by the surrender of Paris—which they could not hold—would have secured the more important parts of their conquests, the popular clamour at home, aided by the violence of Gloucester, 'the good Duke Humphrey' as his admirers called him, obliged the more sober party to reject the last opportunity that fortune would ever afford them. Their subsequent conduct was similar. They drove the Burgundian into a war, and his forces being joined with those of Charles, Paris was taken the next year. The French king then changed his policy. 'He perceived, on the other hand, in the English, once so adverse to peace, a sudden and vehement desire for it, produced by the loss of Paris, and retreat into Normandy—a change very usual in the popular feeling, *sometimes termed opinion*, which is apt first to drive the country into hostilities, against its best interests, and soon to force a negotiation when, perhaps, the war ought to be continued for the interests, well understood, of peace itself.' The writer illustrates this tendency from two instances in later times, (note, p. 436;) the first, when Walpole was driven into a war with Spain; the second, when 'in 1803, the clamour of the country, acted through and excited by the press in the attacks upon Napoleon, if it did not occasion, certainly hastened the war which raged for eleven years, and from the burdens of which we shall not recover for a century to come.'

The consequences were such as might be even then foreseen. Charles determined to bide his time, and in fifteen years from the fall of Paris, Normandy and Guienne were both reunited to his crown; leaving only the memory of great exploits on which blood and treasure had been poured forth like water, and holding up a warning to posterity how little of social happiness, how little of true glory, how much of misery, and how much even of dishonour, results in the end from that

‘Vaulting ambition which o'erleaps itself,
And falls on the other side.’

ART. VII.—1. *Convocation. Opinions of SIR FREDERICK THESIGER, SIR W. PAGE WOOD, and DR. ROBERT PHILLIMORE, upon a Case submitted by the Society for the Revival of Convocation, &c.* London: Rivingtons. 1853.

2. *The Morning Chronicle.* Feb. 17th, &c.

3. *The Guardian.* Feb. 16th, &c.

HAVING, in several past numbers, reviewed the subject of the present movement for Convocation, with some pretence at historical order; and having staked our theological character on its importance; we propose to adopt the same course with reference to the last quarter. The progress which has been made seems not, at first sight, to be very great, for we have only one day's debate to form the nucleus of its history, whereas before we had three; but, taking into consideration the circumstances of the case, we trust it will appear that the length of time actually passed in debate on this occasion is no test of the value of the whole movement. We say this, not as a conventional mode of explaining away a disappointing conclusion, but with real confidence in its truth. The immediate cause of so short a time of sitting did not proceed from that kind of interference which we consider to be the most difficult to meet. It did not proceed from the civil power; government had no concern in it; but from the Archbishop, the President himself of the assembly. It was not an external opposition aimed at the Church's right of meeting in synod, but it was the internal power of the Church's own synodical organization, as at present exercised, that confined the discussion within such brief limits. We are not accusing the Archbishop of any violent and arbitrary control over the wishes of the Church, for there was no struggle on this occasion to obtain a longer time; and as the point was not fought, no victory was gained. It was known to all, that the Archbishop's personal inclination would be to shorten the time and confine it to one day, and, therefore, that such would be the issue unless great efforts were made to avert it. But no such efforts were made. Those bishops who have thrown themselves into the cause most warmly, and in whose zeal for the Church's synodical action all Churchmen must have entire confidence, took for granted throughout the day that their meeting would be concluded with that evening. It was only against the arbitrary mode of prorogation that the Bishop of

Oxford protested on their separation, it was not against the prorogation itself. From this we conclude that, after a studied review of the state of the whole question on the part of its firmest advocates, it was thought undesirable at that time to press for other sessions. Some reasons for arriving at this conclusion were stated in the Upper House by the Bishop of Exeter, as we shall presently see; and the silence of other Bishops was suggestive also of many more, which could not be, or were not, expressed. Yet was this a confession of weakness in the cause, or was there any decline of zeal? Enough took place to show that such was by no means the case. A step was gained which has for its object the better efficiency of Convocation for years to come, inasmuch as the benefits of it could not be fully seen in this present Convocation. This step was gained by a division: it was eagerly opposed, but nevertheless carried. We allude to the appointment of a committee of the Upper House to consider the claims of licensed curates to vote for proctors of the parochial clergy. This, as a specific question, shows a real and practical wish to sift the whole powers of Convocation to their very roots, and their most initiatory proceedings; though another and immediate object was also gained by the same act: that of claiming, by a vote of the house, its own right to appoint committees which shall sit between prorogations.

But why could it be thought desirable, by the advocates themselves of Convocation, not to press for its sitting through more than one day? In the first place it must be remembered that that one day was a decided gain over the precedents of late years. If we compare the occasion of this meeting with similar ones, we shall find that no sitting at all has hitherto taken place on the like opportunity, even in that progress of the general movement, which allowed of discussion at other times. The 16th of February is not to be compared with the usual assembling of Convocation at the beginning of each session of Parliament, for the session of Parliament began in November, and the Houses met again in February only by adjournment. The usual meeting of Convocation, which takes place at the commencement of a session of Parliament, was accomplished in November, and in our last number we had the pleasure of recording how great an advance its active functions then made. Under ordinary circumstances, the Convocation would have been prorogued to some day near the probable termination of the parliamentary session, and consequently there would have been no meeting at all in February. This, however, being the meeting of a new Convocation, there was the addition of an Address to the Crown, over and above the business of other years. The occasion, therefore, of the meeting on the 16th of February, was

the presentation of the Address; and on referring to the mode in which that was done in 1848, we find that no other business was transacted at the same time, though much deliberation had been necessary in drawing up the Address. The first meeting of that Convocation was held in November 1847; and after a long sitting, from 11 to 5 o'clock, on the subject of the Address, Convocation was prorogued, first to the 9th of December, but afterwards, by royal writ, to the 17th of May, on which day there was a meeting in the chapter-house of S. Paul, where, after the legal writs had been read, the only subject mentioned was the probable day on which the Address would be presented. That day was ultimately arranged to be the 17th of June, and, in the account we have of what then was done, it would appear that the members of Convocation only assembled at the Jerusalem Chamber immediately before their departure for the palace, and dispersed as soon as the presentation was ended. In order, therefore, to estimate the step gained on the 16th of February last, we must compare the transactions of that day with what took place on the occasion just referred to. In 1848, on the presentation of the Address, there was no real sitting for debate; whereas in 1853, the next occasion of a similar kind, there was a whole day of anxious deliberation, productive of important results, as will presently be seen.

It is satisfactory to observe, with regard to the 16th of February, that the real importance of the day was centered in the Upper House. At an earlier stage of the movement for synodal action, the Lower House exhibited most activity. This is a proof to us that the two Houses are settling into their proper relative positions. Whatever may be the exact province of the Lower House, there is no doubt that the Upper is strictly the initiative one, and ought to take the lead. There is no true analogy between the two Houses of Convocation and those of Parliament, sufficient to justify the Lower House, on the strength of its representative principle, in assuming to itself the chief power. An apparent assumption of its initiative powers may be necessary as a preparatory stimulus to the Upper House, when it declines to act; but the degree of activity now exhibited by the bishops indicates that the stimulating influence from below has been to good purpose, and that they are ready to take their proper office as rulers of the Church in synod. An agitating Lower House, with an immovable Upper one, could never end in permanent good results, and would give no hope of real activity, as we may see from the contests which preceded the silencing of the whole Convocation 140 years ago.

On this occasion there were present of the Upper House,—the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London,

Winchester, Exeter, Rochester, Salisbury, Chichester, Llandaff, Oxford, Worcester, and Peterborough. The total number of the Upper House is twenty-one; ten were, therefore, absent. Ill-health and necessary hindrances probably kept several away: but still we have to regret the intentional absence of others. Those, however, who thus absented themselves may be classed as neutral on this particular Church movement, for the most prominent bishops on each side the question were at their posts.

The business commenced with the reading of a report by the Bishop of London, which was drawn up by a Committee, appointed in November, to consider an Address to the Queen in favour of a measure for the better enforcing of discipline among the clergy. The Committee, in its sittings, had not framed an address, thinking it best only to include in its report various suggestions on the subject, which might be further considered before an address was submitted to the House. We cannot lay it before our readers, but would observe that very comprehensive reforms, both in ecclesiastical courts and in the delicate question of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Queen in Council, are among the first practical suggestions of a committee of Convocation.

A representation was then read from the three colonial Bishops of Quebec, Antigua, and Cape Town, praying the House to appoint a committee for the purpose of settling, with authority, various points which specially concern colonial dioceses. Another paper, called a Memorial, was also read from the Bishops of Quebec, Antigua, and Newfoundland, earnestly requesting some decision as to the right of colonial bishops to sit in the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. The Archbishop then stated that he had taken the best legal advice on the subject with reference to the petition from the Bishop of Cape Town, presented in November.

The Vicar-General, Dr. Twiss, then read his opinion, which, after reciting the petition itself, and going at great length into the subject, finally declared against the right of colonial bishops. We shall not interrupt this short summary of the day's proceedings by entering upon so large a question; but as we propose saying a few words upon it in a subsequent part of our article, we reserve any notice of this opinion till that time.

A very long discussion, however, ensued, not on the abstract merits of the petition, but on the manner in which such a claim ought to be made. The Archbishop, adopting the opinion of the Vicar-General, considered himself entitled, as President, judicially to decide the question. The Bishops of Salisbury and

Oxford objected to this exercise of summary power on the part of the Archbishop, asserting that the petition was addressed to the Upper House generally, and that it ought to be taken into consideration as such. The Bishop of London thought it was simply a question between the Queen and Archbishop, and also between the latter and himself as Dean of the Province, as to whether the royal mandate had been properly executed, and writs sent to all such as were entitled to a seat in the House. The arguments of the Bishop of Oxford went to show that the House was judge of its own privileges, and might entertain the petition. If these privileges were extended too far, there was a legal remedy; but although the Bishop of Cape Town might appeal to the Queen in Council, yet he could not go to the Court of Queen's Bench for redress, until he had first established an injury in his exclusion from the Convocation. The Bishop of Exeter did not thus consider the House to be judge of its own privileges, nor did he think the Archbishop had sole power of decision. The petition might have complained of neglect in the Archbishop, in which case he could not be his own judge. The appeal must then have been to the Queen in Council. As it was, he conceived that the Dean of the Province was alone complained of, and the appeal could, therefore, go before the Queen's Bench. His recommendation, under all these circumstances, was, that the House should decline to decide the point, referring the Bishop of Cape Town to his legal advisers for means of obtaining redress. He deprecated any course founded on analogy from parliament, attributing the disputes in the Lower House 150 years ago to mistaken analogies of this kind. The Bishop of Oxford then, being convinced that the House would not, as he had suggested, come to any decision within itself, briefly stated the arguments he would have used on the main question, and concluded by moving a resolution, 'That the House, having taken into consideration the prayer of the petition of Robert, Lord Bishop of Cape Town, have decided that the prayer of the said petitioner involves questions of law so arduous and novel that, in the opinion of the House, the petitioner should establish his claim to a writ of summons in the courts of law, before this House proceed in the matter.'

The Bishop of Exeter objected to this, that it assumed the House had the power to deal with the question hereafter; and he thought if they had the power of decision, they ought not to decline because it was hard. The Bishop of Oxford then expressed great anxiety for some mode of fairly arguing the question, and also unwillingness to acknowledge in formal terms the inability of the House to decide the point. After some further conversation, in which the Bishop of Exeter stated that

such a course could not injure the right of the House, the following resolution was unanimously carried :—

‘That this House, having taken into consideration the petition of the Bishop of Cape Town, does not feel itself competent to entertain the prayer of the said petitioner,—namely, either to direct that a proper citation be issued to such petitioner, or that he be allowed, without such citation, to take his place as a suffragan bishop in the present Convocation.’

This discussion was not continuous, for it was interrupted during its progress by the principal ceremony of the day,—the presentation of the Address to the Queen. A procession was formed from the Jerusalem Chamber to Buckingham Palace, and there was enacted the grand scene of *Convocation at Court*. The answer to the Address was as follows :—

‘I receive with cordial satisfaction the assurances of your loyal and affectionate attachment to my throne and person.

‘It is my earnest desire to promote the welfare and happiness of all classes of my subjects, by continuing to them the blessings of peace abroad, and by assisting to extend at home the holy influence of religion, which is the only sure foundation on which national prosperity can permanently rest.

‘I thank you for the sympathy which you have expressed in my sorrow for the recent loss of the most distinguished of my subjects, and I appreciate the value which you attach to that high sense of duty by which he was invariably inspired.

‘I rely with confidence on your assurances of your desire to preserve harmony in the Church, and to increase its efficiency, while maintaining its doctrines and my supremacy unimpaired; and I pray that the blessing of God may attend your endeavours to extend widely throughout all classes of my people the inestimable benefit of pure and deeply-felt religion.’

As attempts were made to extract a meaning out of the gracious-sounding words uttered by royalty on this occasion, we have referred to the answer given in 1848, and find the two so much alike, with indeed but such alterations as might be claimed to be merely verbal, that we think the present advisers of the Crown cannot be said to have committed themselves to any unwonted reality of meaning in the words made use of; though we feel convinced that any administration, in proportion as it loves truth and honesty, is bound to take care that the official words, uttered in solemn state by the lips of royalty itself, shall not be profaned into a lying farce. The answer in 1848 was as follows :—

‘I receive with cordial satisfaction your assurances of loyal and affectionate attachment to my throne and person. It is my earnest desire to promote the welfare and happiness of my people, by the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, and by measures calculated to extend the influence of our holy religion, which is the sure foundation of national prosperity. I rely with entire confidence on your zeal and earnestness in inculcating the principles of Christian truth and charity, and I derive much gratification from the assurance of your co-operation in increasing the efficiency of the Church for the accomplishment of the great work for which it was estab-

lished. I trust that, by the blessing of God on the means adopted for this important end, the inestimable benefits of pure and undefiled religion may be generally diffused throughout all classes of the community.'

Whatever difference there may be in the two royal answers, is, we think, to the advantage of the recent one. It points more directly to the active functions of Convocation when the Queen states that she prays for the blessing of God on 'your endeavours,' than simply 'on the means adopted for this important end;' and again, the 'doctrines' of the Church are alluded to as within the province of those whom she addresses to maintain. The mention of the supremacy in the late answer sounds like a caution to a body presumed to be an active one, and it does not occur in that of 1848. The expression also, 'the influence of our holy religion,' is well amended by 'the holy influence of religion,' for the term 'our holy religion' has of late been rather the watchword of a certain class of theologians who shun a bold use of the word 'Church.'

A most important question was introduced for discussion by the Bishop of Exeter, on the return of the House from the Palace, and after the subject of the Bishop of Cape Town's petition was concluded. This was a motion founded on several petitions for the appointment of a committee to consider, during the prorogation, of the claims of licensed curates to vote at the election of proctors for the Lower House of Convocation. The Bishop urged the importance of this question on the ground of the large number of the clergy whom it affected, and thought the generally-received opinions against their claim ought to be thoroughly investigated. The conversation then turned upon the right of the House to appoint a committee under the present circumstances of its session. The Bishop of Winchester made a distinction between the right of the House to do this before and after the presentation of the Address. The committee, whose report they had just heard, could be justified, he thought, on the ground that the House had a right to act until the Address was presented, but that, after that time, the appointment of a committee would be a too hazardous, if not an illegal, exercise of power. The Bishop of Rochester also said that he understood, on good authority, such a course would be illegal. It was suggested by the objectors, that the Vicar-General should be referred to, but the Bishop of Salisbury strongly protested against this delegation of their deliberative functions, stating that the Vicar-General was not an officer of the synod. The Bishops of London, Exeter, and Oxford strongly advocated the right of appointing a committee; and the latter boldly urged the expediency of doing so, as a step in the direction of keeping alive a provincial synod of the Church. It was argued that such a

course would not excite popular alarm in the same way as a continued sitting of the House. In the propriety of proroguing, the Bishop perfectly agreed; but he did not wish to extinguish this unobjectionable and desirable mode of commencing a revival of their functions. The Bishop of Winchester persevered in an amendment, which he had proposed in the following terms:— ‘That this House does not deem it expedient to enter at this time into the prayer of the petition, but requests his Grace the President, if he should think fit, to remit it to the Vicar-General for his report upon the question at issue,’—and a division of the House was the result. For the Bishop of Winchester’s amendment there were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester, Rochester, Peterborough, and Worcester: against it, the Bishops of London, Exeter, Salisbury, Chichester, Oxford, and Llandaff. The original motion was therefore carried by a majority of one. The Archbishop did not then refuse his sanction to the committee, but objected to any member of the Lower House acting in conjunction with it.

A conversation then took place as to the appointment of a committee to consider the prayer of the colonial bishops for council and assistance. All agreed that this prayer should be attended to; but it was, with equal unanimity, arranged that, as the powers of the Convocation of the province of Canterbury with respect to the colonial bishops were a subject of doubt—inasmuch as the latter were in a more direct dependence upon the Crown—it would be a safer and more useful plan that a committee should be appointed, not of Convocation, but of Bishops, to meet at Lambeth. The Archbishop stated that he himself should have proposed this, if others had not anticipated him.

The Bishop of Oxford then presented a petition from the incumbent of S. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, complaining of the state of the law which compels a clergyman to celebrate marriages upon a registrar’s certificate. The Bishop of Exeter explained the origin of this grievance, and gave an instance of the hardship resulting from it. When the Registration Bill was passed, in 1837, the Bishops withheld their intended opposition on the assurance of Government that the Church would be untouched by it, and then at the last moment, without the cognizance of a single member of the bench, a clause was inserted making the registrar’s certificate equivalent to banns. This statement was confirmed by the Bishop of London in every respect. The case mentioned of the hardship of this act was that of a clergyman, who, feeling the impropriety of marrying certain parties upon this certificate only, refused to do so, and subsequently had a verdict of a court of law brought in against him. This was afterwards reversed, but only on the ground that the clergyman

ought to have been proceeded against under the Church Discipline Act, rather than a court of law, and not before the costs had amounted to more than 3,000*l.* Many clergymen, indeed, defied the law, but they were frequently threatened with proceedings by the registrars, for their conscientious and well-founded objections to pronounce the benediction over parties who might laugh at it.

As this is one of many points that deeply concern the practical position of our Church, we will briefly illustrate our notions of what may be considered an equitable arrangement between the State and any religious body, such as the Church, with respect to it. It is perfectly just and equitable, when a nation is wholly composed of Church-people, for the voice of the nation through its government to acknowledge Christian matrimony, celebrated by the Church, as the only method by which marriage may be contracted. In this case, it must follow that the civil power has a right to demand of the Church a regular discharge of the functions thus deputed to it; and as long as the State respects ecclesiastical law—that is, as long as the Church and State are so far identical as our case presupposes—an individual clergyman must be amenable to the State for refusing to marry on such authority as the law considers sufficient—that is, under the old state of things, either by banns or licence. When, however, the religion of the country is no longer recognised as *one*—when Church and State are no longer identical—it is plainly unfair for the State to invent a new kind of preparatory step, and then make it equally binding on a clergyman with the other one, which was the result of a general compact between the two sides.

In this state of things it is, we think, open to the State, if so it wishes, to compel every one to have a registrar's certificate, and also to be married by civil contract, leaving any religious ceremony as a voluntary act, about which it is not concerned; or, on the other hand, to give to particular religious bodies the power or licence of marrying such parties as wish to take advantage of it, that is, in other words, merely to excuse their attendance before the registrar, transferring his civil function to an officer of religion. The State, however, having its own mode of doing the work in hand, ought to consider the performance of it by a religious body to be not only voluntary on the persons to be married, but on the officers of that religious body to whom they apply, who shall be amenable for their conduct to their ecclesiastical superiors only, without any charge against them for civil injury. Convocation, therefore, ought to apply for a removal of this obnoxious and oppressive clause, enforcing the performance of the Church rite, upon presentation of the

certificate of the civil one. Convocation ought, indeed, to distinguish between the process against a clergyman for refusing to marry after banns, and after certificate only; for the State has a peculiar hold over him in the first case, since here it commits to the Church the preparatory inquiries, as well as the final act, and therefore has a right to see that the Church fulfils a contract presumed to have been made on the first publication of banns. We also think that the Church ought to have ample power to refuse publication at all to all who are not her own members; but here comes in the *vexata questio*, at which all their investigations ultimately arrive, How is the Church to know her own real members? Her own answer, indeed, is simple:—By means of her sacraments and her discipline. But much freedom is wanted before these can effectually be used for the purpose.

We have rather digressed in these remarks from the strict narrative of the day's proceedings; but as concerns the Upper House, a few more words will complete it.

The Bishop of Oxford wished to know whether the records of Convocation were private property, and whether members of Convocation had a right to examine them? After some conversation, it was stated by the Vicar-General, that although some early records had been lost, from the notion that they were private property, the books were now in the custody of his registrar; that he himself was responsible for them, and that they would always be accessible to any member of the Convocation who wished to see them.

The time for prorogation being now at hand, the Bishop of Oxford suggested that the pain of entering a protest against the Archbishop's claim to prorogue without the consent of his suffragans might be saved, either by introducing into the schedule of prorogation the words 'Cum consensu fratrum,' or by the prorogation being moved by one of the suffragans. The Archbishop, however, declined to deviate in any way from the course which he previously adopted, and the following protest was therefore handed in:—

'We, the undersigned, pray your Grace to cause your reporter to enter upon the records of the Convocation our humble protest and declaration, that whilst we willingly assent to your Grace's prorogation of this session of Convocation, we do not assent to any claim on behalf of the Archbishop to resolve on proroguing this synod, *sine consensu fratrum*.

(Signed)

'H. EXETER,

C. T. CICESTER,

'E. SARUM,

S. OXON.'

Convocation was then prorogued to the 18th of August next, and the proceedings closed at a quarter past five o'clock, with prayer and the archiepiscopal benediction.

The proceedings of the Lower House do not exhibit any formal

result; but after a careful investigation of what took place, we see great reason to be satisfied that the time was not lost. If we consider the position which this House bears to the Upper, which is that of presenting *gravamina et reformanda* to it, and receiving suggestions from it with the power of a veto, we shall perceive that, in the first throes and efforts of Convocation to transact any business at all, it would obviously be premature for the Lower House to do more than be settling its own rights and privileges, and forming a judgment as to the most expedient modes for doing its work, when the time shall come for that work to be done. A man must prove his armour, and test his weapons, or—to take a more peaceful simile, and one, we trust, more applicable on that very account—he must arrange and put into working order his tools, and also practise himself in the use of them, before he begins his operations upon any great or fresh field of labour.

Owing to the wise discrimination and diligent forethought of the Prolocutor, the one subject, which occupied almost the whole day, was, we feel convinced, a most successful choice, inasmuch as it was laying the foundation of future influence, according to the working arrangement, which gives most hope of the future. The position and power of committees is of the greatest importance to settle, and each successive event which now takes place brings this subject more prominently forward. One principal reason why no formal resolution was passed on the 16th of February was, that the powers and standing of a committee seemed to develop, under discussion, into such a valuable working instrument, that the House could well afford to wait, in order that no rash handling of it should damage the cause. We have great confidence in the future success of committees. They would more easily fall into harmony with the habits and prejudices of the day, than continued sessions of the whole House, and would cause less hindrance to other duties, without being any departure from ancient precedents, or any concession of the legislative functions of the Church. The sessions of Convocation might appoint committees, giving them their subject, their *gravamina et reformanda* to draw up, and then so order their prorogations as to receive the report which, after moderate discussion, might be accepted or rejected. This would occupy the main body of Convocation but a short time, and yet be using its power for the good of the Church. Archdeacon Denison objected, indeed, to the *representation*, which he had assisted in drawing up, being referred to a committee, on the ground of its being so comprehensive that such a committee would be a substitution for the synod, and so might hinder its proper action. Without questioning the wisdom of giving up this particular

committee, connected as it was with other considerations, we yet think that very comprehensive subjects must hereafter be submitted to committees; for one question so runs into another, on the practical Church subjects of the day, that great scope for the consideration of general principles must be given, even if the definite proposition, in the first instance referred to the committee, should be very narrow and limited.

We said that much is due to the Prolocutor for the happy direction in which the discussions of the day were led. His opening speech contains most important matter on the subject of committees, ably and methodically stated. He commenced by reminding the House of the appointment of its committee last November to consider Dr. Spry's representation; and also of the requisition to the Archbishop, which was then adopted, hoping that he would so order prorogations that the House might receive the report. Not having received any answer from the Archbishop before the last prorogation of November, he now laid before the House a correspondence which had taken place between the Archbishop and himself; the result of which was that the Archbishop declined doing any presidential act during the recess of Convocation.

The Prolocutor, after stating that the matter had thus rested, then commenced his general review of the position of committees, in which he clearly proves that they possess ample powers, and have all precedent in favour of their use.

The conversation that followed the return of the House from Buckingham Palace has already been alluded to, as on the whole being illustrative of the importance of committees. The only extract which we feel it essential to make, contains some further remarks of the Prolocutor, important as expressing his views on the committee of the 'representation.'

'Though the House, he thought, in making the application to his Grace, had made a mistake, and compromised one of their most important rights, they should be prepared to submit to some sacrifice with respect to the meeting of this particular committee. As they had made an application to his Grace for a formal sanction of the meetings of the committee, he thought it would not be expedient to urge the assembling of that special committee, except with the sanction of his Grace.'

No definite course was adopted. The committee, we presume, is practically defunct, though the House was prorogued without any specific statement to this effect, further than the Prolocutor's unopposed recommendation.

The prorogation was directed to be *immediate*, and accordingly, without waiting for the end of the discussion, the House was prorogued till the 18th of August, and thus ended the February Session. We believe that the termination excited no

surprise whatever, but was fully anticipated, in spite of an assertion to the contrary.

We shall now proceed to take a short survey of the opinions expressed on this meeting of Convocation by the public press. There were remarks, either before or after the day of meeting, in most of the principal papers. The '*Times*' began its old policy as early as February 8th. The first half of the article was occupied with proving how correct all its former surmises had been, with regard to the favour shown by Lord Derby's government to Convocation. That so much was done in November, was stated to have arisen from this cause. Not satisfied, however, with these congratulations of its past discernment as to the policy of Lord Derby, it ventured on the bold step of testing its appreciation of Lord Aberdeen's government also, by suggesting (apparently with an expectation of its advice being followed), that some process called '*a writ of exoneration*' should be issued before the 16th of February, which would summarily put a stop to the whole affair. A precedent for this was brought forward, which it will be time for us to examine when the subject practically requires investigation. A slightly saving clause was added, as a kind of safety-valve for the extraneous vivacity of Churchmen, which we lay before our readers.

'It is said, indeed, to be the intention of some members of the bench of Bishops to bring into parliament a bill for the purpose of giving direct legal authority to Convocation in certain matters touching the discipline of the Church; and whether such a measure be wise or not, it is undoubtedly a perfectly fair subject of legislative discussion in the House of Lords.'

Subsequent events show far better information, and a much clearer insight into the ecclesiastical policy of the present government, on the part of the '*Morning Chronicle*,' which, on February 16th, has the following most excellent remarks:—

'We much misapprehend the deference which is due from British statesmen to the constitution, if we assume that the members of Lord Aberdeen's cabinet will desire to interpose in any matters which are out of the province of government. The ministry is as little likely to use illegal coercion as is Convocation to lay itself open to administrative interference. It is the province both of the State and of the Church to keep simply and strictly within the letter of the law, and to observe and discharge their own respective duties. Under existing circumstances, there is no occasion, as we are convinced there can be no wish, for the Government and the Church Legislature to fall into any attitude of mutual suspicion—still less of distrust—least of all of hostility.'

If all assumed friends of religion and good order could be induced to view the question with the justice of these last remarks—if all professors of liberal principles, who have any pretence at being Churchmen, were content to extend their liberality with this consistency, there might be some hope for

a peaceful and amicable settlement of the relations between Church and State. But if journals of influence and character, in other matters, will persist in the effort to stir up, on every occasion, the most ignorant prejudices of the people against the Church's most simple claims of justice,—if they will stimulate the worst feelings of bigotry against the very first principles of any religious body, when, under the name of Convocation, they are applied to the Church,—if they will persist in the assumption of a mature judgment about matters which they plainly have never considered with the smallest attempt at fairness and equity, and will make up for their want of information, both on the subject matter generally, and the tactics of those immediately concerned, by wild assertions and threats of persecuting violence;—if they will do these acts of injustice in dealing with a cause that hangs upon a nice balance of mutual interests, and of the deepest feelings of the human heart, we can only express our certain conviction that such a course is the surest way of leading to a rupture between our civil and religious duties, and of driving far off all chance of maintaining a friendly intercourse between the Church and the nation at large.

An article in the 'Guardian' of February 16th (written of course before the meeting) is also an admirable critique on the character of the opposition raised against Convocation, from which we extract the following passage:—

'The very attacks levelled at the Convocation at which this address was discussed, is a sure sign of its real importance. Men do not fly into a passion with an opponent who is wholly contemptible. It is curious to observe how carefully the writers who denounce that body abstain from declaring any alternative policy. *Delenda est Convocatio*, is the beginning, middle, and end of their lucubrations. In what way the want should be supplied, which has occasioned the demand for the revival of a Church Synod, they do not trouble themselves to explain. It is true that this language contrasts rather strangely with that which some who use it are in the habit of employing upon other questions of the day. In other matters progress is their watchword; representation of all opinions, abundant legislation for the removal of practical evils, religious liberty to men of all denominations, are the phrases which season every speech and every treatise that proceed from their political workshop. To the Church alone such movements are forbidden. She alone is consigned to the chilling embrace of her reactionary admirers, who stifle her energies lest she should use them amiss, and are zealous in her cause only when they have an acknowledged abuse to defend.'

A vigorous article also appeared in the 'Morning Post' of the same day, deprecating a hasty prorogation.

From these favourable expressions of opinion, we would now turn to very opposite views, which appeared on the day after the synod, in the 'Daily News.' The justice of a cause may be estimated not only by the arguments in its favour, but by

listening also to the other side. This article, which is evidently written in the most effective style of the paper, consists of four paragraphs, which may thus be described:—The first goes on the tack of casting ridicule on the mock solemnity with which a few clergymen on the previous day assumed legislative functions, as if the ‘passive crowds’ would heed the decisions of Convocation. The next paragraph is equally *funny*, but at the expense of the ‘chaos of episcopal opinions’ manifested in the debate on the Bishop of Cape Town’s petition. Its deduction under this head is as follows:—

‘Church law, in England, except in cases connected with property, can scarcely be said to exist. Hence, whenever any purely ecclesiastical question comes to be argued, the disputants are obliged to fall back upon the Romish canons; and a tissue of absurdity is woven, which does nothing but disturb the peace of the Church, and give occasion for amusement to the Roman Catholics.’

The third paragraph condescends, for a short space, to serious argument:—

‘The Church is too large, too free, too active, too full of life, to be imprisoned in the wooden shoes that are deemed by a few old women the only correct regulators of its future progress. The only law that it can submit to is the law laid down by the great Apostle of the Gentiles—“the law of liberty.”’

It is then assumed that the parties who are thus striving for Convocation are the dignitaries of the Church, according to the invidious sense of that expression. The spirit of the present movement is described as identical with that portion of the Church which has uniformly stifled all signs of life. Curates and ‘the working clergy’ are described as being hostile to this movement—thinking it the work of dignitaries only, and as being themselves content with the present state of things. All the sins of dignitaries for generations past are thus brought to bear, as heavy pieces of ordnance, against the movement for synodical action. It is unnecessary to combat this line of argument with our readers. They know that the whole present movement was stimulated by the repugnance of the Church to that very same type of ecclesiastical dignity which the ‘Daily News’ justly condemns, and which, to answer its own purposes, it endeavours to thrust upon the present advocates for Convocation. Who are they among the Bishops and the Lower House who oppose Convocation, but the old State dignitaries? for a description of whose actions we are indebted to the ‘Daily News.’—

‘They remember that no part of the great progress that has been made by the Church in late years is due to the exertions of the dignitaries of the Church, but to those of the despised working clergy. They contrast the present triumphant attitude assumed by the Church with its position thirty years ago, and they know that this is the work of the curates. High Churchmen remember that when the Church had lost its popularity,

ten bishoprics were cut off from the Church of Ireland, while the bishops looked on. They smile as they think of the energy with which the same prelates protested against the extinction of one Welsh see, when they found they were backed by a popularity which was no work of their own.

Does this apply to the Bishop of Oxford, the champion of our cause, or to certain others, whom it would be disrespectful thus to name? We can but answer the assumed views of the working clergy by referring to the uniformly expressed desire on the part of those who favour synodical action, that curates should vote at the election of proctors, and the equally uniform opposition to that measure on the part of those who are against such action. The fourth paragraph returns to its lighter style, and its object is contained in the following apt quotation:—

‘Begone, brave army—don’t kick up a row.’

The ‘Times’ of the same day takes a more serious view of the matter. It regrets that its scheme of ‘exoneration’ was not carried out, and is obliged to confess that something has been done, laying great stress on the committee. It concludes with the following just and moderate remarks, which, whatever may have been the views of the writer, contain a view of the case to which we shall not offer any denial or objection, as we interpret it:—

‘But it is obvious that the success of the experiment this session has been sufficient to encourage perseverance in the same course, and we are persuaded that the time is not very distant when, if these claims are put forward by the Church, they will have to be limited by her Majesty’s undoubted prerogative, or defined by that legislative authority of parliament which is alone supreme in this realm.’

We have also before us two leading articles of the ‘Morning Chronicle,’ two of the ‘Morning Post,’ one of the ‘Guardian,’ and one of ‘John Bull.’ These express themselves, on the whole, fully satisfied with the result of February 16th, as giving great hope for the future. They consist, mostly, of a recapitulation of the day’s proceedings, with incidental comments. The ‘Morning Post,’ though boldly helping the cause, we think rather too sentimental in its remarks; indeed, we hardly sympathise with—perhaps because we do not grasp—the theory therein contained:—

‘When that shall be, a new era shall dawn upon Christendom, and from the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster to the utmost isles of the sea, the voice of the Anglican Church shall go forth, preparing all nations for the end of all things.’

The ‘Morning Chronicle’ of the 18th, contains the following reference to the distinguishing triumph of the day:—

‘Convocation is now transacting business. For 135 years its sole function has been to prepare an Address to the Throne, and then to subside into a comatose state till the next summons of a new Parliament. Now it is prorogued for six months, and has pledged itself to do the

Church's work in the meantime. A committee has been appointed, in spite of the reluctance of the Primate, to consider a most important practical question—the right of licensed curates to vote at the election of proctors. That committee must report; and the next session of Convocation must receive its report.'

We conclude this part of our subject with some excellent remarks from the '*Guardian*' of February 23, on certain objections which had been brought to the general character of such debates as have already taken place:—

'Clerical powers and rights, functions and prerogatives of ecclesiastical committees or officers, are the sole theme, they insist, now (as of old) in the synod of the English Church. Really, the complaint is somewhat unreasonable on the lips of those who make it. They have been occupied with zealous pertinacity in limiting the powers of Convocation, and crippling their exercise, if they could not succeed altogether in preventing their public recognition; and yet they are scandalized that the maintenance of the disputed rights engages the primary attention of the assembly they have tried to repress.'

Such, then, being an outline of the recent meeting of Convocation, and also of the expressions of public opinion through the newspaper press, in connexion with it, it may be asked, With what sentiments have the Queen's advisers been contemplating it all, or what notice has been taken in the House of Commons of these proceedings? Her Majesty's ministers witnessed the presentation of the Address, and framed its answer. They probably had seen accounts of the session, and would even have known what had been going on, if not kindly reminded by the questions of Sir John Pakington in the House, as to the legality of the committee of the Upper House. From whatever motives the question was asked, it cannot be denied that it got its answer. It may be a singular aspect of parties to some people, which places a member of Lord Derby's government in the apparent position of the Church's assailant on this question, and Lord John Russell in that of the dignified asserter of her just rights; but it is an aspect confirmatory of our own anticipations, as expressed three months ago, during the first formation of the Aberdeen ministry. We take the speech from the '*Morning Chronicle*' of March 5:—

'Lord J. Russell: "Sir, in answer to the question which was put to me yesterday by the right honourable gentleman, the member for Droitwich, (Sir J. Pakington), I have to state that the prorogation of Convocation is totally different in its nature and effect from a prorogation of parliament—that it is the act of the Archbishop, and has the same effect as an adjournment. In fact, there is no such term, I believe, as an adjournment, known to Convocation, and the adjournment has always taken the shape and form of a prorogation. Consequently, the prorogation leaves it open to the Convocation to appoint a committee, and the law officers of the crown have found several, if not many, instances of committees being appointed upon the eve of prorogation. Therefore there can be no doubt as to the

legality of the course which has been pursued by the Upper House of Convocation. I need not, therefore, add, that it is not the intention of her Majesty's Government to take any measures upon the subject."

Before concluding this notice of the 16th of February, and its results, we would call attention to a minor difficulty that transpired at the very commencement of the sitting of the Lower House. It is obvious that, in the proper discharge of any legislative or deliberative functions, there are incidental expenses, such as printing reports, &c., which require some fund at the disposal of the whole body. Archdeacon Denison thought that every member of the House would willingly subscribe his share; but this might or might not be the case. We think it would be more consistent, both with the dignity of the synod and with ancient custom, for the House to consider whether such supplies as are necessary for the business of Convocation, might not be raised in the respective dioceses or archdeaconries, together, also, with the personal expenses of the proctors for the parochial clergy. There are fees called synodals, which, as Burns shrewdly remarks, 'have a plain relation to the holding of synods;' but (*we* would suggest) not a very practical one. These identical fees we cannot hope to establish any claim to, as they may never have had any *provincial* application; but their existence affords a precedent. How far any small fee could be exacted from incumbents only by ecclesiastical authority, not now established, is another question; but meanwhile justice points to the whole Church as properly responsible for the expenses of her synod.

It now remains that we should notice the Vicar-General's opinion on the petition of the Bishop of Cape Town, and the present state of the '*cum consensu fratrum*' question. On the first subject, it may be acceptable to our readers if we give a short abstract of the opinion itself (which occupies three closely printed columns), and then give our own comments on the view of the question as thus laid down.

The Bishop of Cape Town founds his claim to sit in the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury as follows:—

'The writ of the Archbishop to the Dean of the Province requires him to cite all and singular the bishops-suffragan of the Cathedral Church of Christ, Canterbury, constituted within the province of Canterbury.' The Bishop of Cape Town claims that he answers to this description, because that, in the letters patent creating Cape Town into a bishop's see, he, as bishop, was made 'subject and subordinate to the metropolitan see of Canterbury and the Archbishop thereof, in the same manner as any bishop of any see within the province of Canterbury, in our kingdom of England, is under the said metropolitan see and

‘the Archbishop thereof.’ The Vicar-General first argues that, whatever may be the words used in the Archbishop’s mandate, they cannot be more inclusive than the royal writ, in obedience of which it is issued, and which only uses the expression ‘Bishops of the Province.’ In illustration of this, he shows that the suffragan bishops in the sixteenth century, when the same form of writ was used, did not sit in the Upper House of Convocation; but, on the contrary, that the Dean of Canterbury sat in the Lower House, though he was, and is so styled in the books, ‘*Episcopus Suffraganeus Dover,*’ and had been invested with ‘all such consecrations, benedictions, and ceremonies, as to the degree and office of a bishop-suffragan shall be requisite;’ and had, in consequence, ‘such capacity, power and authority, honour, preeminence and reputation, in as large and ample a manner, in and concerning the execution of such commission, as by any of the said archbishops or bishops, in their diocese, shall be given to the said suffragans, as to suffragans of this realm heretofore hath been and accustomed.’ From this he thought it would appear that the spiritual relation only, of a suffragan to his metropolitan, would not bring the latter within the scope of the royal writ.

In order to show what was essential in adding a diocese to a province, the statutes are referred to by which the see of Chester was transferred, in 1541, from the province of Canterbury to that of York, in the terms of which ‘not only was the Bishop of Chester placed personally in the relation of a suffragan to the Archbishop of York, as his metropolitan, but his see and diocese were territorially annexed and united to the province of York in all things, as well temporal as ecclesiastical of this realm.’ In the exemption, again, of the see of Gloucester also, in 1541, from some jurisdiction which the Archbishop of York had over it, the words are, ‘The Bishop and whole diocese of Gloucester should be, and be held and accounted to be, within the province of Canterbury, for all intents of law, in the same manner as the Bishop and diocese of Worcester are held and reputed to be.’ The relationship, neither here nor in other cases mentioned, is ever expressed in the same words as in the letters patent of the Bishop of Cape Town. In this last patent it is also to be remarked that the final appeal of any one, feeling himself aggrieved by the jurisdiction of the bishop, lays with the Archbishop; whereas, in the case of any bishop actually of the province of Canterbury, there is always an appeal to the Crown. The Vicar-General then reviews the various constitutions of different colonies, as crown colonies, plantations, &c.; and shows that the power of the Crown is not sufficient to make the fundamental change in a colony which its annexation to the province of

Canterbury would legally imply. When this has been required it has been done by Act of Parliament, as in the case of the Isle of Man, the wording of which is as follows:—‘Be it further enacted, that the bishopric and diocese of Man, in the Isle of Man, be also annexed, adjoined, and united to the said province and metropolitan jurisdiction of York, in all points and to all intents and purposes and effects as the said bishopric of Chester is annexed, adjoined, and united to the same.’ The power of the Crown differs indeed in the various colonies; but the North American colonies and others are not in any way subject to the Queen in council, having constitutions or special rights of their own. It would, then, be clearly out of the question that the Queen should have the power of annexing these colonies to the province of Canterbury; yet, although the Cape of Good Hope is of the class of colonies that are thus subject, the same form of letters patent is used, in appointing its bishop, as in the case of the diocese of Newfoundland. As applied, then, to the former, it cannot be interpreted to signify what it is impossible it should in the others.

The cases of the Channel islands and Calais are referred to as having been at one time or other under the episcopal superintendence of English diocese, without any right to be represented in the Lower House of Convocation. The personal jurisdiction, again, vested in the Bishop of London, by order in council, over British factories and subjects abroad, is mentioned as a case where such orders do not constitute those whom they apply to, as within any territorial diocese or province. In the cases, also, of Ripon and Manchester, the new sees are specially invested by Act of Parliament with the same rights, &c., as are possessed by the other bishops of England and Wales.

The sum of all this is the Vicar-General’s opinion, that the diocese of Cape Town is not within the province of Canterbury. This opinion was, in the course of the debate, answered by the Bishop of Oxford with great ingenuity and power, but, as he remarked, a legal decision can alone be satisfactory.

Our own views on this subject are not biassed by any great antecedent wish that this claim should be established, and we feel convinced that it cannot. The argument of the Vicar-General on the inadequacy of power resting with the Queen in council to include any colonies within the ancient province of Canterbury, is, we think, conclusive; indeed, we should much regret if such were the case. The Bishop of Oxford proves a monstrous absurdity to exist, but this is not the solution of it. The Crown may have and has exercised a very unecclesiastical method of erecting sees, and has produced the anomaly of appointing bishops unattached to any synod. But this was no oversight.

It had its origin in the Erastian theory, for they who invented the plan never thought of provincial synods as at all necessary. The Church of England, if unconnected with the State, might easily include, by mutual consent, colonial churches in her home provinces, if this were desirable; but, so long as this is not the case, any such measure would plainly come in contact with the civil independence of the colonies, in a way that the Bishop of Oxford would be the first to deprecate. But, on general grounds, we think that this new papal theory is not desirable. Local independence is the object which ought chiefly to be aimed at, rather than exact uniformity with our antipodes. A provincial council indeed, with its members scattered all over the world, is an obvious absurdity. Nothing can unite together these distant branches of the Church in one deliberate body, but a general council of many provinces. The anomaly, however, which the Bishop of Oxford alludes to, must be viewed in a serious light by the colonial churches. If they are not in the provinces of Canterbury so far as to be members of its synod, their dependence upon Canterbury at all must be on a very slender foundation. Indeed we suspect it is, after all, a perfectly fair deduction, that as the Queen in council cannot make the colonies to become integral parts of the province of Canterbury, so she cannot create sees, the bishops of which are, in any real sense, even personally subject to the Archbishop of that province. The only hold there can be is on the bishop's income, not his jurisdiction.

This conclusion may perhaps one day be acceptable to the colonial bishops, though now we can well fancy that they look, with many fond associations, and with a pride of imagined strength, upon their connexion with Canterbury and with the court of England. In their hard and rugged toils, their exposure to the frost of the poles and the heat of the tropics,—in their lone feeling, amid wild and scattered heathen, with poverty and fewness of friends to encounter, with contempt meeting them, strangely different from their remembrances of ecclesiastical dignity at home,—in the circumstances also of their own personal histories, having left England with but small idea of any change thereby produced in their relations either to Church or State, it is not to be wondered at that to find themselves severed from Canterbury would be an unexpected and severe blow. But if we look forward to the civil independence of all our colonies as probable before many years are over, we think that ecclesiastical arrangements ought all, even now, to be formed, having in view the avoidance of any great disturbances in the Church, when such independence should commence. The independence of the colonial Church should in theory go hand in hand with that of

the colony itself; and as each step cannot be practically made quite even in its progress, it is wise for the Church to be as far in advance as she can. Nothing can be more wretched or more injurious to any Church, than a lingering dependence upon a foreign power, of which the people among whom it exists, are politically jealous. To the colonial bishops themselves, and to those Churches generally, we can only say, that if their exclusion from the provincial synod of Canterbury is thus legally proved, and if they feel as strongly as we hope they do, the necessity of belonging to some provincial synod, each such Church must constitute itself to be a province so far as this is concerned. Let the Bishop of Cape Town be a metropolitan himself, though alone in the Church of South Africa, and there await the time when he has suffragans to compose his synod, as already is the case in Australia. There would be dangers in this freedom, but it is so plainly derogatory to the dignity and rightful independence of any diocese, that it should be without any synodical action, that the risk of isolated synods must be encountered, unless Christendom again recognises a mighty patriarchal system, the head of which shall rule, either in person or by synod, over the province of Canterbury, in common with those in distant parts of the world. The power claimed for the archbishopric of Canterbury is, in fact, an attempt to establish this system under the immediate control of the British government, and without any due observance of ecclesiastical rule in its formation. Whether this would be desirable, even as a purely ecclesiastical question, is a subject which we shall not now consider; but under the different relationships which now exist between the Church and State, at home on the one hand, and in the colonies on the other, it is plainly impossible that any schemes originating only from the royal prerogative and the privy council can ever prosper. Missionary Churches with their bishops must begin afresh, unhampered by the civil restraints which many centuries of a complicated history have entailed on the Church at home. Vigorous life, and originality of power, must be the aim of these Churches, rather than a stately uniformity of their proceedings. Let the primitive ages and the first great councils of the Church be their subjects of research, when practical references are wanted, and not the present acts and deeds of a Church so differently situated from themselves, as what is called so emphatically the United Church of England and Ireland. Let rough and struggling places be content with young and struggling Churches. The colonial bishops have nobly proved that personally they accept this position. They have not, to their praise be it said, carried with them the courtly habits of the

home episcopate; let them accept the like position for their Churches, and the freedom thus gained will, in our judgment, be precious seed, that will bring forth a hundredfold at another day. Let them not lay up their one talent of State authority in a napkin, but let them use their master's gift with diligence, let them boldly put it out to advantage in this busy world, and ten cities will be their ultimate reward.

We must now, as the concluding subject of our present article, notice the various opinions which have been obtained on the right of the Archbishop to prorogue Convocation, '*sine consensu fratrum.*'

When any question is in process of professional investigation, it is commonly unprofitable, if not injurious, for amateur commentators to express their crude opinions. In the present case, moreover, the pamphlet which contains the result of these investigations, as they now stand, can be obtained for one shilling. An abstract, therefore, could answer no good purpose, and might fail of doing justice to the several arguments. The history of the pamphlet is thus explained in the Introduction:—

'With a view to clear up points on which the future action of Convocation so largely depends, it was determined by the Council of the Society for the Revival of Convocation, before the meeting of the new Convocation in November last, that a case should be submitted for the opinion of eminent legal authorities, respecting,—

- '1. The power of Convocation, within certain limits, to proceed to the transaction of business; and,
- '2. The right of the Bishops of the province to a voice in the question whether Convocation shall or shall not enter upon the transaction of such business.

'The opinion first obtained was that of Dr. Robert Phillimore, who, having entered at some length into the authorities both of the general Canon Law, and of the special Law of the English Church, came to the conclusion,—

- '1. That, with the exception of the matters expressly reserved in the Statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, there is no statutory restriction upon the power of Convocation to act as a Provincial Synod;
- '2. That the question of prorogation (or adjournment), like every other question arising out of, and connected with, the business of the Synod, cannot be decided by the Archbishop alone without the consent of his Suffragans.

'This opinion of Dr. Phillimore, together with the case, was laid before her Majesty's then Attorney-General, Sir Frederick Thesiger, and before Sir William Page Wood.

'Sir F. Thesiger expressed, upon both points, his entire concurrence in Dr. Phillimore's opinion.

'Sir W. Page Wood, on the contrary, came to a different conclusion, partially upon the first, and altogether upon the second point.

'Under this conflict of opinions, and regard being had to the novelty and importance of the case, the elucidation of which required a more than ordinary amount of research, it was thought desirable to lay a supple-

mental case, instructed with additional authorities, before Sir W. Page Wood.

'Sir W. Page Wood, in his opinion upon the supplemental case, adhered to his original opinion.

'It was then thought proper to lay the whole of the documents, including the supplemental case and both opinions of Sir W. Page Wood, before Dr. Phillimore, requesting him to review his own former opinion, and to state his grounds for departing from, or adhering to it.

'Dr. Phillimore, in his second opinion, adheres to the conclusions at which he had before arrived, and sustains them by an elaborate argument, and by the recital of copious authorities, ancient as well as modern, both of the Catholic Church, and of the English branch of the same.

'The whole has thus assumed the form of a legal argument of an unusually comprehensive character, and it has therefore been thought that the publication of that argument, together with the authorities relied on, would prove both useful and interesting.'—Pp. iv—vi.

Without any comment, then, on the arguments here adduced, we would suggest whether this question of the Archbishop's right to prorogue the Convocation of the province of Canterbury does not depend on the legal predominance of one or other of two principles. The one is that of the pure ecclesiastical synod of the primitive type, in which the Archbishop is, we think, proved to have been '*primus inter pares*,' and unable to do anything without consent of his brothers; the other is that of an external control being brought to bear upon provincial synods, which, to secure the due discharge of its influence upon the other bishops, invests the Archbishop with a peculiar eminence: that eminence deriving its authority *from* the external control, and being over and above the simple priority of an ecclesiastical archiepiscopate. In the case of the province of Canterbury, this invasion by an external control may be supposed to have begun in part with the supremacy of the Pope; and since, at the time of the Reformation, whatever privileges had been withdrawn from their original owners, by papal influence, were not restored whence they came, but handed over to the Crown, it would continue. Tithes, for instance, abstracted from their own parishes for the benefit of distant monasteries, were not restored at the Reformation to the parochial Clergy, but confiscated. In proportion, therefore, as papal influence was unjust and arbitrary before the Reformation, just so far did the Church, after that time, suffer from too rude a control exercised by the civil power.

The method by which the Pope asserted his supremacy over England was, at one time, by sending his legate to exercise supreme authority. Afterwards, however, he appointed the Archbishop himself to be his legate; which implies that the Archbishop had an immense addition of power over what he had before possessed. A state of things would forthwith be

introduced, which requires the analogy of a sovereign power to explain its proceedings. This preeminence would continue after the Reformation, but subject to the King instead of the Pope. Power, however, exercised by the Crown over the Church, is like that of a powerful brother over a weaker sister. They may be friendly, and so united; but the sister is an independent complete system,—with the same component parts as the brother, she is not part of him. In like manner, the Church is a complete system, with a sovereign power of her own. This being recognised by all who had to deal with the Church, it was desirable, for the sake of convenience and where no principle was affected, that this sovereign power should be attached to a person. Thus, when Convocation was first summoned for purposes of taxation, the Crown looked to the Archbishop of Canterbury as a sort of king, and required him to tax his council, as he himself taxed parliament.

The question, then, now at issue is, whether the preeminence somehow acquired by custom and various external influences, is sufficient to enable the Archbishop of himself to prorogue Convocation. There is no doubt but that the force of a true ecclesiastical synod remains, and prohibits the Archbishop from doing any synodical business without his brethren; but, with the external control deputed to him for the formal management of Convocation, as at present constituted, it is not so certain that he cannot prorogue. Sir W. P. Wood thus expresses his opinion on this point:—

‘On the whole case it appears to me that the Archbishop’s position in Convocation is much more analogous to that of the Sovereign, as regards Parliament, than to that of the Lord-chancellor or Speaker. The Sovereign summons and prorogues and dissolves the parliament, *his* council; and I think that it will be found, the more the matter is looked into, that the Archbishop has always done the same with *his* council of suffragans.

‘The Houses of Parliament *adjourn* of their own authority; but a Convocation is never *adjourned*,—it is always *prorogued*, and each new day of meeting is a *session*, just as each meeting of parliament after a prorogation is a session; and I conceive the practice of consulting the bishops and clergy to have arisen from courtesy, remembering that their attendance was under penalties. When the Lower House were present, as appears by the old precedents, they were consulted as well as the bishops; when they sat in a separate House, their consent was not asked; and my opinion is, that there is a *primâ facie* right in the Archbishop alone to prorogue, which will not be displaced by the irregular entries referred to.’—P. 22.

In answer to the argument that such a power might stop the objects of Convocation, Sir W. P. Wood makes the following sensible and forcible remarks:—

‘The real answer to all such hypothetical inconveniences is, that you are not to suppose great officers will commit wanton acts of power. If they do, they are amenable by impeachment as officers of State, and to general

councils as officers of the Church. The question, in fact, proceeds on a very common confusion of the two distinct ideas of legal authority, and legal responsibility for the exercise of that authority. A judge of any court of record can commit any party for a contempt, and he is the *sole judge* of such contempt, and can detain the party as long as he pleases. Here any one may say, "Can a judge imprison arbitrarily for life?" The answer is, "You are not to assume such improper exercise of power; the power is a necessary one; and if he improperly exercises it, you must impeach him." A bishop *may* ordain a most disreputable and improper person; the Crown *may* prorogue parliament as often as it likes, and create majorities in the House of Lords by creating new peerages.—P. 36.

Again :—

'If the sovereign had funds at his disposal, and did not require any new laws, there is nothing to prevent his deferring a parliament as long as he pleases; on which account the parliament takes care to limit its supplies.

'An Archbishop using his power wantonly in respect of prorogation, ordination, or any other matter, would be intolerable. But for the reasons I have before given at large, this does not seem to me to prove that he has not, or indeed ought not to have, the power. Impeachment might be resorted to at last, if necessary; but power must be lodged in many cases in parties who may all, by hypothesis, (and some perhaps do *de facto*.) greatly abuse it.'—P. 39.

This is acknowledged to be a most difficult question. There is great weight in the fact, that the words '*cum consensu fratrum*' are so often found in former prorogations; but whether this can be explained by its being only courtesy, is not for us to decide. Let the Archbishop duly weigh the evidence, and we trust that one thing will appear certain, viz. that the exercise of this power, to the stoppage itself of Convocation, would be utterly opposed both to the constitution of the Church and the intentions of his own preeminence. The nature of the appeal against such an exercise of power, we hope, need not be thought of.

As the tendency of events becomes more and more plain, it will be so obvious a requirement of the Church to meet in synod, that none but her open enemies could endeavour to stop it; and, meanwhile, if we suffer for a time from one particular exercise of power, let us, before we try to remove it, be sure that its fair and legitimate use may not be of real service at a future time; and whether it may not be perhaps, even if a departure from primitive models, yet necessary, in order to counteract some other aspect of the Church's position.

NOTICES.

WE have received the following correspondence :—

‘ Bishopstowe, Tasmania, Oct. 18, 1852.

‘ SIR,—Although, in addressing the Editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*, I am writing to so perfect a stranger that I am ignorant even of his name, the talent, the soundness, and the Christian principle, with which that journal is conducted, must be enough to satisfy me, that I am corresponding with an accomplished scholar and a Christian gentleman.

‘ It is with more than common confidence, therefore, that I respectfully request you to do justice to the character of my esteemed friend Captain Drew, R.N., the superintendent of the convict station at Impression Bay, in this colony. It was so seriously called in question, in a notice of Sir George Stephen’s “ Review of Mr. Barber’s Case,” in your April number, that I felt it to be my duty immediately to forward to him so much of that notice as referred to his alleged conduct towards Barber. My own knowledge of Captain Drew’s kind-heartedness, fairness, benevolence, and unimpeachable management of his most responsible office for a period of nine years, convinced me that Sir George had been grossly imposed upon, and had, unfortunately, suffered himself to be the means of slandering Barber’s real benefactor.

‘ Captain Drew’s answer is before you. May I earnestly entreat you to publish it, together with this letter? I am truly sensible, as Captain Drew’s friend, that the sore wrong done to him can never be effectually repaired. The slander in Sir George Stephen’s “ Review ” will find its way to many places where its refutation will never reach. But I am anxious that the readers of the *Christian Remembrancer*, at least, may be disabused of any painful impression that they may have received of Captain Drew’s conduct towards Barber, through the extract that you have laid before them.

‘ I remain, Sir,

‘ Your faithful Servant,

‘ F. R. TASMANIA.’

‘ To the Editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*.’

‘ Impression Bay Station, Oct. 7, 1852.

‘ MY LORD,—I derive consolation under the unmerited slanders which have been published against me, in the note your Lordship has done me the honor to send me, and the opinion therein expressed of your estimate of my character. I have endeavoured to administer even-handed justice to all, both free and bond, that have been placed under my superintendence at this place for the last nine years, and I will keep this line of conduct during the time it may please the Disposer of all things to allow

me to remain in my present situation, notwithstanding I may meet with (as has often happened to me) deep ingratitude, insult, and falsehood.

Mr. Barber left this place with my shirt on his shoulders, and my coat and other clothes on his back, with three pounds in his pocket, one of which I subscribed, I think the other two were given to me for him by the Rev. Mr. Browning, and the Rev. Mr. Guerne, at Port Arthur.

I had private information of Barber's pardon, before I received the official communication. I immediately went up to the school-room, where I had placed him in a comfortable billet, apart from all the prisoners; I sent every one out of the room, and communicated the good news to him. I did everything I could for him; and his expressions of thankfulness and the good feeling he displayed, at the time, certainly never gave me the idea that he would allow such things to be published, without exhibiting indignation, and flatly contradicting them, as totally false, and without the slightest foundation. From the moment he arrived here to the day he left, he never received anything but kindness at my hands. Certainly, if my statement, and the one published, were placed in juxtaposition, very serious blame must be attached to some one; but I am willing to hope such conduct cannot be imputable to Mr. Barber.

If your Lordship will be at the trouble to do me justice with the Editor and readers of the *Christian Remembrancer*, I shall esteem it a great favour.

Believe me, my Lord,

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE DREW.

(Commander R. N., and Superintendent at Impression Bay.)

I have received the enclosed note from Mr. Guerne just in time to enclose it and save post; and as he gave me the date of his check, I have referred to my bank-book, and find that on the 23d of April I gave William Henry Barber, from myself and Captain Hill, a check on the Union Bank, Hobart Town, for thirty shillings. How much was subscribed by Captain Hill, or how much by myself of this thirty shillings, at this distant time I cannot recollect; however, the sum was given between us.

G. D.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Tasmania.

Port Arthur, Oct. 7, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR,—In reply to your letter of this date, I can say, that to my knowledge Barber was treated with the greatest kindness when at Impression Bay, and when leaving. So long time has elapsed, that many circumstances have passed my memory. I remember well, however, that a collection was made for him, by, I think, yourself, that clothes were given to him, and that he rode to Hobart Town on horseback. My impression, when I read your letter, was that I had given him one pound, but on referring to my bank-book, I find that on the 29th of April, 1847, I gave Barber a check for one pound ten shillings. I also remember that, before leaving the Station, he held the comfortable billet of Head School Monitor. If Barber be the author of the extract from Sir George Stephen's pamphlet, he must possess neither truthfulness nor gratitude,

' though of the latter, when leaving the Station, he made strong professions
' to me.

' I am, yours sincerely,

' JOHN R. GUERNEY.'¹

Captain Drew, R.N.

(Chaplain at Port Arthur, F.R.S.)

In immediately deferring to the Bishop's request, we think it not amiss to remind his lordship's friends in Australia, that *we* made no statement whatever with respect to Mr. Barber's treatment. We quoted (*Christian Remembrancer*, vol. xxiii. p. 495) a work published and authenticated by a respectable name, that of Sir George Stephen, and from it we extracted a certain statement, which in the act of extracting we 'trusted was untrue;' and of which we summarily pronounced that 'there must be mistake or exaggeration in it.' We are much indebted to the excellent Bishop of Tasmania, not only for eliciting the truth in this matter, but for vindicating, as these letters do, the justice of our previous suspicions of Sir George Stephen's statement.

' Home Thoughts,' (Kent,) is a cheap and respectable magazine. We are glad to find Mr. J. H. Parker announcing what we trust will absorb many of these serials.

The book of the quarter, *omnium plausu*, is Dr. Layard's second volume of 'Nineveh and Babylon,' (Murray.) Its historical value it would be impossible to overstate; to find ourselves actually in the presence of Sennacherib, and to be spectators of the contemporaneous lithographic annals of the capture of Lachish, are only among the results of Mr. Layard's active researches. There is no point of view under which these inquiries are not of the highest importance—the biblical student, the investigator of the history of art, the critic of political phenomena, he who earnestly ponders upon the certainty of divine judgment, and the fulfilment of prophecy, and he who only looks for instruction or amusement in the records of geographical discovery, or the incidents of travel, will have recourse to Mr. Layard's volumes with equal profit. Nor are these discoveries without political importance: at a moment when all eyes are once more turned to the East as the solution or complication of new political intrigues, it is possible that the scenes of ancient empire and earliest civilization, may again attract attention in discussing the possibility of opening the ancient road to India. Had we space in this department for merely critical remarks, we should express our apprehension that Mr. Layard had been premature in committing himself to Mr. Fergusson's ingenious architectural restorations; while at the same time we should utter our unfeigned regret that the writer of this noble volume had taken up the subject of our extinct mission to the Oriental Christians, and the relation of the various Eastern Churches to the American missionaries—a subject, and it is a solitary one, of which in its principles Mr. Layard knows just nothing.

Mr. Bosworth has published the translation of an early work of Guizot on the 'Fine Arts.' It consists, in fact, of a criticism of some select pictures exhibited in France in 1810. As a manual of art, M. Guizot might have

¹ At that time Chaplain at Impression Bay, F.R.S.

done better: the difficult subjects which the author undertakes require a treatment more detailed and systematic; and we cannot see that the specific examination of the individual pictures adequately, or even consistently, illustrates the theoretical introduction. What is said, however, of single pictures is always neat, often discriminating, and occasionally deep; but if we fail to comprehend M. Guizot's general theory of art, it is, perhaps, because the introduction is subsidiary in purpose to the catalogue. The translation makes a beautiful book; and the woodcuts, executed by M. Scharf, far exceed in power and delicacy even our anticipations of the capabilities of the art. By way of contrast between merely technical and, if we may so say, moral criticism, we invite attention to the judgments expressed respectively by M. Guizot and Mrs. Jameson, in her recent volume, on Caravaggio's disgusting picture of the 'Death of the Virgin.'

Mr. Neale has adapted the 'Pilgrim's Progress, for the use of the Children of the English Church,' (Masters.) In a cautious, if not timorous, preface, Mr. Neale admits the difficulties of his task. Admitting his principle, we are bound to say that the task of cleansing Bunyan from his heterodoxy has been executed with the adapter's well-known skill and ingenuity. Further, the book is nicely printed with marginal embellishments—if people think them embellishments—and some vigorous woodcuts. But we cannot accept the principle on which Bunyan is adapted; and we express our dissent with less reluctance, because we disagree with Mr. Neale both as to the artistic beauty and present popularity of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Bunyan was a downright heretic: to his own Master he, and with him his book, is responsible. We have no right to make Bunyan appear to countenance doctrinal views, however sound, which we know he loathed. No literature is secure, if, under the amiable plea of making it safe, we tamper with a man's fundamental principles. Shakspeare's anathema lives for those who disturb a dead man's words, as well as his bones. The case of omitting exaggerated views and blameable expressions from devotional or doctrinal works, with which we agree except in details, affords, we think, no countenance for the licence which Mr. Neale has taken in interpolating in Bunyan right views on the sacraments.

And we are the more convinced of the soundness of this view by the very next book which we take up. It happens to be the new edition of Wilson's 'Sacra Privata,' now *first* published by Mr. J. H. Parker. The original MS. was disinterred from Sion College Library by Mr. W. Denton, a city Incumbent, and to his care and industry we owe this beautiful volume. Wilson's son had thought proper to eliminate from the noble Bishop's works what expressions he disliked. He only corrected, as he thought, strong phrases; he omitted and altered what his poor grovelling nature could not comprehend. Reverence to Bishop Wilson will make all honest men revolt at the indignity which he has suffered at such parricidal hands. Years ago we remonstrated against Archdeacon Hale's similar treatment of Ken. Consistency, as well as natural justice, demands the same rights for Bunyan. And with Mr. Neale's plea of practical utility as apart from critical faithfulness we have slender sympathy.

† 'Retail Mammon,' (Skeffington,) by Mr. Hayman, is so nearly a success, that it is due to the author to say, that with some dramatic powers, and a

choice habit of expression, and a vigorous brush at character drawing, he might be, and one day perhaps will be, more careful both in condensing a plot and elaborating a character.

Mr. Ford has completed his full and elaborate notes on the Gospels by a 'Commentary on S. John,' (Masters), which fully maintains the reputation of the preceding volumes, and does great credit to the amiable writer's piety, good sense and diffuse reading.

Murray's 'Railway Reading' proceeds with unabated interest, and with even increased variety. Hallam's 'Literary Essays and Characters' is a volume of unexampled cheapness and suggestiveness, and Dean Milman's 'Fall of Jerusalem' is the first in place, and cannot fail to prove among the first in value, of a series of poetical instalments. All tastes are catered for in this collection, and all reasonable and healthy necessities are provided for.

If the Rev. S. Hopkins, Curate of S. Nicholas, Leicester, is placed somewhat prominently in this department of our review, we are quite sure that we shall only be giving this gentleman the notoriety which he seeks. In his 'Voice of the Church, a Series of Sermons,' &c. (Hamilton, Adams & Co.) he has published a volume which he at once pronounces 'will be found original.' He specifies his own performances in these modest phrases:— 'The author flatters himself that he has hit upon the real intention of the Church in her cycle of services. The perusal will leave an indelible impression . . . Every one of these sermons contains the materials for a volume. The book may be styled a library in epitome. The sermons will also be found sound in their theology, consistent with the Reformed Church, as displayed in her Homilies, Articles, and Liturgy. It also forms a most interesting Life of Christ.'

We should be wronging our readers were we to withhold from them a specimen of this treasure-house of comprehensive theology, originality, soundness, and interest. We extract at random.

'This was, *you know*, the very fault of the Scribes and Pharisees, the hypocrites, in our Lord's time. They fasted, for the purpose of attracting the attention of men. . . . It is also, *you know*, a well-known fact in common life, that persons who go about their daily duties with unnecessary fuss and stir, are supposed to do it from some sinister or unworthy motive: to attract people's attention, or get a repute, perhaps, for greater diligence than they really possess. Now, in engaging a workman or servant, *you know*, one great qualification which they ought to have, and which is looked for, is, to go quietly about their work. . . . This brings us to our second point: Our religious duties should be performed sincerely. They should be done from the heart: have their seat in the heart. Without the heart is engaged in the service, it is nothing worth. Thus it is said, the hypocritical Jews had "their reward." They may have had their reward from men, but precious little from the Almighty. . . . But, my good friends, in denouncing hypocrisy in our worship, we must avoid another extreme: that, if we are not hypocrites, we may be as bad as we like. At the present day, *you know*, there is very little temptation to be very, very religious. . . . But at the present day, *you know*, any pretensions

‘to be very, very pious, would make a man become an object of suspicion.’—Pp. 214, 215, 216.

We may be hopeful for the age which, *you know*, has produced so engaging a model of modesty and pulpit eloquence as the Rev. S. Hopkins.

Of Canon Trevor’s valuable work, ‘Convocations of the two Provinces,’ (Mozley,) we expressed our general opinion in our last number’s article upon Convocation. As, however, this work was only published immediately before the November Sessions, and as there was so much material in the passing events of the day which required immediate attention, we were not able at the time to give it that investigation which it merited. We have since carefully studied it, and recommend all who are interested in the present position of our Church to do so also. A short description of its contents will prove how accurately the writer has brought his great opportunities of research, his great industry and zeal, to bear upon the exact points of interest now before the ecclesiastical world. The introductory chapter is on the general position of Provincial Convocations, their constitutional authority, with legal and other evidence to prove our claim to them. A short summary of the history of synodical action then follows, beginning with the foundation of the Christian Church, and ending with the suppression of our Convocation in the reign of George I. In these chapters we would invite special attention to that part of the history which treats of early British synods and the period of Edward I., for it is on these periods that our present Convocations, as ecclesiastical bodies, so firmly rest their claims. The history of the Convocation of York, from its completeness, and the originality of its material in this simple form, gives a special interest to the book. The principal questions which have occurred throughout the movement are ably discussed, such as the respective rights of the Archbishop, of the Suffragan Bishops, and of the Lower House; together with the exercise of the Royal licence. The tone of the work is that of an earnest practical Churchman, who takes the subject in hand, not as a curious matter of antiquarian research or legal investigation, but as the beginning of a great reformation in the working of our Church. Many valuable documents are also inserted, a kind of evidence to which we attach great value. As the whole question steadily works its way, such books will be read with avidity; and whatever may be the issue of the present movements in our Church, we cannot but think that the general information and interest possessed by the Clergy and others upon the subject of Convocation, will have much to do with future dealings between Church and State.

We have to notice a very useful and carefully compiled ‘Manual for Godfathers and Godmothers,’ (Rivingtons,) by the Rev. G. Hill. Its contents may be generally stated as divided into two chief parts, the first of which treats of the regulations laid down by the Church for sponsors, and the second of their duties as such; to which are added a few pages to meet the objections commonly raised against this office. The author’s views are thoroughly orthodox on the sacrament of Baptism as an efficient instrument of grace, as the following extract will prove. ‘In Baptism rightly received,’ that is, as the context shows, *quoad administrationem*, ‘there is a certain grace or free blessing vouchsafed to us

'of God in Christ; for Christ would never have ordained for His Church 'a perpetual sacrament which he would not own and bless.' (P. 12.) And as regards the sponsors, their responsibilities are well stated in the following terms. Having said that they are not required necessarily to take on themselves the Christian education of the child, a duty which rests with the parents or pro-parents, 'suppose, however,' he continues, 'that, as far as they have opportunity, they do see into this 'matter; then if it appear on their inquiry that the child is duly taught,— 'that he is sent to school, for example, where the Catechism is made the 'basis of Christian instruction, and that he is brought up to a lawful 'calling in life, so far their conscience may be satisfied in the discharge of 'this duty; especially while they take such opportunities as may occur to 'call upon him diligently to attend to the instructions he receives, whether 'in sermons or in catechisings, or in the word of God. If, however, it be 'discovered that Christian education is manifestly neglected, or the Cate- 'chism untaught, the office which they have undertaken imposes on them 'a more direct interposition. It then becomes the part of a conscientious 'godfather to remonstrate with and warn the parents, as far as his influence 'may be available, and Christian discretion may allow it. Few parents, it 'may be hoped, would persist in their neglect after their error had been 'faithfully pointed out to them by their own chosen friend in an earnest and 'Christian spirit. Yet should this effort fail of success, it should be his 'care that the attention of the clergyman ministering in the parish should 'be especially directed to the child, that, by his pastoral persuasion and 'watchfulness, the lamb might not be left untended, nor the Church have 'to mourn that through her neglect the gift has been bestowed in 'vain.'—P. 52.

We are especially glad to observe that Mr. Hill asserts that it is the child who makes the baptismal vows through the sponsors, and not (as is too commonly supposed) the sponsors that make them for the child. This alone, as Mr. Hill perceives, does away with the objection that sponsors take on themselves what they cannot perform: and let it be remembered that, even were it in a degree otherwise, the responsibility which godfathers would incur by answering for children as sureties, is infinitely less than that of preventing them from being admitted to the sacrament of Baptism at all; which, so far as they were concerned, they would do, if they refused to undertake this office. It is by no means the least valuable characteristic of Mr. Hill's book, that he takes the general line of appealing to the true testimonies to Christian doctrine—the Fathers of the Church, as opposed to modern teachers, the case being one of testimony and not of mere personal endowments. Whilst the Clergy of our Church continue to follow the same course in their teaching, we have little fear of her eventual welfare.

'The Golden Spell, and other Poems.' (J. H. Parker.) The chief contents of this volume are 'The Golden Spell' and 'The Life Tree,' both of them allegories. It contains, besides, songs and ballads, poems of sentiment, Lays of the Hebrews and Redeemed, &c. Among the first are translations of Goethe's 'Elf King,' and Schiller's 'Thecla's Lament,' the former of which is well rendered, but the latter, as may be

expected, falls far short of the noble and truly poetical version of Coleridge in his translation of Wallenstein. Our space allows us only to cite the following, (p. 44,) entitled 'Memory in Music,' and which is perhaps, on the whole, the most favourable specimen of the author's powers of versification to be found in the volume :—

- ' It was an ancient melody,
A song of other years,
I heard with joy, yet seem'd to feel
Upon my heart in sadness steal
Forgotten smiles and tears !
- ' For when she sang that song to me,
That little mournful lay,
We thought that life would always seem
As beautiful,—as bright a dream,
As soothed our hearts that day.
- ' She never sang that song again,—
Her dream of love was o'er ;
Yet oft amidst the weary strife
And ceaseless toil of busy life
I hear its tones once more !
- ' It sounds,—the little mournful strain,—
As then, in other years ;—
I hear with joy,—and yet I feel
Upon my heart in sadness steal
Remember'd smiles and tears !'

Mr. Allies has published a digest of Father Passaglia's ' Commentary on the Prerogatives of S. Peter,' (Burns), with some additions of his own. His theory is that held by that portion of the Church of Rome which is termed Ultra-Montane, *i.e.* that Peter is the one sole governor of the Church, and as such has alone the power of universal visitation. S. Peter with him is the rock on which alone the Church is founded—the universal pastor, even of the Apostles, the charge and confirmation of whom is committed to him alone. He is the governor of all—*ἡγεμὲνος*—supreme over all, and, in a word, ' As it is the dignity of the Father to be the exemplar, principle, root, and fountain of unity in the Trinity, so is it the dignity of Peter to be the exemplar, principle, root, and fountain of visible unity in the kingdom of God, which is the Church.'—P. 195. In proof of this doctrine of S. Peter, Mr. Allies refers chiefly to the New Testament. The question is, then, Does it bear out his theory? That S. Peter is, in a sense, the *rock*, we grant, (Matt. xvi. 18;) but how can he be so in Mr. Allies' sense? seeing, 1st, that S. Paul says, ' You are built upon the foundation of the *Apostles and Prophets*, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner stone,' (Eph. ii. 20;) and S. John says, ' And the wall of the city had *twelve* foundations, and in them the names of the *twelve Apostles* of the Lamb,' (Rev. xxi. 14;) and, 2dly, that this would necessarily involve an essential separation between the Jewish and Christian Church. If Peter is the universal Pastor, how shall we understand the fact, that during the great forty days all spiritual power was committed to the twelve Apostles in common, and not to S. Peter alone to give to them; and that after this they, without any ordination by S. Peter, or receipt of

extraordinary gifts from him, went out into the world, and exercised the powers of shepherds over Christ's flock? Mr. Allies applies the word *confirm*—*στηρίζειν*—to S. Peter in common with the three Persons of the Holy Trinity, (p. 51,) but this word, whatever be its force, is not applied to S. Peter alone; it is also used of others, *e.g.* S. Paul, (Acts xv. 41;) 'And he went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming (*ἐπιστηρίζων*) the Churches.' Again, when Samaria had been evangelized by Philip the Deacon, Peter did not go of himself, as being the sole source of apostolic authority, to confirm the Church, but he was sent by the Apostles, and sent with S. John; against which Mr. Allies can only urge that these two Apostles were the chief agents in sending themselves; or, as his own words state it, 'But as to what is said, that "the Apostles who were in Jerusalem sent to the Samaritans Peter and John," it must be remembered, that at the head of those thus sending was Peter himself, and that, next to him, John was the most distinguished of the apostolic college. And since it is evident, from all that we have hitherto seen, that in whatever concerned the Apostles equally, Peter took the leading part, and in their common deliberations exercised the initiative, it must be concluded that he was likewise the first author of this resolution, to send himself and John, to the Samaritans.'—P. 137.—We have much pleasure in being able to refer our readers to 'A Sermon of the Lord Bishop of Salisbury,' (Rivingtons,) lately preached at the consecration of the Church of Longbridge Deverell, in which the question of S. Peter's supremacy is ably discussed.

What unlucky motive can have instigated some anonymous lady or gentleman to put out 'Rosaries, compiled for the use of the English Church,' (Masters,) we know not. Persons who cannot or who will not see how utterly repugnant to the general feeling, both religious and social, of the English Church and people is such a production, are clearly impervious to argument. The Church revival has done a great deal; it has a vast deal more to do; and yet there are persons who will waste their time and energy, which might have been employed in real and practical work, upon a production which at best will procure very few to praise, and fewer to use without abusing it, and by its startling oppugnancy to the accustomed tone of English devotion, will, for one who does use it, run the risk of altogether disgusting twenty others with the Church movement. It is no light responsibility which such individuals incur of frustrating a great providential work, and bringing into trouble those whose only feeling about their aberrations is that of astonishment. For ourselves, we beg simply to disclaim any sympathy with the perverted feeling which appears to have dictated throwing these 'Rosaries' by way of challenge to the English public.

The Manual of 'Family Prayers for the Labouring Classes,' (Masters,) announced in our last quarter as forthcoming, is well deserving of success as a really vigorous and well considered attempt to introduce the reality of household devotion among the classes for whom it is designed. The difficulties which lie in the way of such an attempt are well known to practical persons; but they have hitherto been ignored by those who have undertaken to furnish books for the purpose. We seem here to have something to the purpose at last. Within a pair of pasteboard lids of small 4to size, adapted by their solidity and colour to bear the inevitable thumbing and soiling to be

undergone by them, is mounted a short form for morning, a fuller one for evening prayer. This (marked No. 1) is for the use of whoever conducts the little service. A similar pair of lids, only of 8vo size (marked No 2), contains those parts only of the service which it is necessary the rest of the family should have before them, in order to join in it: of course each family will require more or fewer of these, according to its number. When not in use, the boards, great and small, are to be hung upon a peg by a string or thong so attached to the upper end of each lid as to shut them on hanging them up. The morning prayers are few, and conceived for the most part in the language of the Baptismal Office and the Catechism; the probability being that for the mother and children of the family only will they, as a general rule, be available. The evening form is fuller, yet brief after all. Taking as a basis the not very uncommon practice amongst the more religious poor, of reading some part of the Bible in the evening, it follows this up with sentences; an optional hymn; the ancient evening psalm (141st); the Creed; the Lord's Prayer; a well-chosen form of confession; intercessory versicles; collect; commendation; and thanksgiving and blessing. One object kept in view has been to have due yet minimized change of posture, making it really a service and not a mere exercise. There are full explanatory rubrics. A blank space is left, to add, in print or writing, any particular prayer. Of course the forms may be had not mounted; but it is much to be insisted upon that the mounting is a chief practical recommendation of this manual. Used according to the intention of them, and with a little pains bestowed upon the matter by the parochial clergy, we are very sanguine that these forms will be found really practicable and efficient.

Mr. Heygate's '*Manual*,' (Masters,) intended chiefly for the same classes takes a wider range. It aims at carrying the sons and daughters of poverty through all the steps of the Christian life,—from the earliest prayers of children to the preparation for the last hour. We feel safe in highly recommending the manner in which the design is worked out. The spirit and contents are at once English and Catholic; the language carefully plain, yet never shrinking from reality. One doubt we entertain, and that a very serious one, viz. whether the poor can be taught to use a book of such extent and variety at all. And for classes at all above the poor, the language, of the directions especially, is often of too homely a character. However, the experiment is by all means worth trying.—While on this subject, we have to apologise for the omission, through an oversight, of Mr. Acland's '*Liturgia Domestica*,' among the manuals reviewed, in our last number. While it differs widely from some of the leading principles adopted in that article, with others it entirely harmonizes, and is as a whole a valuable storehouse for occasions of domestic need.

The late Mr. Hudson Turner's valuable and beautiful work on the '*Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*,' has been followed by a second volume, comprehending the 14th century, and edited by Mr. J. H. Parker. We know not how to give it higher praise than to say that it appears to equal its predecessor in interest and in every attractive quality. Indeed it is not, we think, too much to say that the two volumes form the most important practical publication on architecture which has appeared

for many years. Ecclesiastical buildings, though foremost, of course, in importance, as in dignity, if their vast variety has not been exhausted, have at least become so familiar to us by the great number of illustrated works on the subject, (for the best of which, by the way, we are indebted to Mr. Parker, either as editor or publisher), that the novelty and freshness of these domestic examples charm us with something like a new sensation. Moreover, the same true *principles*, the mastering of which alone can raise us above the rank of unsuccessful imitators in Church-building, must lead to a craving for something better than we are accustomed to in our secular and domestic buildings. An admirable appeal on this subject was lately read before the Oxford Architectural Society by Mr. G. E. Street, and in a place where there is so large and conspicuous a field for good or bad taste, it is to be hoped these instructive and sumptuous volumes will be freely circulated. Mr. Parker has never before so fully demonstrated his learning as an editor, and his liberality and spirit as a publisher. He assures us, in the Preface, that in the preparation of this volume 'he has travelled 'many hundred miles, never being contented to take from other sources 'anything which he had the opportunity of verifying for himself.' To the facts thus acquired many others are added from documentary sources, especially from the Bodleian Library; and the whole is presented with type, engravings, and all external aids of the highest order. The subject of continental domestic architecture, we think, however, too large and difficult to be disposed of with such summary treatment as it receives in this place. We entreat the present writer to attempt the collection of materials for a distinct continental series. Among Mr. Parker's many and valuable contributions to the study which he pursues with such energy and success, we assign the first place to this volume, as creditable to the man of letters as the man of books.

'Introits used in the Church of All Saints, Marylebone,' (Masters.) The musical criticism of this work will be soon despatched. Mr. Redhead, when he borrowed the words and structure of his Introits from modern Rome, did not think fit to adopt the grave ancient melodies to which they are set in the authorized Gradual. Nor, on the other hand, are his 'adaptations,' or the one piece that is marked as his own composition, at all remarkable for the best qualities of the more modern schools of sacred music. The melodies are of a very common-place character. The counterpoint is feeble and unecclesiastical; and in at least one place we detect a musical solecism. The psalm-verses are set to Gregorian tones: but the preposterous division of the recitative, which is barred throughout in measured time, deprives them of all their vigour and of all their distinctive character. By a bold prolepsis we see that the introits are announced as sung in the Church of All Saints, Marylebone—a church which is not only not consecrated, but not half-finished, and in which it is needless to say no service whatever has yet been celebrated.

Mr. Meyrick's excellent publication, '*Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Religio, Disciplina, Ritusque Sacri*,' (J. H. Parker,) is a reprint of Cosin's celebrated tract. The facts are brought down to our own times, and the Editor has added in a Latin form not only some short and pregnant notes, but fragmentary argu-

ments from Andrewes and similar writers, all collected with the same object of showing the real character of our Church to inquiring foreigners. The size and cheapness of this admirable little manual fits it for distribution among foreigners; and it is only one sign among many of the growing and expanding desire after Christian unity. This would have been the very book for the impostor De Col to have made use of, had he really ever had any Christian object at heart. We may as well add that we make no doubt the present Editor will be glad to publish similar contributions to the cause of union; and though we have no authority to say so, perhaps Mr. Meyrick—and the work could not be in better hands—would superintend a comprehensive plan for making known to the scattered fragments of the Christian body our own position and claims.

It is with great pain that we write down the title 'A Few Words in Answer to an Attack on my "Classical School Books," published in Fraser's Magazine,' (Livingtons,) by Mr. Kerchever Arnold. Of the pamphlet we may say that it is complete: a generous and Christian vindication in reply to what being neither generous nor Christian, was ungentlemanly in addition. But we regret to say that the amiable and valuable Mr. Arnold is no more. As a *collaborateur* in a useful periodical, the 'Theological Critic,' entirely planned and chiefly executed by himself, we had reason to think highly of one who was always genial and gentle to all his editorial brethren. As a scholar, not only in his school books, but in the higher walks of philology, Mr. Arnold held a high place. His polemical pamphlets were remarkably lucid, argumentative, and forcible; and taking into account his varied accomplishments and natural powers, we know no blank which will be so difficult to fill amongst literary people as that occasioned by Mr. Arnold's sudden and comparatively early death. His personal qualities endeared him to many friends; but speaking on general grounds, we consider Mr. Arnold a positive loss to the Church.

'Mr. Frederick Maurice's Four Sermons on the Sabbath,' (J. W. Parker,) we deem the soundest teaching, couched in the most practical and intelligible language, on the vexed and very difficult question of the observance of Sunday, which we have yet met with.

If we say that, although we do not agree with every argument or sentiment adduced in Mr. Harold Browne's 'Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles,' (J. W. Parker,) we award it the highest place among the existing commentaries on these documents, we should not say enough in its favour. Simply to be ranked above Burnet and—in this particular—Beveridge, were grudging praise. Mr. Browne's learning, patience, and research, deserve a fuller and freer acknowledgment; and we welcome the completion—this is the second volume—of a work which ought to be the text-book on the Articles.

We have received from Tasmania the Bishop's 'Reply to a Deputation, &c.' (Walch, Hobart Town.) This is a document at once painful and encouraging: painful, in that it displays, on the part of certain Clergymen in Van Diemen's Land, an amount of bad feeling, presumption, and ignorance, which we trust have no parallel at home. From the ignorant, however, we desire especially to except a Dr. Fry, who, some very few

years ago, published a work on Tradition, of a somewhat extreme character, in the very opposite direction to the principles which he now advocates. But the pamphlet is encouraging, as a proof of the high-minded character and Christian tone of the Bishop. We desire to let both parties speak for themselves. Dr. Fry thus addresses the Archbishop of Canterbury :—

‘ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—I beg permission to give you a short account of some matters of importance to the Church in this Colony, for which you were pleased to show much interest when I had the honour of an interview with your Grace in 1850.

‘ Your Grace is aware of the Resolutions of the Bishops at Sydney, at their Conference, and of the opposition and apprehensions which their proceedings occasioned. The sentiments or judgment of your Grace and of the Archbishop of Dublin on their minutes have produced the most beneficial effects in these colonies, both in repressing the designs of the Romanizing party, and in encouraging the Evangelical or Protestant Clergy and people. We feel deeply thankful to your Grace for the expression of your opinion, and, under Providence, look to you for support and advice.

‘ I forwarded to your Grace a copy of a pamphlet signed by myself and twenty Clergymen of this Diocese, remonstrating against the dissemination of Romanizing books and opinions. Our tract was termed “A Solemn Declaration,” &c. Your Grace may, perhaps, have deemed this tract over-severe or injudicious; but I can assure you, that the progress of Romanizing opinions,—the avowed and acted-upon intention of excluding all Ministers who did not participate in them, and the denunciation of Evangelical religion,—left us no other course to pursue. Your Grace will learn with satisfaction, that the result of this publication, and of other documents of a Protestant Association which I organized, has been completely to overthrow the projects of the Tractarians, to stop the circulation of Romanizing books, to encourage the advocates of Protestantism, and to excite a general and determined Protestant spirit in the community.

‘ I had the pleasure of forwarding to your Grace an Address from the Christian Knowledge Society in this city.

‘ As my object and that of my brethren was, not to create a schism, but to maintain and promote the true principles of our Church, I ever avoided any proceeding likely to depreciate the Bishop, or lead to a renunciation of his authority, which many deemed the only means of opposing the evils we designed to repress. Privately and personally, I ever used any influence I could employ, to lead him to a true understanding of his dangerous and false position. He is not, himself, desirous of embracing Romanism; but Archdeacon Marriott, and six Oxford Clergymen whom he brought out to the Colony with him, have surrounded the Bishop, and, by their flatteries and exaltation of his office, have filled him with the notion of his occupying the position of an Apostle, and that his judgment is to be received as sacred as that of the Church, involving those who do not hold his religious sentiments in the sin of rebellion and schism.

‘ He, at length, appeared willing to concede to an opposition which he

‘felt to be insurmountable; and on receipt of your Grace’s reply to the
 ‘Minutes of the Bishops’ Conference, he summoned a meeting of the
 ‘Clergy to express their sentiments on the subject of a Constitution for
 ‘the Church. Desiring to embrace the prospect of an accommodation,
 ‘I communicated with the principal Clergymen of the Bishop’s party, and
 ‘arranged that a Petition should be adopted in the words of that previously
 ‘forwarded from the Protestant Association, in which no mention was to
 ‘be made of the Sydney Conference, or their plan of a Constitution, and in
 ‘which the only thing sought for should be the removal of any restriction
 ‘upon our assembling. I forward to your Grace a copy of this Petition,
 ‘fearing that the authentic document may be long delayed, as it is to be
 ‘transmitted through the Bishop, who will send it through the Bishop
 ‘of Sydney.

‘The hope of accommodation thus entertained was soon destroyed;
 ‘a fortnight after our meeting, the Bishop received an application from a
 ‘candidate for Holy Orders, named Smith, with the usual testimonials,
 ‘signed by the Rev. Alfred Stackhouse and the Rev. George Wilkinson, two
 ‘of the most respected ministers in the colony;—the former, especially, is
 ‘a man eminent in his ministry. The Bishop rejected the testimonial, on
 ‘the ground of Messrs. S. and W. having signed the “Declaration” “*denying
 ‘the right of any Church or minister to prescribe to individuals in matters of
 ‘religion in opposition to their own judgment,*” as being a repudiation of the
 ‘authoritative teaching of the Church, and therefore, he says, he “*cannot
 ‘accept their testimony as satisfactorily vouching for the doctrinal soundness of
 ‘another.*” Your Grace will perceive the cautious, and, indeed, undeniable
 ‘proposition which the Bishop so strongly condemns, as to excommunicate
 ‘the majority of the Clergy who have signed it.

‘It is not denied that the Church has authority to teach, to guide, direct,
 ‘or influence, but only that it has not authority to overrule private judg-
 ‘ment,—that men are not bound to receive its teaching in opposition to
 ‘their own judgments. To deny this, appears to subvert the fundamental
 ‘principle of Protestantism. As might be expected, this act of the Bishop
 ‘has created a very strong feeling in our minds; but one not sufficient to
 ‘render us regardless of the great interests of peace and unity, and of sub-
 ‘mission to constituted authority. We do not feel that we are called upon
 ‘publicly to denounce this error, as we did the Romanizing teaching; for
 ‘the Bishop may disgust and drive away the members of the Church by
 ‘preaching against private judgment, but he will never make a single con-
 ‘vert, so we do not fear the progress of this great error; and we feel that
 ‘the only remedy for this and all other evils is the establishment of a Con-
 ‘stitutional Assembly of the Clergy and lay representatives: to this we look
 ‘for redress and protection against the design and unrelaxing attempts to
 ‘render our colonial Church a Tractarian sect. If we do not obtain this,
 ‘one of two results will follow,—either we must protest publicly, and *esta-
 ‘blish a Church in opposition to the Bishop and his party*; or, we must submit
 ‘to see the people forsake the churches, as they have done where Roman-
 ‘izing Clergymen have been forced upon them, and to have the parishes
 ‘filled by Tractarian ministers.

‘Under these circumstances, I feel justified in soliciting your Grace’s

‘interference in promoting the object of the petition. It is so simple, that the Ministers of the Crown can easily pass it; and it exactly agrees with the opinion expressed by Sir G. Grey, that we might be permitted to manage our own affairs. It embraces the circumstances of all our Colonies. Any definite form of constitution framed at home for all the Australian dioceses, would be fraught with difficulties, if not impracticable. *The imposition of any restrictions upon us would only lead to resistance.* Leave us free, and, by God’s blessing, we will maintain our connexion with the Evangelical Church of England, and promote the true end of a Christian Church. I trespass upon your Grace from a sense of the urgency of the subject, and from a *knowledge* that the Bishop and his party are in reality reluctant to our obtaining a constitution, until such a number of Tractarian Clergy shall be introduced as may Romanize the Church and form a majority of the assembly.

‘I beg your Grace to excuse the haste in which the pressure of parochial duties compels me to write.

‘I have the honour to remain,

‘Your Grace’s most faithful Servant,

‘HENRY PHIBES FRY.’

On this Bishop Nixon observes:—

‘And now, dear Christian friends and brethren, suffer me, before we part, to address to you a few words of earnest and affectionate counsel, and even of remonstrance. I speak as *your* chief pastor, not as that of the Clergy only.

‘I give you all credit for honesty of purpose and uprightness of intention. I believe you to be sincere in your fears that Romanizing tendencies do exist in this our Tasmanian Church, though I may, and I must, differ with you as to the fact; or else, cast aside all my reading, and all knowledge of the writings of our Reformers, and of our most approved expositors of God’s holy word. Had I not been thus assured of your purity of thought, in all these unhappy matters, I could not have met you here to-day.

‘But whither do these struggles tend? It may be—nay, it ought to be, a serious consideration with us all, how far the notoriously divided condition of the Church of England in this Colony can ultimately conduce to her permanent well-being. If active energies are wasted in internal discord, which should be spent in making head against the untiring foes of God and man,—if intellectual powers are frittered away in polemical arguments, in public speeches, and in unprofitable discussions, which were far better exercised in pondering on the means, how, with God’s blessing, souls, perishing for lack of knowledge, may be brought to love and serve the Saviour,—then the truth cannot be disguised: we are not doing our all to promote that entire oneness with the Father, and with each other, for which our suffering Lord so earnestly and so touchingly vouchsafed to pray;—we are not fulfilling our appointed mission, nor calling down God’s abiding blessing on our work.

‘Whilst, by variance and discord, we are daily scattering our own strength, and even scandalizing those around us,—experience itself presents the startling truth, that we do but pave the way to send the

' Church's children, in very weariness of this incessant strife, to the promised peace and unity of Rome, or to the unbridled liberty of any and every form of dissent. Once unsettle the human mind,—and you leave it to be "tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine."

' There is a noble vocation before the laity of this, and of every other diocese of the Reformed Church of England. Do not let me even seem to speak harshly, if I express my conviction, that this vocation will not be found to exist in striving to see where their Bishop haply may be in error, in this or that point,—but how they may best co-operate with him for the Church's general weal.

' When the events of the last few months are fully and freely canvassed, as they will be, by earnest and well-read members of the Church at home; when it is seen by them, that the rule by which the Bishop desires to be guided, is "Holy Scripture, interpreted by the Catholic Church," and that the principle for which he contends, is, after all, the assertion of the simple fact, that there must be some authority within the Church, by which a check is placed upon unlicensed private interpretation or repudiation of Catholic verities,—they will marvel at the strange misapprehensions that have so long existed. But will they stop there? When they see that there are both lay and clerical members of the Church, who have been active in diffusing these misapprehensions,—there will surely be grave questionings, how far the remodelling of our existing constitution may be safely entrusted to such hands; or, whether the Clergy, who have taken so decided a part against their Bishop, require to be still further removed from such restrictions, as his authority, either theoretically or practically, imposes on them.

' How can they fail to ask, is it well for a Clergyman of the Church of England, who has sought and obtained admission into her ministry, under her existing constitution, boldly to declare to the venerable Primate, that, unless this constitution be altered,—so altered, as to introduce a new element into its composition,—that one alternative must be a public protest, and the establishment of a Church, "in opposition to the Bishop and his party?"

' The establishment of a Church! I thought we belonged to Christ's Holy Catholic Church; established by Him who purchased it with His agony and blood. And can an individual Clergyman, or any number of individuals, establish a *Church*, of their own personal authority? and that, too, in avowed opposition to the very principles which they have voluntarily covenanted to regard? Alas, my brethren, it is easy to establish a sect—easy to create a party,—the name of such is legion; and one more would be but a drop of water in yonder river; but to establish a *Church* is beyond man's wit now.

' And they will ask, too, is it well, that an ordained servant of the sanctuary should, on no better grounds than his own mere opinion, deliberately denounce his Bishop as an arbitrary and illegal persecutor,—a subverter of religious liberty,—a violator of charity and good feeling; and, above all, that he should charge him with being such a double traitor, (as, whilst it is admitted that "he is not himself desirous of embracing Romanism,") secretly to plot the downfall of that portion of the Church of Christ which is committed to his guardianship, by desiring to

‘withhold that partial remodelling of her polity, for which circumstances seem to call, “until such a number of Tractarian Clergymen shall be introduced as may Romanize the Church, and prove a majority of the assembly.”

‘Let us, after this, hear no more of the helpless condition of the Clergy of this diocese,—no more of their slavish dependence on the Bishop’s will—of the insecurity of their position, if they have the courage to contravene it. Why, the very safe utterance of these, and such like charges, all unproved, and unsupported by one jot of sound evidence, as they are, is, of itself, a testimony that their tenure of office is not so *very* insecure, and that their spiritual ruler, to whom they have voluntarily sworn obedience, “in all things lawful and honest,” is not so over rigid in tasking or exacting it. The very immunity from official censure with which these wild declarations have been treated, may be taken as a proof, that the Bishop of this diocese is not disposed to lord it over God’s heritage, nor tempted to use the autocratic power ascribed to him, to hurt, instead of help. It will satisfy all thinking people, that he is deliberately resolved to stretch forbearance to its utmost limits, in the earnest hope, that, in God’s good time, his daily prayer may at last be granted,—that those who have thus been led away, as he believes, to forget, for a season, their duty to their Church and to themselves, may be so brought to reconsider their course, as to exert the talents and influence which they possess, not to confusion, but to peace,—not to unsettling men’s minds, but to build them up in the Redeemer’s fear and love,—not to exhibit to the gainer the sad spectacle of the Church of England, even as “a house divided against itself;” but as one, whose every member will say unto his fellow,—“Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.”’—Pp. 44—47.

Archdeacon Harrison’s affecting and beautiful ‘Sermon on the Death of Bishop Broughton,’ (Rivingtons,) warns us to add our brief tribute to the memory of one who will rank among the greatest of English Bishops. The Archdeacon has risen with his theme; and among funeral sermons this takes a high place.

From Capetown we have received No. I. of ‘The South African Church Magazine.’ (Capetown: Robertson.) The fact would be significant enough and encouraging enough. It is, however, only fair to add, that our contemporary is a very useful clever addition to Ecclesiastical periodicals; and, apart from its distant home, would, on its own merits, command our respect and sympathy.

Mr. Thellusson Carter, of Clewer, has added to his many labours—and we are glad to add, successes—in the cause of sisterhoods and reformatory institutions, a full and important pamphlet, in ‘Objections to Sisterhoods considered.’ (Rivingtons.) Have we yet commended to the notice and support of our readers and friends the London Institution for the encouragement and aid of Penitentiaries, in Lincoln’s Inn Fields? It is at work, and usefully at work, under the highest direction and most encouraging auspices; and among the practical works of Christian love it certainly stands in the very first place. Its object is not so much to found, as to assist local endeavours to found, Female Penitentiaries.

Sir Stafford Northcote's 'Statement of Facts connected with Mr. Gladstone's Election,' (J. H. Parker,) is clear and calm as well as complete.

We ask especial attention to Mr. Dyce's admirable pamphlet on the 'National Gallery, its formation and management.' (Chapman and Hall.) Both in the practice and literature of art Mr. Dyce is without an English rival. He has every claim to be heard; and here he says what, even without the writer's great reputation, would command general attention. To ourselves, as pointing out the deficiencies of the so-called national collection in specimens of pure Christian art, this pamphlet—it is a Letter to Prince Albert—has an especial value and importance.

We are much pleased with Mr. Malet's sermon, 'The Service of Soldiers allowed in the Gospel.' (Rivingtons.) It is in itself a useful vindication of the lawfulness of arms as a calling—a Christian truth apt to be forgotten in these days of Peace Societies—and it has an occasional propriety, having been delivered on the occasion of raising the local militia. We hear, and with satisfaction, that Lord Hardinge has expressed his personal and practical approval of Mr. Malet's Sermon.

Such as are disposed really to form a judgment on the question of the admission of Jews to Parliament, are, we think, bound to read Mr. Benjamin Wilson's 'Letter to Mr. Gladstone,' (J. H. Parker,) on this subject.

We have received the sixteenth part of Mr. Jackson's 'Stories and Catechisms in Illustration of the Collects.' (Mozley.) The variety, cheapness, and interest of this collection is not only not impaired in its progress, but, which is rare in such undertakings, it improves. We know no better class reading-book in schools; and we have tested its acceptableness to young people.

'The Deceitfulness of Sin, a Sermon preached by the Bishop of Oxford before the University on the First Sunday in Lent,' (J. H. Parker,) has acquired a more than local importance. Merely as a solemn discourse on a most solemn subject, the Bishop's address would bear comparison with most discourses for a penitential season; but taking into account the authoritative station of the preacher, the place, and the crowded audience of undergraduates, we consider the eloquent Bishop as not the last or least practical of university reformers.

Which subject reminds us to acknowledge the useful 'First Publication on University Reform by the Tutors' Association.'

From America we have received the Bishop of Montreal's 'Address to the Students of the Theological Seminary at New York,' (Dana;) and, also, the important 'Sermon, preached by the Bishop of New Hampshire, at Dr. Wainwright's consecration as Provisional Bishop of New York.' The interest of the occasion was increased, by the circumstance of the Bishop of Montreal assisting in the consecration. Prefixed to the Sermon is a full account of the ceremonial, in which we detect a slight fault, which we have often observed in Transatlantic writers. In our Eucharistic office, it is the *Ter Sanctus* which is sung, not the *Trisagion*, which is quite a different form and confined to the Eastern Church. The *Ter Sanctus* is what its

name signifies, but the *Trisagion* is the ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, κ. τ. λ. The many friends made by Bp. Wainwright when in England last summer, will welcome with especial satisfaction his elevation to the important office which he holds. We append an extract, describing with vigour the scene of this consecration:—

‘ This forms a marked epoch in the history of the Reformed Church of Christ. Invited to be present and participate in the solemnities of this day, as one of the chief Pastors of the flock of Christ in a sister Church, with which we are united by the closest ties, by the ecclesiastical Authority of the Diocese, acting with the concurrence of the senior Bishop of the American Church—in the spirit of Catholic love and unity, he accepted the invitation, and came among us in his official character. The design of the invitation, which was given to the several Bishops of the Church of England in the immediately adjacent North American Provinces, was to reciprocate in some small degree the kind courtesy recently extended to the Church of the United States by the Mother Church, and to give to the world another evidence of the vitality of that communion which exists between the several branches of the Reformed Catholic Church. The Bishops of Quebec, Toronto, and Fredericton were severally prevented by imperative duties at home from attending. Fortunately, the Bishop of Montreal was able to leave his Diocese. The place assigned him in the Chancel was at the left of the Altar, next in rank to the Presiding Bishop. He consecrated the Holy Eucharist, he united with the senior seven of the Bishops present in the laying on of hands on the candidate for the Episcopate, and joined with them in the Letter of Consecration. The world has witnessed no such acts of Catholic inter-communion among the Reformed Churches since the eventful period when the yoke of Rome was thrown off. And, added to the many deeply interesting circumstances by which the late Jubilee year was marked, especially the visit of two of our Bishops to the Church of England, and their cordial reception by the Prelates, Clergy, and Laity of our ancient Mother, they speak a voice full of comfort and hope to all who are looking for redemption in Jerusalem.

‘ In close connexion with this, was the interesting coincidence, that the splendid silver gilt Alms Bason—presented to our Bishops in Oxford, by members of the university, for the American Church—was on this day used for the first time. It was placed, with the offerings, on the Altar, by the Bishop of Western New York, one of the two American Bishops to whom it was given; and the occasion of this its first use was the consecration of the Rev. Dr. Wainwright, who accompanied, or rather preceded, the two Bishops on their Mission of Brotherhood.’

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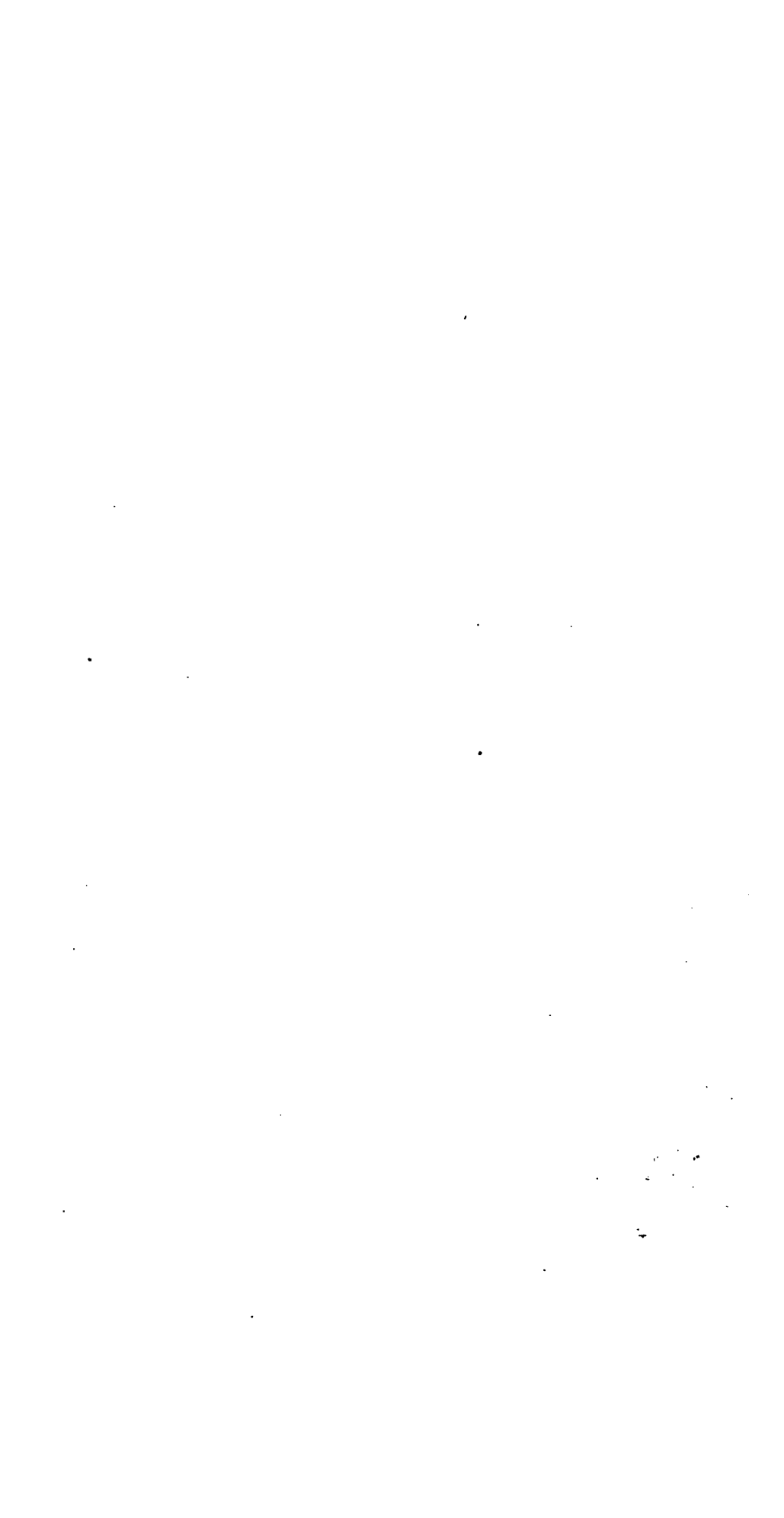
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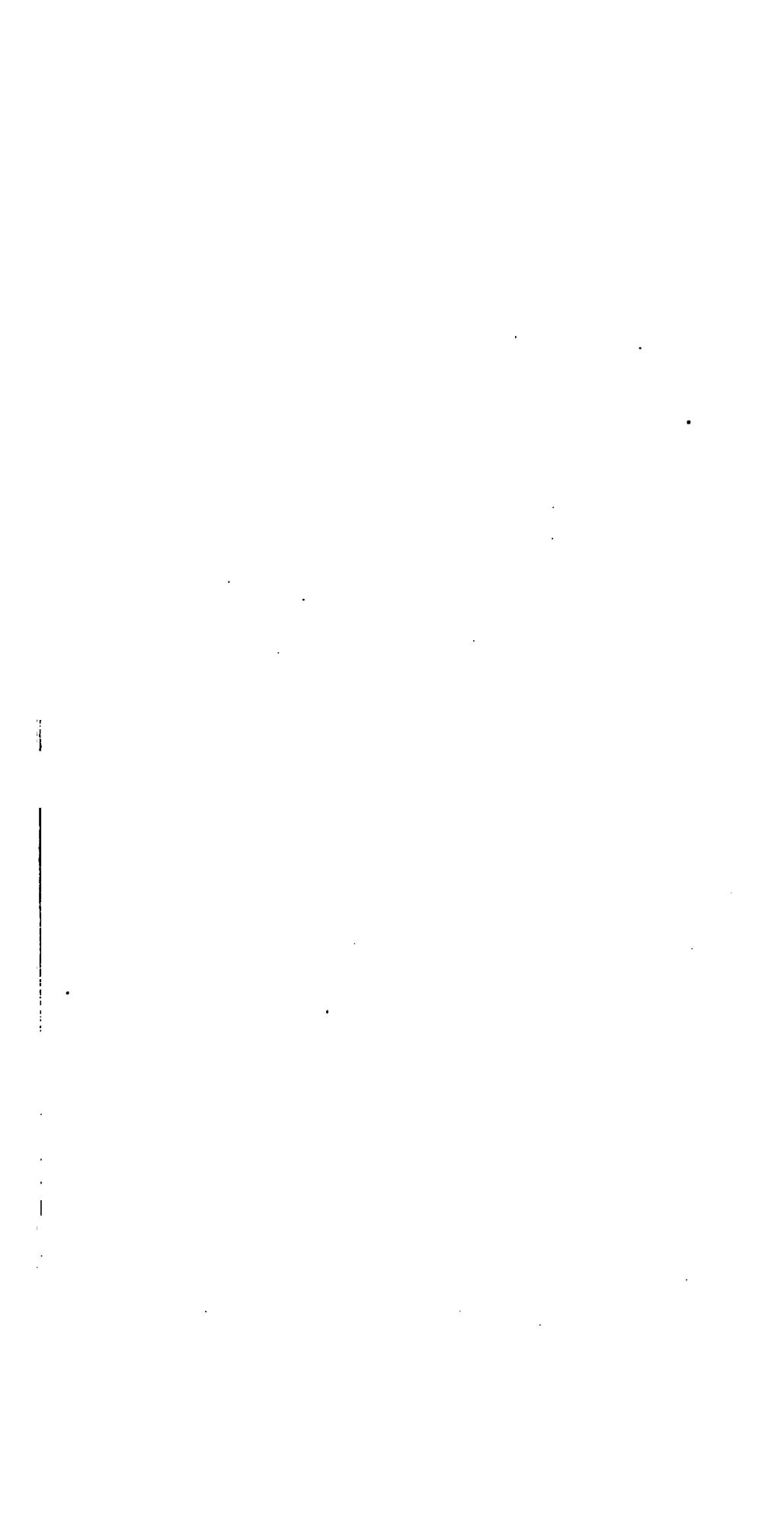
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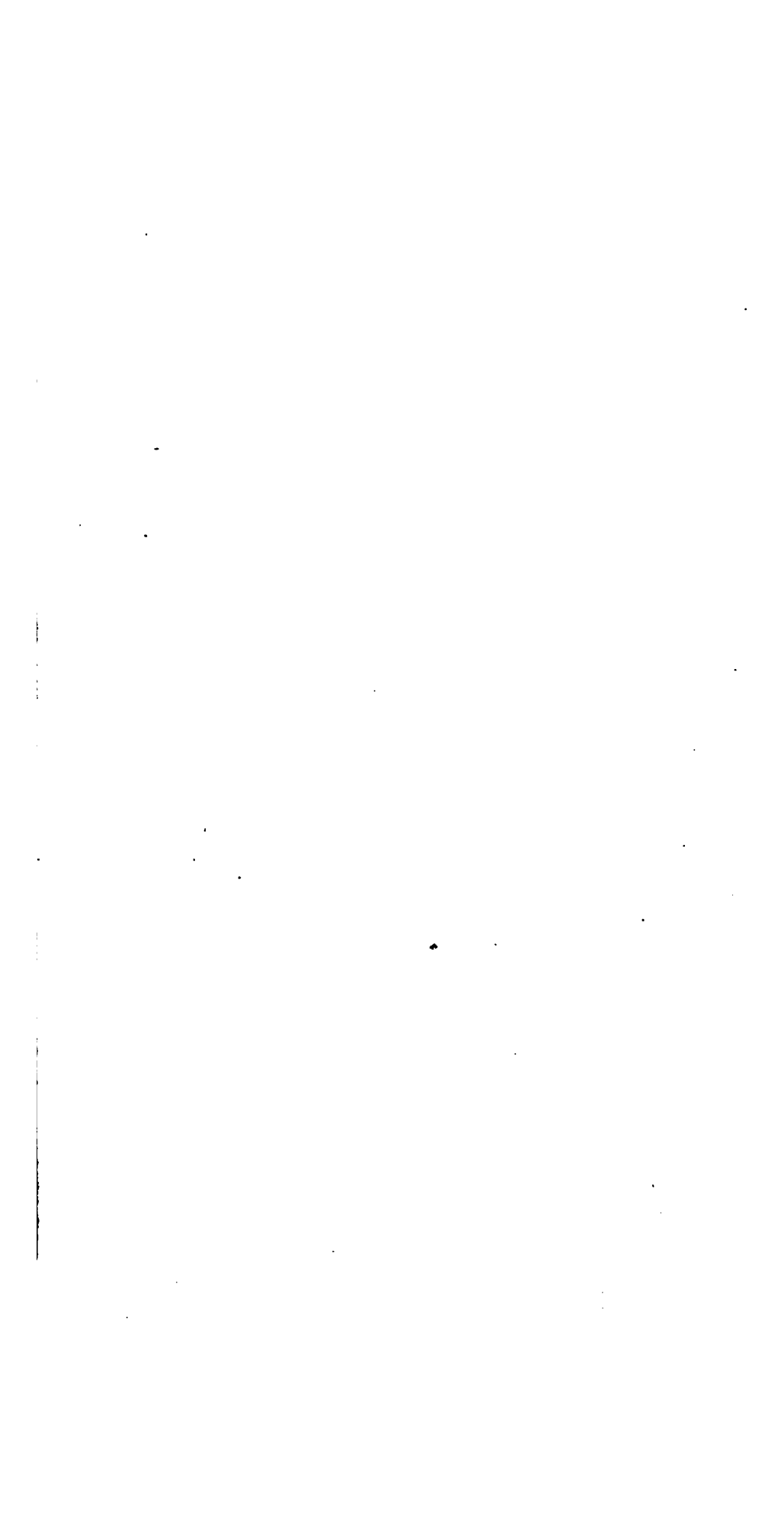
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